Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context

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Marissa Marthari,Colin Renfrew,Michael Boyd

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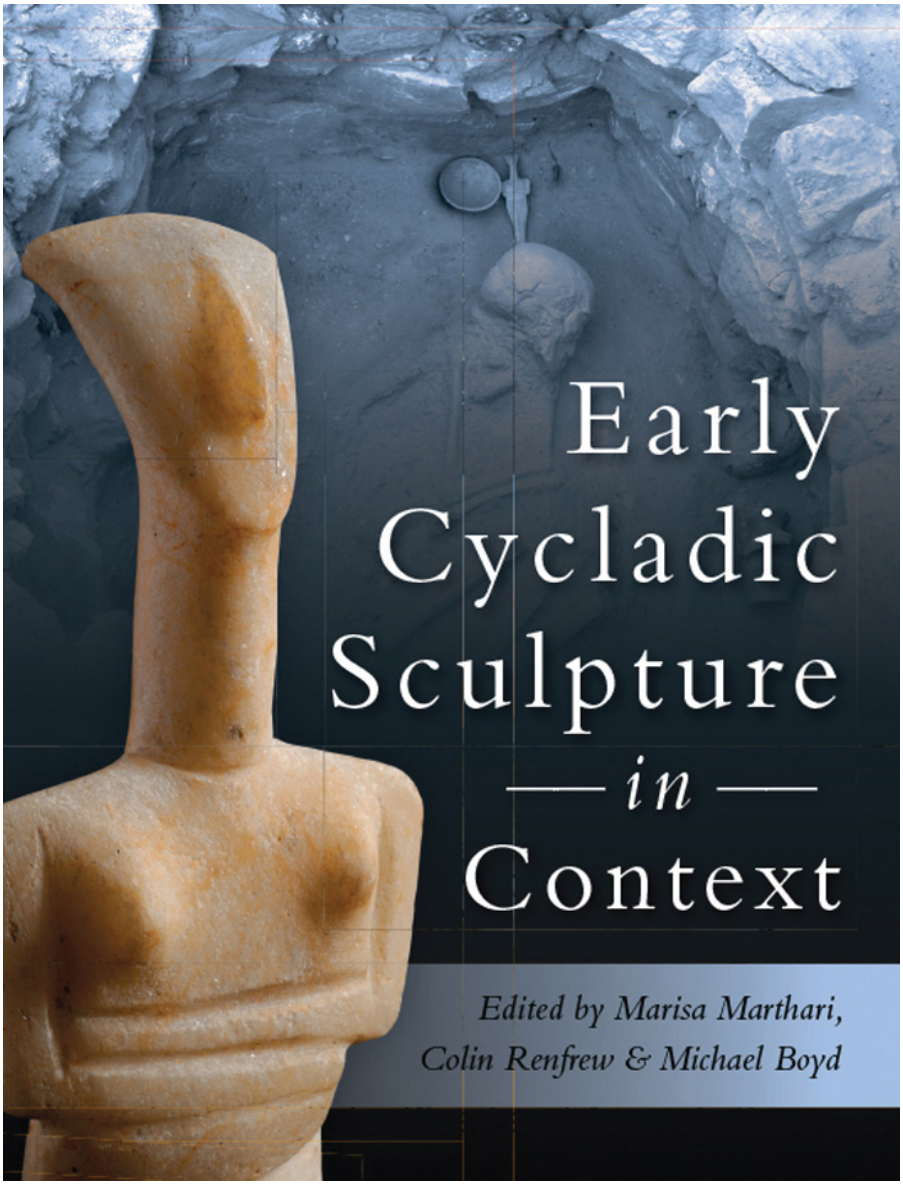
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Edited by Marisa Marthari,
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Marisa Marthari
Colin Renfrew
Michael J. Boyd

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Front cover: Grave XI at Chalandriani, Syros, with detail of figure SM1176. See chapter 20.
Spine: Canonical figure of the Spedos variety.

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ABBREVIATIONS

cat. no. catalogue number
cm centimetre
CM Chora Museum (Kea)
D. diameter
EAM National Archaeological Museum, Athens
EC Early Cycladic
FN Final Neolithic
g gram
H. height
IM Ios Museum
km kilometre
L. length
LN Late Neolithic
m metre
MAP Apeiranthos Museum
mm millimetre
NM Naxos Museum
PM Paros Museum
SM Syros Museum
T. thickness
W. width
Wt. weight

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PREFACE

Marisa Marthari, Colin Renfrew and Michael J. Boyd

The sculpture of the Early Bronze Age Cyclades has been systematically studied since the time of Christos Tsountas at the end of the 19th century. But that study has been hampered by the circumstance that so many of the subsequent finds come from unauthorised excavations, where the archaeological context was irretrievably lost. Largely for that reason there are still many problems surrounding the chronology, the function and the meaning of Early Cycladic sculpture.

This volume sets out to rectify that situation by publishing finds which have been recovered in controlled excavations in recent years, as well as earlier finds for which better documentation can now be provided. Using the material from recent excavation projects, and drawing on the papers presented at the symposium held at the Archaeological Society in Athens from 27–29 May 2014, it is possible now to undertake a fresh overview of the entire body of sculpture from the Cycladic islands which has been found in secure archaeological contexts. That is the purpose of the present volume.

It is hoped that the comparable material from Mainland Greece and the North and East Aegean, presented at a symposium which we organised at the Archaeological Society on 25 and 26 May 2015, will soon follow under the title 'Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context from beyond the Cyclades'. Relevant finds from Crete were presented at the symposium 'Cycladica in Crete: Cycladic and Cycladicizing figurines within their archaeological context', held in Athens on 1–2 October 2015, organised by Nicholas Stampolidis and Peggy Sotirakopoulou.

The editors would like to express their thanks to the Secretary General of the Archaeological Society at Athens, Dr Vassileios Petrakos, for making the rooms of the Society available for the meeting, and to Mrs Dora Vassilikou, member of the Board of the Society, for much valued assistance. We also thank the participants for

their valuable contributions. We are very grateful to the Leverhulme Trust and the John Templeton Foundation for generous financial assistance for the symposium and its publication. We are grateful also to Doug Faulmann and to the Institute for Aegean Prehistory for assistance and support with the drawing of the sculptures, and to Dieter Depnering for photography.

Note that in general the sculptures are systematically illustrated here at a scale of 1:2.

1

EARLY CYCLADIC SCULPTURE: ISSUES OF PROVENANCE, TERMINOLOGY AND CLASSIFICATION

Colin Renfrew

> "Ὅπως δὲ τὰ δύο εἰδώλια τοῦ τάφου 14 ὁμοιάζουσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ φαίνονται ἔργα τῆς αὐτῆς χειρός…'. (Tsountas 1898, 195).
>
> 'The two figurines from grave 14 are similar to one another and appear to have been the works of a single artisan'

Cycladic sculpture 'in context'

The title for this volume indicates its underlying aspiration, that the archaeology of the Early Cyclades should be firmly founded upon discoveries made in the context of archaeological excavations, authorised by the competent authorities, undertaken by professional archaeologists, and published by them in adequate detail. Those are the standards to which the editors of this volume seek to aspire.

Finds lacking such well-documented (and published) context of discovery in the course of systematic archaeological excavation are often termed 'unprovenanced'. One relevant factor is the risk that an unprovenanced piece is not an authentic Early Cycladic sculpture, but a modern imitation: a forgery created to deceive, usually for commercial gain, in a transaction of the illicit trade in antiquities (Gill & Chippindale 1993; Renfrew 2000). To discourage the illicit trade, museums and public collections in many countries now avoid the acquisition – even by gift – of pieces which have first appeared on the market after 1970, the year of the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of

Ownership of Cultural Property (Renfrew 2000, 93–102). A comparable convention determines the rules governing the publication of antiquities in journals which apply an ethical publication policy, such as the *American Journal of Archaeology* whose website (accessed 22/12/2013) states:

> In keeping with the 2004 policy of the AIA, the AJA will not accept any article that serves as the primary publication of any object or archaeological material in a private or public collection after 30 December 1973 unless its existence is documented before that date or it was legally exported from the country of origin. An exception may be made if, in the view of the Editor-in-Chief, the aim of the article is to emphasize the loss of archaeological context. Reviews of exhibitions, catalogues, or publications that do not follow these guidelines should state that the exhibition or publication in question includes material without known archaeological findspot (see Norman 2005, 135–6).

For the present volume our ambition is to be yet more careful, and in that sense more restrictive. We would prefer to rely, so far as possible, exclusively upon finds from documented excavations, and will plan to make explicit mention, with some accompanying rationale, when this self-imposed rule is breached. It should be noted, moreover, that forgeries of Early Cycladic sculptures were being produced well before 1970 (see Marthari 2001, 166; Craxton & Warren 2004), so that the UNESCO cut-off point of 1970 (or 1973 with the AJA) may be considered insufficiently restrictive for some research purposes.

The corpus of professionally excavated Early Cycladic sculptures, although expanding as the papers in this volume document, is however somewhat limited in scale. So it may be permissible to make reference to some early finds, documented indeed so early that their authenticity may be considered reasonably reliable, even though they are not from secure contexts. It may be suggested that most pieces published before the First World War (1914–1918) are likely to be genuine, although the possibility of the forgery of Early Cycladic sculptures for commercial gain before that date certainly merits further consideration (see Sherratt 2000, 163–4 for a doubtful piece acquired by the Ashmolean Museum in 1898). There is room for further research there which now needs to be undertaken.

While the authenticity of finds published or documented prior to 1914 may provisionally be considered likely, the accompanying information as to their context is not (other than from well documented excavations such as those of Tsountas (1898; 1899) and Stephanos (1903; 1904; 1905; 1906; 1908; 1909; 1910; see Papathanasopoulos 1962). In a recent article Galanakis (2013) has noted that some of the most notable Early Cycladic antiquities in

public collections acquired in the last decades of the nineteenth century were all purchased from the single dealer Ioannis Palaiologos of Amorgos. These include the celebrated flautist and harpist 'from Keros', and the tall (1.53m) figure and the large head (EAM3909) both 'from Amorgos' in the National Museum in Athens, and the large head with painted decoration in the National Museum in Copenhagen (inv. no. 4697: Renfrew 1969, pl. 8a). This need not call the authenticity of these finds into serious question: they were the precursors of better documented and better contextualised discoveries with resemblances of detail difficult to explain otherwise. But it brings into question their places and circumstances of discovery. Galanakis (2013, 195–6) suggests that the ascription 'from Amorgos' to some of them might possibly include the nearby Mikres Kyklades, including the island of Keros itself. That possibility cannot at present be excluded. But a broader and related conclusion is also disquieting: not a single large Early Cycladic sculpture, in any collection, public or private, of total height greater than 587mm (that of the largest find by Stephanos in Grave 10 at Spedos in Naxos (Stéphanos 1905, 221, top fig.; Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 46α), other than those fragmentary pieces from Kavos on Keros cited in this volume, comes from a secure and documented context.

Although ideally it would be preferable to restrict the discussion entirely to pieces with an excavation context, the pioneering research of Pat Getz-Preziosi (1987a), writing later as Getz-Gentle (2001), despite the accompanying ethical and terminological issues noted below, raises important research problems which remain to be addressed.

Questions of terminology

For a volume on Early Cycladic sculptures which focuses upon the context of their discovery in well-recorded excavations, it may be appropriate to turn again to some issues of terminology. While some of these might at first seem somewhat pedantic, it transpires that the only secure way of achieving a systematic analysis of this material is to treat carefully the associations with other artefacts found during excavation, and with the locations and contexts of discovery. A cautious and systematic approach may open the way towards a valid consideration of the work of individual craft workers or sculptors.

The study of Early Cycladic sculpture leads on to a series of questions involving craftsmanship, craft production, iconography, ritual, communal action, and aesthetics. How far the dominant forms,

notably the canonical folded-arm figure, had a predominantly social significance, and how far they had a religious meaning are matters for discussion (see Höckmann 1977; Renfrew 2013a). That many were buried in the Early Cycladic cemeteries is relevant to the understanding of their function. That many more ended up in fragmentary condition in the two 'special deposits' found at Kavos on Keros is indicative of ritual practices which prevailed for several centuries in the early bronze age. Those found in fragmentary condition in or near burials may also have been broken deliberately in the practice of ritual. The same could be argued for finds in settlements, which are usually fragmentary. Yet still we lack much understanding of the production of these sculptures or of the marble vessels which often accompanied them. The work of Tambakopoulos & Maniatis (in press; this volume, Chapter 33) on the marble from which they were made leads to the conclusion that many of them were produced on the island of Naxos. But no workshops for their production have yet been discovered.

Already it was possible 45 years ago to establish the outlines of the development of Early Cycladic sculpture (Renfrew 1969) within the context of successive cultural phases and to distinguish a number of varieties of the canonical folded-arm type (Fig. 1.1). That classification seems largely to have stood the test of time, as will briefly be reviewed below.

In 1987, in her major work *Sculptors of the Cyclades,* Pat Getz-Preziosi (1987a), utilising that existing classificatory system of types and varieties, set out to go further and to establish more detailed categories, or sub-varieties, among the already recognised varieties of the canonical foldedarm figure type. These newly-recognised groups of closely similar sculptures she sought to identify as the work of individual sculptors or 'Masters'. These she named in each case after the museum or owner of the private collection in which a typical product of the work of the specific sculptor – the 'name piece' – was at that time located. In two cases (Kontoleon and Doumas) they were named after the excavator of the 'name-piece'. This procedure of naming 'Masters' after collectors (e.g. 'Schuster Master', 'Stafford Master') gave rise to considerable debate and to several objections (Cherry 1992; Morris 1993; Gill & Chippindale 1993). These will be addressed briefly below. However, in the course of that debate her success in recognising closely similar pieces and in proposing a more detailed classification of the sculptures than had hitherto been achieved was sometimes overlooked.

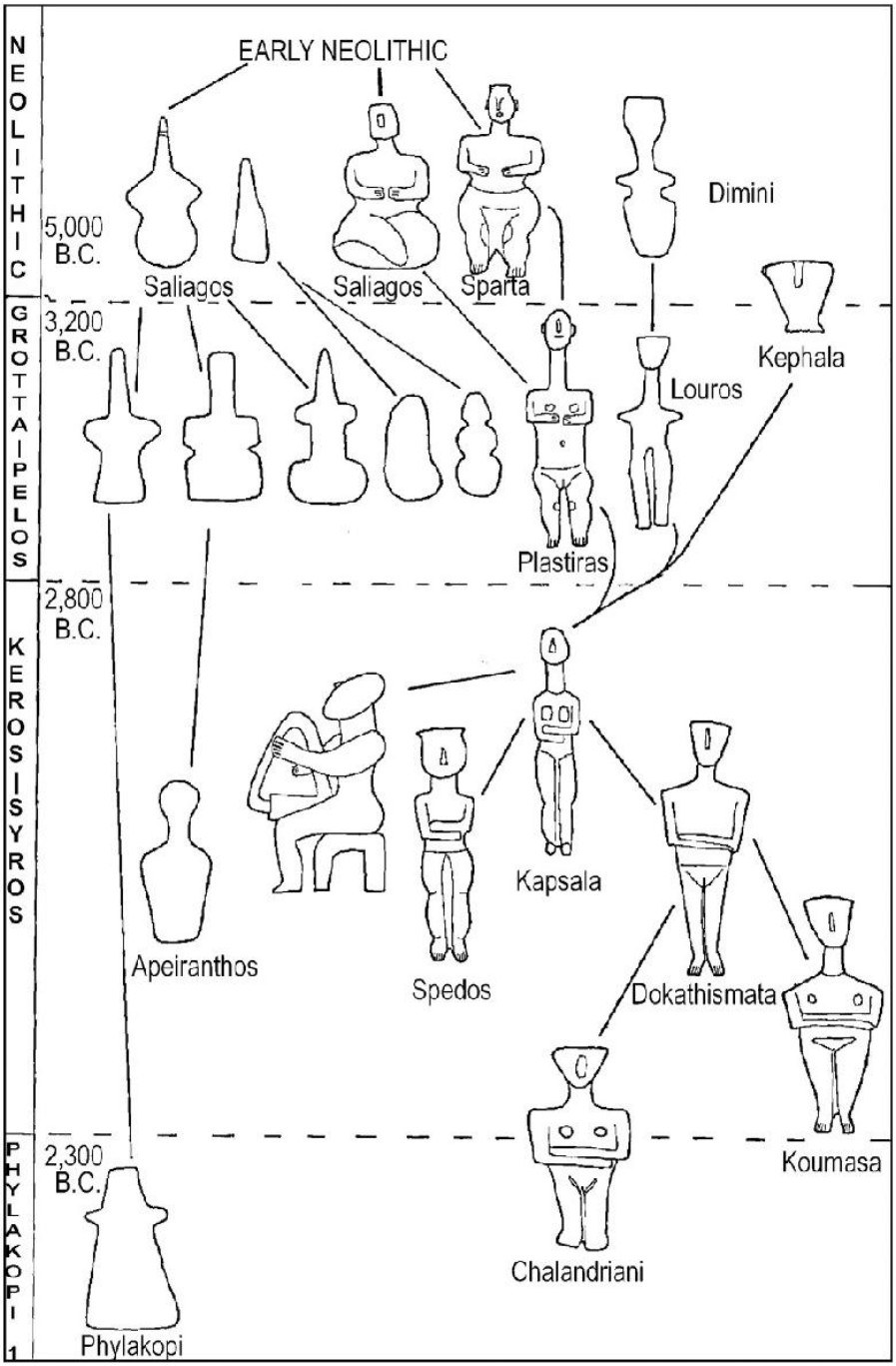

Fig. 1.1 The development of the Early Cycladic sculptures, showing principal types and varieties.

Here an attempt will be made first to identify and isolate the less satisfactory elements of the procedures used by Getz-Preziosi

(subsequently writing as Getz-Gentle) and then to focus on the positive and fresh new insights which her work has offered. For while the reliance on unprovenanced pieces (lacking any archaeological context) may not be procedurally sound, and the recognition of the 'hands' of individual sculptors may be open to question, her recognition that a more detailed systematic classification may be possible than the division into types and varieties established in 1969 is of considerable interest. For while the more detailed typology which emerges might be dismissed as mere 'connoisseurship', underlying it (if it indeed proves viable) there must in reality have been social conditions – traditions, workshops – whose elucidation would be of real significance for the understanding of Early Cycladic society.

What follows is intended as an introductory review of these general problems. It is hoped to use the insights originally offered by Getz-Preziosi, combined with a different (and perhaps more acceptable) system of classification and nomenclature for closely similar sculptures, to establish a series of categories (here termed 'sub-varieties') at this more detailed level. The hope must be that future work in the field, in Naxos and in other islands, will give a more direct insight into the customs and social conditions underlying the production of these sculptures of which these sub-varieties were the direct result.

Beyond the 'connoisseurship' critique

The early criticisms of the classification by Getz-Preziosi (1987a) of the Early Cycladic sculptures into works identifiably as by the hands of named 'Masters' or 'sculptors' were based on several objections – on 'connoisseurship', on the selection of material and accompanying doubts over authenticity, on terminology, and on interpretation.

The critique on connoisseurship, notably by Gill & Chippindale (1993) deprecated the treatment of these sculptures as works of art on the grounds that this led directly to their attaining a high commercial value on the market for illicit antiquities. In consequence this encouraged the ongoing looting of ancient sites with the consequential loss of archaeological context of the resulting finds. My own work, *The Cycladic Spirit* (Renfrew 1991), published around that time, did also illustrate many unprovenanced pieces, and was criticised for the same reason (Broodbank 1992; Gill & Chippindale 1993). I now agree that such publication tends to legitimise and therefore encourage the illicit traffic (see Renfrew 2000). The consequences of this traffic, both the ongoing looting and the circumstance that many sculptures acquired

by collectors and museums from that market have been accompanied by forgeries, is inescapable, and raises difficult questions of authenticity, which are addressed below.

The critique on terminology in those early critical papers, however, was sometimes not clearly separated from that on interpretation. To claim that the work of individual sculptors was being recognised was a bold and interesting claim. To name these alleged master-sculptors after individual 'name pieces' in private collections, designating the name piece (and the sculptor) by the name of the collector seemed particularly questionable on at least two grounds, one interpretive, one procedural and ethical. First, were these groups of closely similar figures really the work of a single sculptor? Secondly, to name these after private collections was perhaps inappropriate, paying undue respect to rich collectors who by their purchases of unprovenanced pieces were fuelling the looting process. And third, to name these groups (sub-varieties) on the basis of ownership rather than place of discovery was to lose sight of the archaeological context.

In what follows I shall seek to address these issues. I shall argue that these sub-varieties, or 'microstyles' of form as Morris (1993) might conveniently term them, are perhaps best regarded as the work of 'traditions' or 'workshops' rather than as the work of identifiable individual sculptors. It will be argued that wherever possible they should be named after the place of discovery of the 'name piece'. And I shall argue first that pieces of doubtful provenance should first be excluded from the discussion, since they risk introducing considerable confusion to it.

Problems of authenticity

To work with antiquities which, lacking secure context of association, are 'unprovenanced' in this way, as with nearly every piece in a volume published in the same year (Getz-Preziosi 1987b) carries with it the risk of using spurious pieces, which may seriously mislead the scholar. An example of such a misfortune is offered by the designation by Getz-Preziosi (1987a, 123–6) of one Early Cycladic 'sculptor' as 'The Stafford Master' on the basis of a figurine then in the collection of a Mr and Mrs Frederick Stafford. This 'name piece' (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 230–1, no. 72) was later recognised by her as a forgery. She wrote (Getz-Gentle 2001, 104): 'It has become necessary to delete from this Chalandriani variety sculptor's list of works as many as four complete pieces I had previously ascribed to him including his name piece because I have come to regard them as forgeries'. She went on to

re-name the artist as 'the Louvre Sculptor'. The Stafford Master fake was first published in 1954; the Louvre piece was acquired in 1913. Her new list in 2001 (169–70) of the works of the 'Louvre Sculptor' contains eight supposedly authentic pieces, including the Louvre 'name piece' acquired in 1913. Only two of these, both from Keros, have a published 'provenance', being recovered by archaeologists in wellpublished circumstances, further considered below. The Louvre example, in view of its discovery before the First World War, might also be considered as likely to be genuine. The other five have no such warranty.

This unfortunate episode highlights the risks involved in using unprovenanced pieces when undertaking scholarly work. As discussed further below it seems poor practice to designate sculptors or individual pieces after collectors or museums which have acquired them after 1914 – that is to say in the past century. It underlines the point made by Gill and Chippindale (1993), although I would argue, in apparent contradiction of their view, that to disregard finds already documented prior to 1914 risks excluding much potentially useful and validly usable material.

'Individuals' and 'workshops'

In the Aegean world much discussion of the work of individual artists or craftsmen refers first to the studies by Sir John Beazley culminating his *Attic Red-figure Vase painters* (Beazley 1942), Here he used his detailed study of stylistic similarities, influenced, it is said, by the analysis of Giovanni Morelli (1893) in his *Italian Painters: Critical Studies of their Works,* to compile lists of Attic vases which he considered to be painted by the same 'hand'. Here he was assisted by the circumstance that some Attic vase painters (as well as potters) did sometimes sign the vases that they had painted. Where he had the evidence of a signature on at least one of the vases on his list, Beazley felt he could assign all the items on it to the named painter. In other cases, when no painter's signature had been observed (e.g. 'the Kleophrades Painter') he was able to attach a name to the group of stylistically similar paintings by naming the potter who had signed (as potter) some vases painted by the still-anonymous vase painter. Quite often he used the name of the museum curating a key example, the' namepiece' of that painter's work (e.g. 'the Berlin Painter'). And on occasion the hypothetical painter thereby recognised was designated by a characteristic and notable feature recognised as characteristic of his personal style (e.g. 'the Elbows Out Painter').

Although she does not make explicit reference to the work of

Beazley, this is very much the system followed by Getz-Preziosi (1987a, 69–130 and 155–64) in 'isolating the individual hand', offering 'checklists of figures attributed to sixteen sculptors'. These 'Masters' are sometimes named by her after the excavator (e.g. Doumas; Kontoleon) of a characteristic 'name-piece' of a stylistically close group of sculptures. Sometimes they are designated by the name of the museum (e.g. Metropolitan; Athens; Ashmolean) or collector (e.g. Bastis; Steiner) curating the selected example, designated the 'name piece', from the relevant list. Later (Getz-Gentle 2001) she preferred to use the term 'Sculptor' rather than 'Master' for the notional maker associated with each list of closely similar pieces. The number of named sculptors was then increased to 20.

Critics (Cherry 1992; Gill & Chippindale) have focussed mainly on the attempt by Getz-Gentle to identify the work of the hands of individual masters or sculptors. Here I agree with them that it is difficult to establish whether, when two pieces are closely similar, this is because they have been made by the same sculptor, or because one worker has closely copied the work of another. That is why I would prefer the term 'tradition' – implying that the form of one piece has influenced the form of another – or 'workshop', implying that the makers were in some way associated. Until excavation gives more information about the context of production of such sculptures we shall not know whether there were indeed locations systematically used for the production of such sculptures which might properly be termed 'workshops'. But for the moment this does seem a convenient model, carrying with it the notion that craftspersons were sometimes working in association. The convenient term 'microstyle group' used by Morris (1993, 54) perhaps offers a more appropriate designation. Within the terminology hitherto used (Renfrew 1969) and followed here for identifying 'types' and 'varieties', the designation 'sub-variety' may be appropriate, if slightly cumbersome, for this more closely defined category.

Yet the positive point which arises here, going beyond the choice of an appropriate terminology, has not been sufficiently stressed. In most cases the lists offered by Getz-Preziosi really do group together sculptures which are closely similar. She lists no fewer than 76 pieces which she assigns (Getz-Gentle 2001, 161–6) to 'the Goulandris sculptor'. That the system of nomenclature may not be entirely appropriate is not the main point here. More relevant is to ask how many of these mainlyunprovenanced pieces can be considered authentic, and then to consider why some of them are so closely

similar. For it is perfectly possible that some may be modern copies, just as the forgery in the Stafford Collection, noted above, turned out be to be a copy of a piece acquired by the Louvre in 1913. It is indeed remarkable, and a depressing indicator of the scale of looting in recent years, that only four out of 76 in her list of sculptures assigned to the 'Goulandris Sculptor' come from systematic archaeological excavations. But the circumstance that they do permits us to confirm that at least some of these are authentic pieces, and there are arguments for thinking that several more on the list are genuine. Other lists (e.g. those for 'the Israel Museum Sculptor', or 'the Rogers Sculptor') contain no pieces at all deriving from an archaeological context and no pieces which were known and published before 1914. For the present these two lists and the sculptures on them must therefore remain suspect. Some of the other 'sculptors' designated by Getz-Gentle in the lists of the pieces assigned to them do have individual finds on their list which derive from published archaeological contexts (e.g. those of 'the Doumas Sculptor', 'the Kontoleon Sculptor'). So the sub-varieties or 'microstyle groups' recognised by Getz-Gentle do in favourable cases document groups of pieces some of which are closely similar stylistically, thus posing fascinating questions about production, organisation and distribution. These preliminary questions of authenticity and of terminology do however remain to be addressed in each case.

The risk of constructing imagined life histories for these notional individual sculptors or 'masters' should be clearly recognised, and perhaps avoided. For in not a single case yet documented archaeologically can the works assigned to a specific workshop (or if one chooses to follow the individualising approach of Getz-Preziosi, to the hand of a specific sculptor) be placed in any chronological sequence for which there is stratigraphic or contextual evidence. It is of course not difficult to arrange the sculptures which have been classified together and assigned to a specific sub-variety (or 'sculptor') into some kind of notional typological evolutionary sequence. Then one may compose an imagined and entirely fictional narrative:

> 'As the sculptor gradually sharpened his skills, he seems also to have increased the size of his figures … At some point the sculptor began to add to the interest of his images by showing the arms in relief, separated by a clear space, and by incising the fingers' (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 232).

Such an artistic biography is not warranted by any secure chronological argument.

In some papers which follow in this volume (Chapters 23 and 26) a coherent attempt is undertaken, using sculptures whose authenticity is

confirmed by secure archaeological context, to gather evidence for sub-varieties of the kind which Getz-Preziosi has proposed. As already noted, it seems a simpler explanation to explain the internal similarities within a sub-variety as arising from production in a specific workshop rather than as the handiwork of a single named sculptor. In questioning here the perhaps rather romantic ascription of these works to the hands of individual named sculptors, one should nonetheless acknowledge the positive insights arising from Getz-Preziosi's perceptive observations on these sub-varieties. It is this point which I would seek to stress among the other complexities and complications which may arise in the ensuing discussion.

Classifying the Early Cycladic sculptures: types

Fortunately the consideration of context does facilitate the classification of the Early Cycladic marble sculptures. The system described here follows the contextual analysis set out in 1969 (Renfrew 1969), with a single modification: the form there classified as the Kea variety of the folded-arm figure is here re-designated as the Kea sub-variety of the Chalandriani variety of the folded-arm figure. How that fits in will become clearer below.

During the earlier, Grotta-Pelos, phase (Early Cycladic I) of the Early Cycladic period (Renfrew 1972) several figurine forms were in use: the Schematic type (in its various forms: violin, notch-waisted, shouldered etc.), the Plastiras type and the Louros type. The terminology for these has been widely accepted and is retained here. It should be noted that the Kampos Group (late in the Grotta-Pelos culture and regarded sometimes as transitional between Early Cycladic I and Early Cycladic II) is better understood following the excavations on Ano Kouphonisi by Zapheiropoulou (1984).

The position and chronology of the Keros-Syros culture and of the Kastri Group is now better understood, after the publication of the excavations at Ayia Irini (Wilson 1999), Markiani (Marangou *et al.* 2006) and Dhaskalio (Renfrew *et al.* 2013). The Dhaskalio stratigraphy may be interpreted to show the development of the early Keros-Syros culture (Dhaskalio Phase A) to a later phase with pottery showing elements of the Kastri Group (Dhaskalio phase B). It continued, apparently without break (Renfrew *et al.* 2013; Sotirakopoulou 2016) to yield, in Dhaskalio phase C, more Kastri group pottery in association with pottery with relations to that found at the 'First City' of Phylakopi in Melos: Phylakopi I (Early Cycladic III) and in Arkesine grave G on Amorgos.

The sculptures associated with contexts of the Keros-Syros culture were set out by Renfrew (1969), and the classification and terminology has been followed by subsequent scholars (Thimme 1976; Thimme & Preziosi 1977; Getz-Preziosi 1987a). Thimme usefully referred to the folded-arm form of this period as the 'canonical' form, and this consistent terminology has been followed by later scholars. The sculptures of the canonical folded-arm type fall within the time range of the Keros-Syros culture. None has been found in any earlier context. It seems likely that this type went out of production before the end of the early bronze age. It is indeed possible that sculptures of this type may still have been produced in the later, Kastri phase of the Keros-Syros culture, Dhaskalio Phase B (note, however, that the main Kastri group phase at Dhaskalio is Phase C). But the scarcity of finds of such sculptures from the Early Cycladic settlements – none has been found in the settlement at Dhaskalio – and the decline in the use of cemeteries during the time of the Kastri Group, results in a paucity of well-stratified archaeological contexts for the folded-arm form after the earlier phase of the Keros-Syros culture with its relatively abundant cemetery finds.

Some further progress is now becoming possible allowing us better to understand the development and chronology of the folded-arm sculptures. For example the sculptures of the Kapsala variety occur in sufficient contextual associations in the cemetery at Aplomata in Naxos (this volume, Chapter 15) to permit this variety to be recognised as an early form of the folded-arm figure on the basis of secure context rather than just on typological grounds, as was already suggested by its occurrence with a kandila of the Grotta-Pelos culture in grave 12 at Spedos (Papathanasopoulos 1962, pls 52–3).

The very special group of seated sculptures, including the flautist and harpist from Keros and an important group from Aplomata on Naxos (this volume, Chapter 15) are closely related to the folded-arm sculptures. So too are the unusual double figurines. They all belong to the time span of the Keros-Syros culture.

An important feature of the repertoire of sculptural forms during the time of the Keros-Syros culture is the production of schematic figurines of the so-called Apeiranthos type, which may be a continuation of the schematic 'Brettidolen' of the Grotta-Pelos culture. Figurines of Apeiranthos type are known from the Chalandriani cemetery on Syros, at Spedos on Naxos and at Aplomata (grave XIII). They are also found at Skarkos on Ios (this volume, Chapter 12), all in contexts in the Keros-Syros culture, which should be contemporary

with Dhaskalio phase A. They are commonly found in the two special deposits at Kavos on Keros, usually in fragmentary condition. At the settlement on Dhaskalio they occur in Phase B and more abundantly in Phase C (Renfrew 2013b), which suggests that their production continued until late in the early bronze age. They perhaps have their counterpart in the schematic figurines of Phylakopi I type, with their characteristic arm stumps, found during the Phylakopi I culture on Melos.

Varieties and sub-varieties: microstyle groups

Variety

The terminology offered in 1969 for the varieties of the canonical folded-arm has proved a convenient one. Each variety (i.e. Kapsala, Spedos, Dokathismata, Chalandriani and Koumasa) is named after a findspot (in each case a cemetery) where an example of the variety with a good archaeological context was first published (Fig. 1.2). These contexts are well documented in the work of Tsountas (1898; 1899); Stephanos (1903, 1905; 1906), Papathanasopoulos (1962), Xanthoudides (1924) and, more recently, Doumas (1977) respectively. (As noted above, the Kea variety is now regarded as a sub-variety: see further below).

The definitions of the various varieties of the canonical folded-arm figure will not be repeated here. Reference should be made instead to the original descriptions (Renfrew 1969) which remain valid.

The link between form and place in the nomenclature is in most cases arbitrary. Each of these locations is a wellestablished findspot, but that findspot is certainly not to be assumed as the place of manufacture of the sculpture in question. It should be noted that sculptures of the Koumasa variety have been found exclusively in Crete.

Sub-variety: towards the individual hand, tradition or workshop.

It is largely due to the careful observations of Pat Getz-Gentle that a more detailed classification for these foldedarm sculptures has been developed beyond that of the basic varieties, established in 1969. While recognising the principal varieties and retaining these for the main categorical divisions of the canonical folded arm figure, she has proposed a whole series of such sub-varieties, mainly within the Spedos, Dokathismata and Chalandriani varieties. These she initially

classified using her terminology of ‘Masters’ (e.g. Goulandris Master, Schuster Master, Stafford Master, Dresden Museum Master etc.), where the master was conceived as the individual sculptor creating all the extant pieces of that category. Later she modified the terminology referring to these workers as ‘sculptor’ rather than as ‘master’.

Here the case will be made that some of these subvarieties can indeed be recognised as valid on the stricter criteria proposed here, using in the first instance sculptures which have been recovered in secure contexts from published archaeological excavations. Sometimes the contexts, as at the site of Ayia Irini on Kea or in the special deposits at Kavos on Keros or indeed at Akrotiri on Thera, may not give a narrowly-defined date. Indeed at Ayia Irini and perhaps at Akrotiri these are often not primary contexts of original deposition. But they are published from systematically conducted archaeological excavations, so that their authenticity should not be in doubt. It is proposed that, in order to establish a tenable sub-variety or microstyle, two or more closely similar sculptures should be used to define the taxonomic class (sub-variety) in question, where the two sculptures in question are documented from authorised and published archaeological excavations. For one of the defining pieces a find well-documented before 1914 may be used instead, when a second piece from the context of an archaeological excavation is not available.

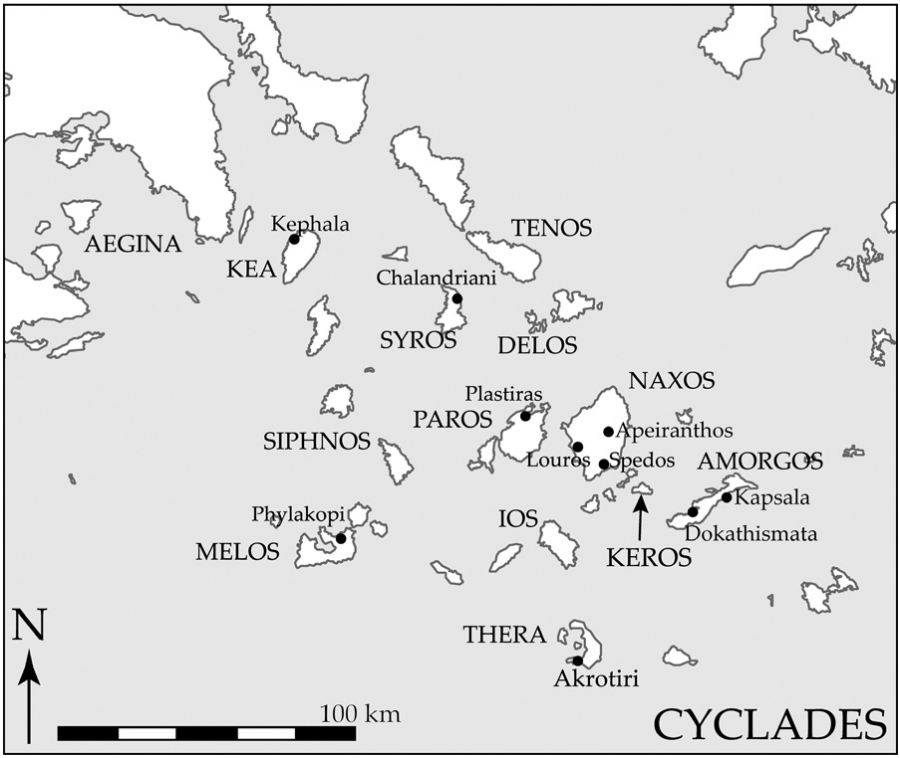

Fig. 1.2 The Cycladic Islands showing findspots of the 'name pieces' of the different types, and of the varieties and sub-varieties of the canonical folded-arm figure.

The application of this rule has the consequence, at least at this stage, of invalidating some of the sub-varieties or named 'sculptors' which have been proposed by Getz-Preziosi, as noted below. Some of these sub-varieties may yet be supported by further discoveries in the future. But it may be prudent to call them into question at this stage, so as to prevent the inclusion in the scientific literature of categories which may be tainted by the inclusion of inauthentic pieces.

It is the case that several other named 'sculptors' in the lists published by Getz-Gentle in 2001, following her earlier work, would currently fail to pass the 'documented authenticity' test proposed here of containing at least two examples which derive either from documented archaeological excavations or at least are securely documented prior to 1914. Among those of the canonical folded-arm type listed, but currently failing on those criteria might be the works of:

(a) 'The Israel Museum Sculptor'
(b) 'The Bent Sculptor'
(c) 'The Copenhagen Sculptor'

(d) ‘The Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor’
(e) ’The Steiner Sculptor’

(f) ’The Rodgers Sculptor’
(g) ‘The Bastis Sculptor’
(h) ‘The Berlin Sculptor’

The lists for the ‘Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor’, the ‘Steiner Sculptor’ and the ‘Rodgers Sculptor’ are composed entirely of unprovenanced pieces emerging on the market not only after 1914 but in fact after 1950! Further work may however bring to attention closely similar pieces to those listed which are not yet published. Relevant examples may yet be recognised from the two special deposits on Keros or from pre-1914 museum collections, just as will be documented below for her ‘Goulandris Sculptor’ and the ‘Schuster Sculptor’.

A separate objection holds for her list of sculptures assigned to the ‘Dresden Museum Master’ (Getz-Preziosi 1977; 1987a, 164; Getz-Gentle 2001, 170). Here, as noted below in the discussion of the Kea sub-variety (this volume, Chapter 26) she has grouped together on more general stylistic grounds, several pieces – one of them the ‘namepiece’, a male figure – which are not very closely similar in form. While it may well be argued on such stylistic grounds that these are the works of a single sculptor, they certainly do not belong in the same taxonomic category or sub-variety.

The danger should be realised that when only one well-contextualised piece exists in the list of a named ‘sculptor’, it could be argued that the others are recent imitations (forgeries) based upon it, created to deceive potential purchasers, as with the original name-piece of the ‘Stafford Master’. This might conceivably be the case with the so-called ‘Berlin Master’, the name piece being a recent acquisition of 1978 which might have been recently modelled on the example in the National Museum in Athens (EAM9096: see Getz-Gentle 2001, pl. 88, c and d). She has offered observations that ‘should put any doubts to rest’ (Getz-Gentle 2001, 103), but takes generally what may seem a rather phlegmatic view of the possibility of forgery and deception (Getz-Gentle 2001, 106). Such could conceivably be the case with two works attributed by her to the so-called ‘Ashmolean Sculptor’, one of them a much admired sculpture in the Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art (Doumas 1968, 111 no. 206; Renfrew 1991, pl. 54 and 66). The other, likewise a recent acquisition, is in the de Menil Collection in Houston, Texas (Getz-Gentle 2001, pl. 86, c and d; also Getz-Preziosi 1987a, pl. 42, 3 and 2). Such very closely similar pairs, in such excellent condition, must raise doubts about authenticity which are at

present difficult to allay.

These cautionary points do not, however, detract from the acuity of Getz-Gentle in perceiving many of the striking resemblances between some of these pieces. Indeed in some cases it is now possible to document more fully examples, often regrettably only fragmentary pieces, which may serve to suggest the reality of some of the groupings ('sculptors', 'sub-varieties', 'microstyles') which she has made, even if others are to be called into question. Two such cases will be made here, drawing upon properly documented finds from the Special Deposit North at Kavos on Keros (this volume, Chapter 23).

The first case to be considered, the Kea sub-variety, was already recognised in 1969 (Renfrew 1969, 18) where it was inappropriately termed a variety rather than a subvariety. The pieces in question were subsequently assigned by Getz-Preziosi (1977; 1987a, 126–30; Getz-Gentle 2001, 170) to the 'Dresden Museum Master'. Here the proposal is to re-establish the Kea sub-variety on the basis of pieces from documented excavations, supplemented by pieces known and published prior to 1914. It now seems possible to re-define the Kea sub-variety. It may now be regarded as a sub-class of the Chalandriani variety of the canonical folded-arm figurine. One 'single arresting feature sets it apart', as noted in 1969 (Renfrew 1969, 18):

> 'This is the presence of horizontal rolls of flesh at the waist, extending to the pubic triangle. There may be three, four or five parallel rolls. It is possible that these indicated the condition of a mother immediately after giving birth'.

This single, salient trait is not, however, sufficient in itself to define the sub-variety, as Getz-Preziosi (1977, 91, note 8) rightly observed. There are now, however, two examples from Kea to draw upon, and two from the Special Deposit South at Kavos. These are discussed in detail below (Chapter 26).

Next it is appropriate to turn to a second and notably prolific sub-variety, first recognised and bought to attention by Getz-Preziosi (1977, 80; 1987a, 159) as the 'Goulandris Master' on the basis of three pieces in the N. P. Goulandris Collection of Early Cycladic Art. It is now possible to identify and document some pieces of what she recognised as the same sub-variety or microstyle (Getz-Gentle 2001) from the systematic excavations at Kavos on Keros. These are curated in the Naxos Museum. They are described in detail elsewhere in this volume (Chapter 23). They are sufficient to establish what is here termed the Kavos sub-variety instead of the 'Goulandris Sculptor', on the basis of authentic excavated examples.

A third sub-variety, the Akrotiri sub-variety, can now similarly be

established on the basis of examples from the excavations at Akrotiri on Thera and from the excavated special deposits on Keros. These sculptures correspond to some of those identified by Getz-Preziosi (1978a, 162) as the work of the 'Schuster Master' or 'Schuster Sculptor'. We propose that examples of this specific sub-variety or microstyle which derive from published excavations or from collections published prior to 1914 should in the future be assigned to the Akrotiri sub-variety, and that the terminology associated with the collector Schuster be abandoned. It should not be assumed that all the pieces attributed by Getz-Preziosi (1987a, 162) to the 'Schuster Master' are authentic. The possibility that some might be recent copies of an authentic prototype (as in the Stafford/Louvre case) cannot automatically be excluded.

Further sub-varieties will no-doubt emerge as newlyexcavated material comes to light. Already it seems that a find made on the Special Deposit North at Kavos on Keros (Renfrew *et al.* 2007, fig. 3.8b and fig. 3.14) may offer the necessary topographic documentation to validate the name-piece of Getz-Gentle's 'Louvre sculptor' (Getz-Gentle 2001, 169). As she was the first to recognise (Getz-Gentle, in lit. and 2001, 170 no. 4) the piece which I found at Kavos in 1963 is closely similar to the sculpture donated to the Louvre in 1913. It is proposed to designate this microstyle as the Special Depost North sub-variety. The matter will be documented and further addressed when the finds from the Special Deposit North are described in detail (Renfrew, Sotirakopoulou & Boyd in prep.).

It is one thing to recognise and set out to define these microstyles or sub-varieties of the canonical folded-arm figure. It is a different, and perhaps more difficult to seek to explain with confidence the precise circumstances of inspiration and production which gave rise to such close similarities. When such a class of closely similar entities is described, it is always to some extent an arbitrary matter to decide which should be included within the group and which excluded. The criteria for inclusion are polythetic (see Sokal & Sneath 1963) and can be differently weighted to give different outcomes. The simple, perhaps simplistic explanation of attributing all within the class to a single 'hand' or 'sculptor' has been criticised (Cherry 1992). As noted earlier, to ascribe them to the products of a single 'workshop' is an equally arbitrary solution, when no workshops for the production of these sculptures have yet been located. That such sub-varieties or microstyles can, in favourable cases be recognised and documented does however seem a significant contribution to Cycladic studies.

A problematic example

The difficulty of defining sub-varieties or microstyles, particularly from incompletely preserved sculptures, is well illustrated by the two sculptures of the Dokathismata variety found in Grave 14 at Dokathismata in Amorgos (Tsountas 1898, pl. 10, 1; Fig. 1.3). On inspection they are similar, although of different size. Their ascription to the Dokathismata variety is justified, with relation to the original definition of the variety (Renfrew 1969, 16) as follows:

> The most long, thin, angular and elegant figurines are of the Dokathismata variety. All are thin, with rather sinuous lines, broad and often very angular at the shoulders. The surface of the figurine is flat, so that details, especially at the pubic triangle, are shown by incision.
>
> The head is sometimes triangular, with cheeks straight, although the chin is usually rounded, not pointed. The head sometimes has a slightly S-shaped edge in profile. The crown of the head is indicated by a smooth vertical plane, as in the Spedos variety. The head and neck are not clearly distinguished at the back.
>
> The shoulders are wide and pointed, the breasts very flat. The arms across the waist, sometimes show a gentle upward curve at the middle, and sometimes the belly bulges a little in profile. The upper arm is distinguished from the torso by an incision, which sometimes cuts right through to separate the arm. But there is no rounding or modelling.
>
> The waist is not usually narrower than the torso and the thighs, and the buttocks are indicated by a ridge at the rear, which appears in profile as a miniscule protrusion. The waistline is often not delineated by an incision, but the pubic triangle usually is. The leg above and below the knee is indicated by a continuous single line, so that the knees are not shown by any relief. The legs are not flexed. The feet are on tiptoe, with flat, widening soles.

Certainly when looking at these two name-pieces of the Dokathismata variety (Fig. 1.3), both conform rather closely to the general description of the variety. They are (1) thin, (2) angular, (3) sinuous in profile, (4) broad, (5) flat, (6) with incised detail, (7) triangular at the head, (8) with straight cheek, (9) with rounded chin, (10) with a cranial plane, (11) with wide and pointed shoulders, (12) with the upper arm distinguished from the torso by incision, (13) lacking in modelling of the arms, (14) with no narrowing to indicate the waist, (15) with buttocks indicated by a ridge at the rear, (16) with the feet on tiptoe. In addition the treatment of the nose is very similar. Not all these traits are independent, but there are at least a dozen defining features.

Yet, although one could well imagine these two pieces, which were found together in the same grave, to be the work of the same sculptor, as Tsountas (1898, 195) himself suggested (as noted in the epigraph at the head of this paper), there are some clear differences in treatment, particularly at and below the waist. Should they be regarded as belonging to the same sub-variety? It is perhaps of note that Getz-Preziosi (1987a; Getz-Gentle 2001) has not proposed a sub-variety or

'sculptor' among whose handiwork they should together be recognised. The larger piece has well-defined breasts, which the smaller lacks. It has also a pubic triangle well-defined by three incised lines, where the smaller piece has no such incisions. Instead the pubic area is shown there by light modelling at the top of the legs. Moreover, while the knees are indicated by a light flexion in the larger piece, there is in the smaller piece some modelling at the thighs which may indicate the knees, but which is placed rather high in relation to the length of the leg, nor do the feet widen at the soles.

Fig. 1.3 The two folded-arm figures excavated by Tsountas in tomb 14 at Dokathismata on Amorgos. Scale 1:2.

This example is offered here as an illustration of the problems of judgement and definition which can arise, even when one is dealing with well-published and complete pieces with a good archaeological context. It is not surprising therefore that these issues of provenance, terminology and classification have proved so troublesome. Yet there are grounds for optimism that when the emphasis is indeed upon archaeological context some progress can be made.

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2

EARLY CYCLADIC SCULPTURES AS ARCHAEOLOGICAL OBJECTS

Marisa Marthari

Towards publication and a new approach

It was a February afternoon in 2009, in the prehistoric antiquities room of the Archaeological Museum of Naxos, when I first talked with Colin Renfrew about the publication of all the Early Cycladic figurines found in excavations. Our conversation took place among the cases in which the antiquities from Keros, and all the large figurines from Aplomata, Phiondas, and other sites are exhibited. Renfrew, as the excavator of Keros, where a large number of marble figurine fragments and vases have been recently found, wanted to look for comparanda in the excavated material. The author, as the then Ephor of the Ephorate of Antiquities for the Cyclades but also the excavator of Skarkos, wished to see all the excavated material published. Thus we joined forces and after a long collaboration our efforts materialised in the form of a symposium entitled *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context*, held at the Athens Archaeological Society on 27–29 May 2014. The results of this symposium are presented here.

The current volume aims to publish a very important class of material, partly unknown to scholarship. At the same time it constitutes a break from the usual way of treating and publishing Early Cycladic sculptures. Up until now the usual way of publishing Early Cycladic figurines and vases is either in the form of monographs or temporary exhibition catalogues (e.g. Thimme 1976; Getz-Preziosi 1987; Getz-Gentle 1996; 2001), which all share the following characteristics: 1) they focus on figurines and marble vessels that

come mostly or exclusively from illicit excavations, and thus are lacking context; 2) they sometimes include forgeries (Craxton & Warren 2004); and 3) they treat figurines exclusively as works of art.

Works of this nature were heavily criticised during the first half of the 1990s, as they were seen to create hype about the art of the Early Cycladic world, thus pushing, indirectly, collectors and museums either to enrich their Early Cycladic collections or to create new ones (Marangou 1990, 137; Broodbank 1992; Cherry 1992, 140–4; Gill & Chippindale 1993; Chippindale & Gill 1995; Renfrew 1993; 2000). Now that the number of Early Cycladic figurines in context has grown through recent excavations, we have been given a fantastic opportunity to face this problem not just with criticism but with action.

The symposium and volume *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context* constitute a broad, holistic treatment of Early Cycladic figurines, and it is the exact opposite of those earlier publications as: 1) it focuses on figurines found in excavations, which are presented by the excavators themselves; and 2) it treats the figurines as archaeological objects, as carriers of multiple levels of information for their period. Even those figurines which come from police seizures, or donations to public museums are not included, even though they are genuine and we know the islands, or in some cases the sites, where they were found. The only exception here is the sculptures from Phiondas. Based on information given in the catalogue of the Museum of Naxos, they were earlier mistakenly thought to have originated from Kontoleon's excavations. However, after a thorough archival research carried out for the presentation at this conference, there is no longer any doubt that in reality these antiquities were donated to Kontoleon, who later visited the site (Legaki, this volume, Chapter 16).

Cycladic figurines and current Cycladic archaeology

The current volume can be more easily understood if treated as but a link, hopefully a strong one, in a series of efforts that have taken place in recent years, aimed at the improvement of Cycladic archaeology as a whole, both in terms of research and the protection and promotion of Early Cycladic antiquities. New developments playing an important role include: a) excavations and surface surveys at Early Cycladic sites, and the study of the archaeological artefacts produced by them, b) the creation of museum exhibitions on the islands which highlight

the artefact assemblages from these sites, and c) the enhancement and conservation of the sites themselves. These are shaping the fresh image now being formed of the Early Cycladic world.

Research into that Early Cycladic world has always been characterised by a strongly scholarly archaeological trend, which is represented by a series of synthetic works that have influenced Aegean prehistory as a whole (Tsountas 1898; 1899; Atkinson *et al.* 1904; Renfrew 1972; Doumas 1977; Barber 1987; Broodbank 2000). In the field of Early Cycladic sculpture, Renfrew's synthetic work on figurines (Renfrew 1969), which remains unsurpassed, as well as some publications of Early Cycladic figurines in context (e.g. Papathanasopoulos 1962; Doumas 1977; Sotirakopoulou 1998; Rambach 2000; Renfrew 2013), all follow this archaeological trend.

Modern approaches continue to enhance this trend, while the increasing number of fieldwork projects has greatly broadened our knowledge. The picture we have today of the Early Cycladic world is quite different from the one we had 25 years ago. First of all our knowledge of the Cyclades before the Early Bronze Age has increased greatly, mainly due to work on five important sites: Stelida on Naxos, dated to the Middle Palaeolithic and possibly the Early Palaeolithic period (Séfériadès 1983; Sampson 2006, 22; Legaki 2012; Carter *et al.* 2014), Maroulas on Kythnos, dated to the Mesolithic period (Sampson *et al.* 2010), Ftelia on Mykonos, dated to the Late Neolithic period (Sampson 2002; 2008), Zas on Naxos inhabited in both Late and Final Neolithic period (Zachos 1996; 1999), and Strofilias on Andros, dated to the Final Neolithic period (Televantou 2006; 2008a; 2013). The latter, with its rich rock-carved evidence, helps us better to understand the Early Bronze Age Cyclades, and their art and symbolism, which derives from the Final Neolithic tradition.

For the Early Bronze Age in general the move towards systematic fieldwork and the study of settlements is of paramount importance. Very few settlements were excavated before the 1970s (Renfrew 1972, 507–25; Doumas 1972). The focus on cemeteries in most excavations since the late 19th century was not coincidental nor was it dictated by research questions. On the contrary this focus was the result of the attempts made by archaeologists of the Greek state to tackle the problem of looting (Tsountas 1898, 140; Doumas 1977, 28; Marthari 2002, 109–10; Merkouri 2002). Cemeteries have always been the looters' main target owing to their spectacular and well-preserved funerary offerings. Better tackling of looting by the police and judicial authorities (Marthari 2001; Boutopoulou *et al.* 2008) meant that Cycladic archaeology could be expanded to include the investigation

of settlement sites.

Since the 1980s there have been excavations in new, important habitation sites such as Zas on Naxos (Zachos 1996; 1999; Zachos & Douzougli 2008), Skarkos on Ios (Marthari 1997; 2004; 2008a and this volume, Chapter 12), Markiani on Amorgos (Marangou *et al.* 2006), Potamia on Ano Kouphonisi (Philaniotou, this volume, chapter 14), Plakalona on Seriphos (Pantou, this volume, Chapter 10), Koukounaries on Paros (Katsarou-Tzeveleki & Schilardi 2008), and Vathy on Astypalaia (Vlachopoulos 2012; 2013). Moreover, excavations have been carried out in previously excavated settlements such as Kastri on Syros (Marthari 2006; 2007; 2008b; 2009b; 2010; 2011; 2012), Dhaskalio on Keros (Renfrew *et al.* 2013), Akrotiraki on Siphnos (Papadopoulou, 2011 and this volume, chapter 11), and Akrotiri on Thera (Doumas 1999; Sotirakopoulou 2008; the latter has yielded an EC cemetery as well). The publication of older excavations of settlements, such as Kynthos on Delos (MacGillivray 1980), Kastri on Syros, Pyrgos and Avyssos on Paros (Rambach 2000), Ayia Irini on Kea (Wilson 1999; 2013), Akrotiri on Thera (Sotirakopoulou 1999), Phylakopi on Melos (Renfrew & Evans 2007), and Panormos on Naxos (Angelopoulou 2008; 2014) has also helped us to gain a better understanding of habitation sites.

Investigations in settlements expand our knowledge of the complexity of Cycladic societies in the 3rd millennium BC and give us the opportunity to paint a more complete picture of the Early Cycladic world. The foundations of Early Cycladic archaeology are changing, as the focus is now more on stratigraphical data than on funerary contexts.

Investigations in cemeteries situated in a more appropriate research and interpretative framework do exist, although they are not numerous. The most important investigations have been undertaken at the sites of Mersinia on Kythnos (Papangelopoulou, this volume, Chapter 8), Tsikniades on Naxos (Philaniotou 2008 and this volume, Chapter 18), Potamia on Kouphonisi (Philaniotou, this volume, Chapter 14), Chalandriani on Syros (Marthari, this volume, Chapter 20), Vathy on Astypalaea (Vlachopoulos 2013), Galanado on Naxos (Legaki 2013) and Rivari on Melos (Televantou 2008b).

Another important development for Early Bronze Age archaeology is systematic research at Kavos on Keros. This site, emblematic for the prehistoric Cyclades, was extensively looted in the past (Sotirakopoulou 2005; Galanakis 2013), despite the heroic efforts of the archaeologists of the Ephorate of Antiquities for the Cyclades in

the 1960s – a time when research on remote islands like Keros was still very difficult (Doumas 1964; Zapheiropoulou 1968; 2007, 29–30). Systematic research has consisted of three projects, which have greatly increased our knowledge of a Cycladic island which is so important, but at the same time full of negative connotations for archaeology (Renfrew *et al.* 2007a; 2007b; Renfrew *et al.* forthcoming). This research has helped us better to understand the nature of the so-called 'Special Deposits' at Kavos, as the 'Special Deposit South' was found undisturbed and was systematically excavated.

Since the 1970s much has been done for the protection and promotion of Early Cycladic antiquities. I shall refer briefly and selectively only to certain individual issues as this theme would require a special and extensive discussion which is not the purpose of this introduction.

First the strengthening of international law for the protection of cultural property has had good results for the protection of Early Cycladic figurines and Early Cycladic artefacts generally - among the antiquities most intensely traded illegally. The important international or European legal texts with legal authority in Greece are three:

1) the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (in Greece Law 1103/1980);
2) the EC Directive (93/7) on the Return of Cultural Objects Unlawfully Removed from the Territory of a Member-state (in Greece Presidential Decree 133/1998); and
3) the 1995 *Unidroit* Convention on the International Return of Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects (in Greece Law 3348/2005).

Furthermore the Greek legal framework was modernized, helping to protect antiquities on Greek territory including Early Cycladic ones, primarily via the new law *On the Protection of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage in General* (Law 3028/2002), which replaced the previous law *On Antiquities* (Law 5351/1932; Pantos 2008; Vrellis 2008).

In the context of temporary exhibitions, of special note was *Cycladic Culture: Naxos in the 3rd Millennium BC*, organised in 1990 in the Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation – Museum of Cycladic Art (Marangou 1990). That exhibition was different from most of the temporary exhibitions of the time. The exhibits were objects which came mostly from excavations and were kept in four public museums: the Naxos Archaeological Museum, the Apeiranthos Archaeological Museum, the Melos Archaeological Museum, and the National

Archaeological Museum at Athens. Moreover marble figurines were for the first time used not just to promote Early Cycladic art but to inform visitors about various aspects of daily life in the Cyclades during the Early Cycladic period. For example, two seated figurines from grave XIII at the cemetery of Aplomata were used in the section 'Dwelling-Furniture' in order to highlight the basic pieces of furniture of an Early Cycladic household, such as the stool and the throne. In addition a seated harpist figurine from grave 40 at Afentika was exhibited in the section 'Music-Dance' in order to shed more light on the way Cycladic musicians would have used the harp.

As far as museum catalogues are concerned, the catalogue of the prehistoric Cycladic antiquities of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (Sherratt 2000) paved a new way. The Ashmolean holds a significant number of Early Cycladic objects, including numerous marble figurines and vases. In this monumental work Susan Sherratt used the museum archives, offering detailed information about the way these antiquities were obtained. So that catalogue not only contributed greatly to the field of archaeology and museum ethics but also offered vital information on the antiquities' provenance. Although Sherratt's work has yet to be followed, it demonstrated a new way for museum and collection catalogues to treat material which does not come from excavations.

In the area of the Cyclades itself, on the island of Ios, a plan to display the Early Cycladic world through the enhancement of the site at Skarkos (Fig. 2.1) and through a fresh museum organization to exhibit its movable finds, focusing on new perceptions for the protection of cultural heritage, has been implemented by the author on behalf of the Ephorate of Antiquities for the Cyclades. Ios is one of those Cycladic islands whose Early Cycladic cemeteries have been extensively looted. The most 'famous' looter operating on Ios and the nearby islands was the self-taught marble sculptor Angelos Batsalis (also known as 'Angelos o Niotis', 'the man from Ios', in the islands around Ios), who also produced fake figurines (Marthari 2001). As has already been shown, the seated harpist figurine exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 495: no. 493, pls 253a–b) is one of Batsalis' forgeries (Craxton & Warren 2004). However the systematic excavation at Skarkos since the end of the 1980s, which brought to light a large and well-preserved settlement of the Early Cycladic period, not only provided us with more information about Ios during the Early Bronze Age but also helped in the better understanding of Early Cycladic culture in general.

The plan to promote Early Cycladic Ios began with the establishment of a museum, which opened to the public in 1999. The permanent exhibition about the Early Bronze Age in general and Early Cycladic Skarkos in particular, in the museum's main room, helps to highlight the complexity of Early Cycladic society, as evidenced by recent research. The marble figurines found at the settlement of Skarkos constitute one of the exhibition's thematic sections, the other sections being those relating to the settlement's architecture, ceramics, agricultural economy and diet, lithics and obsidian industry, communication networks and social structure (Marthari 1999; 2001).

Figure 2.1 The site of Skarkos on Ios.

Local museums are, in a way, an extension of archaeological sites. In the latter one can see the architectural remains, while at the museums one can see the movable artefacts. This is the only way to get as full a picture as possible of a world that no longer exists. The plan to highlight Early Cycladic Ios was completed with the opening of the Skarkos site to the public in 2009 (Marthari 2009a). Although the Cyclades have been researched since the second half of the 19th century, Skarkos is the first organised Early Cycladic site to be open to the public. The project for the presentation and enhancement of the Skarkos site was awarded the 2008 European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage, the Europa Nostra Top Prize for Conservation (Neale, Braamhorst & Quaedvlieg-Mihailović 2008, 22–4; Europa Nostra 2008).

Early Cycladic sculpture in context

All aspects of modern Cycladic archaeology are reflected in this volume through the examination of Early Cycladic figurines. On one level, recent developments in research are presented, while older finds are re-examined based on new data. At a second level, the volume promotes the protection of Early Cycladic antiquities, as it shows that these antiquities can have a voice only when their archaeological context is known.

Colin Renfrew, in his introductory study 'Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context: issues of provenance, terminology and classification', refines further the classification of Cycladic figurines, which he himself created in his seminal paper (Renfrew 1969), by introducing, in addition to types and varieties, further sub-varieties or microstyles instead of 'masters' or 'sculptors' (Renfrew, Chapter 1).

The first section, 'Origins: The Neolithic settlements', examines the Cycladic figurines of the Late and Final Neolithic (the precursors of the Early Cycladic ones) which come both from the old excavations at Saliagos (Renfrew, Chapter 3) as well as from the more recent excavations at the settlements of Ftelia (Sampson & Mastroyiannopoulou, Chapter 4) and Strofilas (Televantou, Chapter 5). The wide variety of figurine types from Strofilias, in particular, indicates that many of the main characteristics of almost all of the basic types of EC I figurines are to be found in those of the Final Neolithic in the Cyclades.

Two sections, the second and the fourth, are allocated to Early Cycladic cemeteries. In the second section, 'The early phase', all the figurines found in EC I cemeteries on Naxos, Paros, Antiparos, Dhespotiko, Ano Kouphonisi and Siphnos are re-examined, with an emphasis on their excavation context (Doumas, Chapter 6; Rambach, Chapter 7). At the same time, a figurine of that period is presented here for the very first time; it is from a grave at the site of Mersinia on Kythnos (Papangelopoulou, Chapter 8).

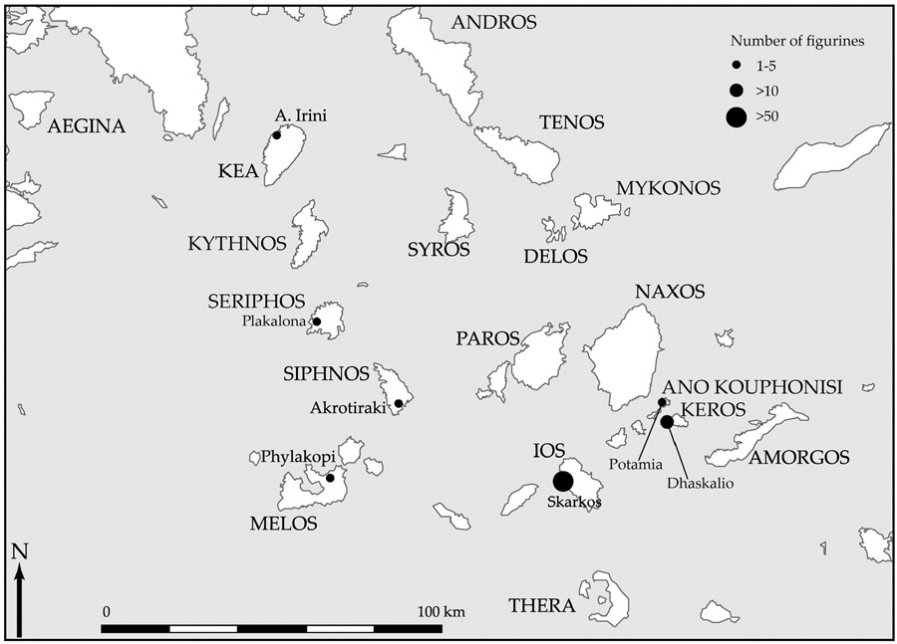

Figure 2.2 Settlement sites referred to in the text where Early Cycladic marble figurines have been found in secure Early Cycladic contexts.

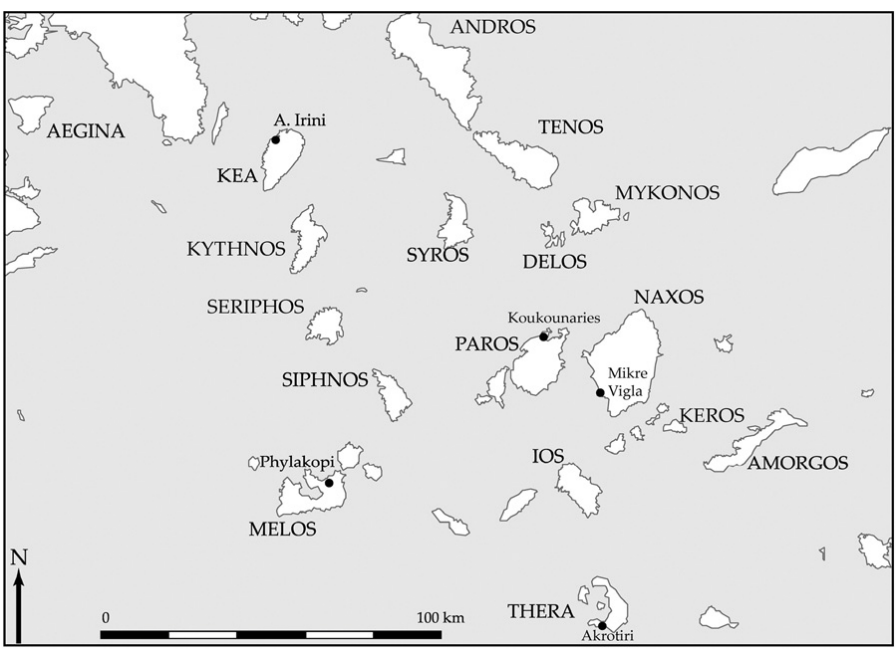

Figure 2.3 Sites referred to in the text where Early Cycladic figurines have been found in later deposits.

The fourth section, 'The Early Cycladic II cemeteries', reexamines

figurines from mainly EC II tombs in cemeteries on Naxos, Ano Kouphonisi and Syros excavated and presented in the past, with an emphasis on their excavation connections (Doumas, Chapter 17; Gavalas, Chapter 19; Marthari, Chapter 20). Assemblages, and not just individual finds, from the rich cemetery of Aplomata are presented for the first time (Doumas & Lambrinoudakis, Chapter 15). Moreover the old finds of Klon Stefanos from the cemetery of Chalandriani are examined for the first time as a whole. His finds from the cemeteries of Naxos are only briefly mentioned, as these have been published by Papathanasopoulos (1962; Papazoglou, Chapter 21). Also, figurines recently found in well-known cemeteries are published, including those from Chalandriani (Marthari, Chapter 20), Tsikniades on Naxos (where also EC I figurines have been found: Philaniotou, Chapter 18), and Potamia at Ano Koufonisi (Philaniotou, Chapter 14). This fresh and almost complete examination of the finds from cemeteries helps us towards a better understanding of the Cycladic figurines as funerary offerings. In addition, the impressive figurines from the cemetery of Phiondas, both published and unpublished, are examined and all the details regarding their delivery to the Museum of Naxos are described (Legaki, Chapter 16).

The third section 'The Early Cycladic II and III settlements' presents the figurines found in settlements (Fig. 2.2), in secure early and late EBA II contexts (and EC III in the case of Dhaskalio). The extensive excavations at the early EBA II settlement at Skarkos (Skarkos II: Marthari, Chapter 12) and the relatively extensive excavations of later deposits at the settlement of Dhaskalio (Renfrew, Chapter 13) provide us for the first time with a very good picture of settlement figurines, as 52 examples came to light in the former and 13 in the latter, with the vast majority belonging to the schematic Apeiranthos type. The few examples of both folded-arm and schematic figurines which were found in Early Cycladic contexts at Ayia Irini on Kea (Wilson, Chapter 9), Plakalona on Seriphos (Pantou, Chapter 10), Akrotiraki on Siphnos (Papadopoulou, Chapter 11), Potamia on Ano Kouphonisi (where a cemetery was also found; Philaniotou, Chapter 14), as well as at Phylakopi on Melos (Renfrew & Boyd, Chapter 30, in the sixth section) complete the picture.

The fifth section, 'The sanctuary (the special deposits) at Kavos, Keros', examines the figurines found at Kavos during excavations and field surveys since the 1960s. Amongst them is a large intact figurine found by Zapheiropoulou and Tsakos in 1967 near a grave with two marble footed jars, next to the 'Special Deposit North' (Zapheiropoulou, Chapter 22), fragments of large figurines excavated

by Doumas in 1963 and by Zapheiropoulou and Tsakos in 1967 in the 'Special Deposit North' (Sotirakopoulou, Renfrew & Boyd, Chapter 23), fragments of small figurines found in the same deposit in 1987 (Renfrew, Chapter 24), and fragments of large figurines which came to light during the recent excavation of the 'Special Deposit South' (Renfrew & Boyd, Chapter 26). Moreover two chapters treat artefacts related to the figurines, such as the stone vessels from the 'Special Deposit North' (Gavalas, Chapter 25) and the marble and other spools from both Kavos and Dhaskalio (Haas-Lebegyev, Chapter 27). Thus for the first time we have a complete picture of the most important finds found at Kavos-Keros, which was a site of special importance to the Early Cycladic world.

The sixth section, 'Sites with Early Cycladic sculptures in later deposits' (Fig. 2.3) is dedicated to the numerous Early Cycladic figurines found in later (Middle Cycladic to Mycenaean) layers in sites such as Ayia Irini on Kea (Hershenson & Overbeck, Chapter 29), Phylakopi on Melos (Renfrew & Boyd, Chapter 30), Akrotiri on Thera (Doumas, Chapter 31), Mikre Vigla on Naxos (Barber, Chapter 32) and Koukounaries on Paros (Katsarou & Schilardi, Chapter 28). The reasons behind the presence of such figurines in later layers, which according to excavation data must have been numerous and diverse, are sought.

The seventh and last section, 'Material, technique and manufacture', includes a study of the main material used (marble), which came from several islands (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis, Chapter 33) as well as a study of the painted decoration of the figurines (Birtacha, Chapter 35). It is important to note that these studies focus on figurines that come from known excavated sites, so the reliability of their results cannot be disputed. There is also a chapter on manufacturing techniques, based on experimental archaeology, which expresses fresh ideas highlighting the role of emery in the production of figurines (Papadatos & Venieris, Chapter 34).

Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context thus attempts, using recent excavation data, to bring us, in the 3rd millennium AD, as close as possible to a deep level of knowledge of the Early Cycladic world of the 3rd millennium BC and its most characteristic artefacts, the marble figurines.

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Origins:
the Neolithic Settlements

3

THE SCULPTURES OF NEOLITHIC SALIAGOS

Colin Renfrew

The Saliagos Culture

The sculptures (or 'figurines') of Neolithic Saliagos are the oldest yet excavated in the Cycladic Islands, and so of considerable interest as the possible precursors of Early Cycladic sculptures. The excavations at Saliagos near Antiparos, conducted in 1964 and 1965 (Evans & Renfrew 1968) revealed a settlement on a promontory running north from the isthmus which at that time joined Antiparos to Paros. This was a neolithic farming and fishing village with a well-documented material culture including whitepainted pottery and a developed obsidian industry, with pressure-flaked obsidian points (perhaps used in tunny fishing). The obsidian was imported from Melos. The radiocarbon dates obtained suggest a date range of *c*. 5200– 4500 BC in calendar years, with an estimated duration of perhaps 500 years for the settlement. The similarities in the pottery of Saliagos with that of the later Middle Neolithic and earlier Late Neolithic of mainland Greece support that chronology. Saliagos is broadly contemporary with Emporio phases IX and VIII in Chios and with strata VI–IV at Knossos in Crete, in a time range which is the equivalent of early Vinča and the transition to Gumelnitsa in the Balkans. Other sites of the Saliagos culture are known from the excavations on Ftelia in Mykonos (Sampson 2002), and from surface finds at Vouni on Antiparos and Mavrispilia on Melos.

The sculptural context

The sculptures of neolithic Greece and the Balkans are mainly of baked clay (terracotta), although examples in marble do occur. It is only in the early bronze age that the sculptures of the Cyclades are predominantly of marble. At Neolithic Saliagos the marble figurines are of special interest as precursors of the Early Cycladic series. But it is appropriate first to mention the anthropomorphic representations in other materials, particularly in terracotta.

At Saliagos the torso of a terracotta figurine was recovered (Fig. 3.2; number 9 on Fig. 3.1), of preserved height 62mm, which may be compared with examples from Crete (Evans 1964, fig. 64) and from Thessaly (Tsountas 1908, pl. 34-36). The tradition of baked clay figurines in mainland Greece, as indeed in the Balkans and Anatolia, extends back to the early neolithic period. Terracotta figurines are found also at Ftelia on Mykonos, broadly contemporary with Saliagos, and a baked clay head comes from Final Neolithic Kephala on Kea.

Two anthropomorphic pendants from Saliagos are also of note, one of bone (Fig. 3.3; No. 10 on Fig. 3.1) the other of reddish stone (Fig. 3.4; No. 11 on Fig. 3.1).

The marble sculptures

The marble sculptures from Saliagos may be classified into three categories:

(a) Representational: with some rendition of anatomical detail (the term ‘naturalistic’ has sometimes been used);
(b) Schematic;
(c) ‘Pebble’ (uncertain). The status of these pieces as figurines or as anthropomorphic representations is not clear, but is a possibility which should not be automatically excluded.

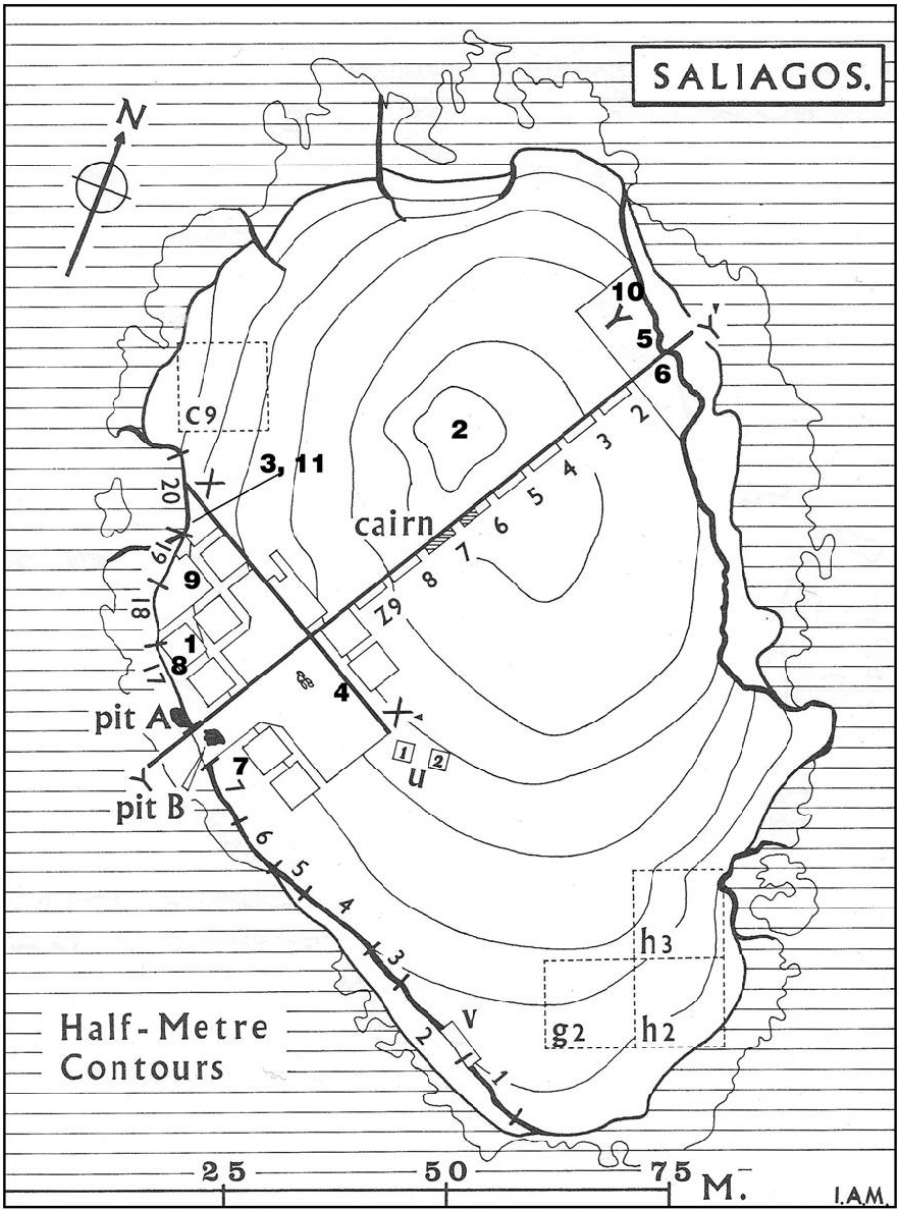

Fig. 3.1 Plan of the excavations at Saliagos, showing findspots (numbers in bold) for the figurines described in this article.

Fig. 3.2 Torso of a terracotta figurine from Square T2. Scale 1:2.

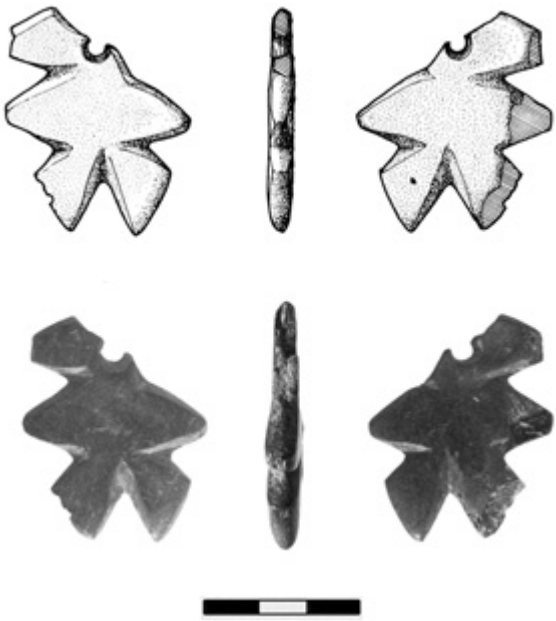

Fig. 3.3 Anthropomorphic pendant of bone. Scale 1:2.

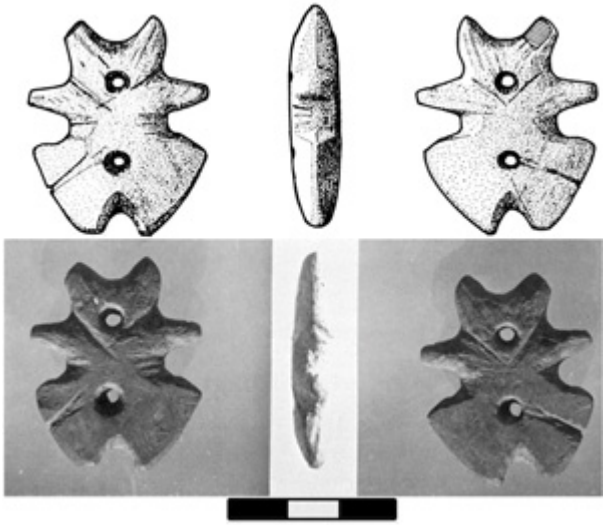

Fig. 3.4 Anthropomorphic pendant of stone. Scale 1:2.

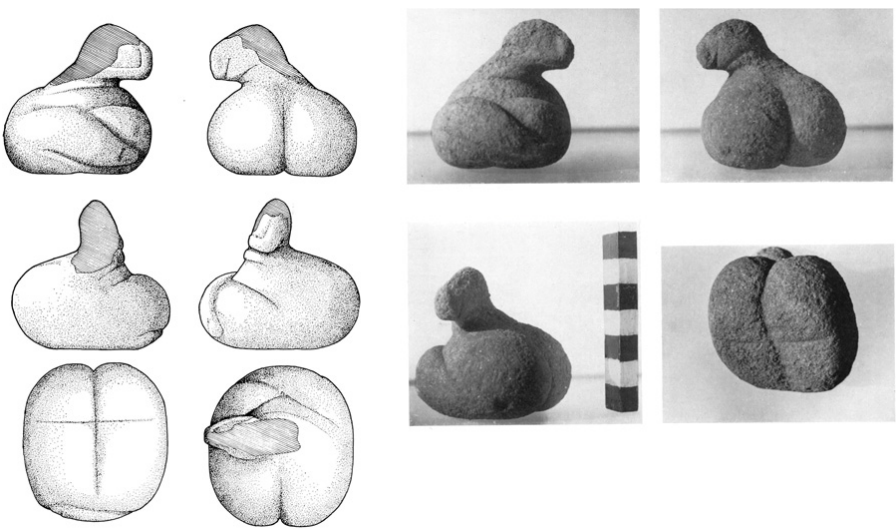

Fig. 3.5 'The Fat Lady of Saliagos'. Scale 1:2.

Representational

Two pieces fall in this category: the headless 'Fat Lady' of Saliagos, and a head which might belong either to a standing or to a seated figure.

1. The Fat Lady of Saliagos (Fig. 3.5)

From Square Q3, layer 1.This is a seated figure of marble, now lacking the head and right shoulder, of preserved height 67mm. The plump

legs are crossed, right over left, and the hands will have met below the breasts, with fingertips touching. The breasts, though small, are clearly shown. The head, set on a stumpy neck, will have been almost cylindrical. The nearest known parallel, both stylistically and geographically, is a surface find from the village of Sangri in Naxos, now in the Naxos Museum (Zachos 1990, 33), although in the Sangri piece the legs are not crossed, but the right lower leg runs horizontally below the left lower leg. The Sangri figure resembles a seated figure, said to come from Patissia near Athens and now in the Ashmolean Museum (Hogarth 1927, pl. vii (b); Renfrew 1969, pl. 1,b), and an example 'in a private collection' reproduced by Hogarth (1927, pls vii (a) and ix). I am not aware of a close parallel in marble for the crossed-leg position of the Saliagos figure. The position of the arms is similar to that in a number of plump standing figures of marble including those said to be from Sparta (Zervos 1963, figs 119 and 139).

It is easy to see how the standing figures related to the seated fat ladies could be ancestral forms for the Plastiras type figurines of the Early Cycladic Grotta-Pelos culture. The position of the arms and hands, and indeed the entire torso is broadly similar. On the other hand the treatment of the head is much more detailed in the Plastiras figurines, and the seated position of the Fat Lady form does not seem to find a successor in the initial Cycladic Early Bronze Age.

2. Head of marble (Fig. 3.6)
Preserved height 32mm. Surface find made on Saliagos in April 1985, near Trench Z 5 (Renfrew 1986). The head, seen from the front, is tapering in form, and from the side has a protrusion for the nose. It thus, in general, resembles the heads of the pieces mentioned above in the discussion of the Fat Lady of Saliagos. The head of the Fat Lady herself must have been very similar. This piece therefore fits well into the corpus of Aegean neolithic marble figurines.

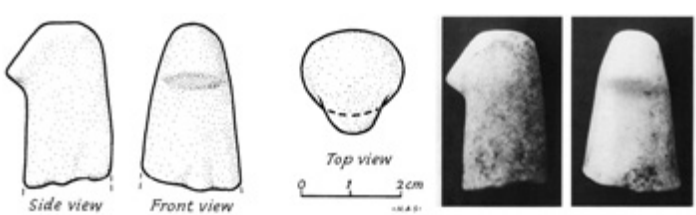

Fig. 3.6 Marble head. Scale 1:2.

Schematic figurines

3. Violin figurine of marble, complete (Fig. 3.7)

Height 66mm. From hearth level of Cliff Section 20 in the northwest corner of Square S3 (Evans & Renfrew 1968, 18). The figurine is of fine-grained white marble, blackened on one side by burning. There is no modelling, and the figurine is thin and flat – a typical 'Brettidol'. The outline narrows at the waist, proceeds to arm stumps, and then tapers markedly to indicate the neck and head. A notable feature is the incised slit at the front, just below the top of the tapering prominence. The top of the prominence represents the face or head (which is not otherwise distinguished) making the recession in the profile indicative either of the mouth or of the neck. The reverse side is plain.

This violin shape resembles schematic figurines of the early bronze age Grotta-Pelos culture (Renfrew 1969, 5, Type I.A). It is not difficult to see it as the precursor of the Early Bronze Age Brettidolen.

Fig. 3.7 Violin figurine of marble. Scale 1:2.

4. Neck of schematic figurine (Fig. 3.8)

Height 50mm. From Square L4 layer 4. This is simply a narrow cylinder of white fine-grained marble, tapering slightly at the tip. It may be recognised as a figurine by the incised slit near the top. The complete figurine would have been much larger than the violin figure described above, and the neck and head more rod-lie and slender. The are no close parallels for this piece from excavated sites in the Cyclades.

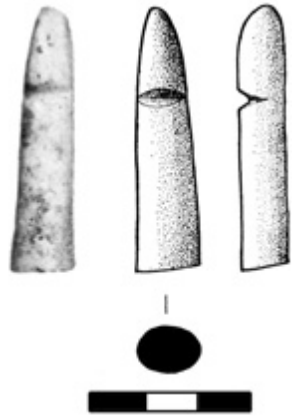

Fig. 3.8 Neck of schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.

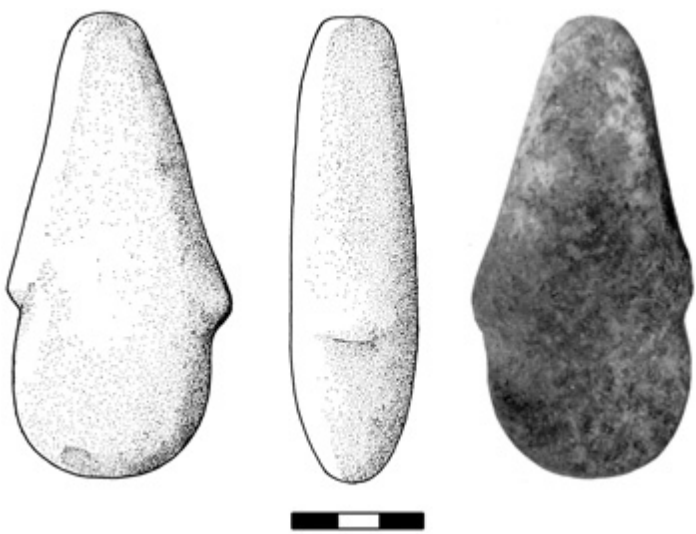

Fig. 3.9 Schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.

5. Thick schematic figurine (Fig. 3.9).
Height 106mm, thickness 25mm. Surface find from Square Y2.This is much heavier and thicker than the violin figure described above. In its lower portions it resembles somewhat the waisted weights from the site. The symmetrical shape and the resemblance to other schematic figurines makes its classification as a figurine a reasonable one.

Pebbles

Three flat and polished pebbles were found (Fig. 3.10), heights 52mm, 47mm and 36mm (Evans & Renfrew 1968, fig. 88, 4–6; Nos 6–8 on Fig. 3.1). The ‘polish’ may be natural. Yet they are not unlike the flat

stones recovered by Tsountas (1898) from Grave 137 at Zoumbaria on Dhespotikon, which can be assigned to the early bronze age Grotta-Pelos culture (see Renfrew 1969, pl. 2, a & b). These are thin flat pebbles of polished marble, and so rather different from the rounder (fatter) pebbles of limestone found in the Early Cycladic settlement at Dhaskalio (Nymo, Renfrew & Dixon 2013).

Fig. 3.10 Anthropomorphic pebbles. Scale 1:2.

Comment

The original contexts of use of the sculptures found at Saliagos are not clear. There is, however, no indication that any of them was associated with a burial. Indeed systematic burial is not documented in the Cycladic Islands until the time of the Final Neolithic Kephala culture. So it may be inferred that these small sculptures or figurines were used in domestic contexts. No indications of a special building were found, but that does not exclude the possibility that one or more locations within the village were assigned and maintained for ritual

practices, although that cannot now be documented.

It is clear that two forms were already well-defined. The seated Fat Lady is already known from the Cyclades, although the example form Sangri in Naxos is unstratified, and has a different position for the legs. That the violinshaped schematic figurine was in use at the same time comes at first as a surprise. It would seem that two stylistic traditions were simultaneously in operation. That of course was the case in the early bronze age also, where schematic figures and the more carefully sculpted forms (first the Plastiras type, and then the canonical folded-arm type) were in use at the same time.

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4

FIGURINES FROM THE LATE NEOLITHIC SETTLEMENT OF FTELIA, MYKONOS

Adamantios Sampson & Vagia Mastrogiannopoulou

The site

The settlement of Ftelia is located in the innermost part of Panormos bay of northern Mykonos island and it covers an area of *c.* 6500m^2 (Sampson 2002, 14–15). This estimation does not include a considerable part of the settlement to the north and west of the mound, which had been destroyed by the sea but also in parts by quarrying during the historical periods. As a whole, the site constitutes an exceptional case of preservation within the Cyclades, especially with regard to the thick deposits and building remains.

The site flourished during a period of a few centuries in the Late Neolithic I, before it was ultimately abandoned in the mid-5th millennium BC. The abandonment of the site was probably related to a shift in the local environmental conditions such as a drastic climatic change or exhaustion of the subsistence basis; the *Optimum Climatique* had a serious impact on the sea level change, which , in turn would have affected a coastal site such as Ftelia – it is worth noting that Saliagos, at a similar environmental zone, was abandoned in the same period.

The settlement is dated to the Late Neolithic I period, according to C^{14} samples which produced a time span from 5050–4600 cal. BC (Fakorellis & Maniatis 2002, 311; Fakorellis & Vardala-Theodorou

2015). According to the absolute dates, the earliest buildings were constructed around 5000 BC on the very top of the low sandstone mound. Nevertheless, the settlement had a short life of about three centuries, indicated by the real time span in absolute BP years.

The occupation at Ftelia was continuous and intense, manifested in the four compacted building phases. Notable features of the architecture are the preserved height of the dry stone walls, instead of lighter material. The study of the architecture of Ftelia is complicated since obviously the same area was inhabited intensely and the extensive building activity resulted in the destruction of the earlier buildings in favour of the construction of the later ones (Sampson 2002, 32–37; 2008a). In the southern part of the settlement, building remains were identified almost at surface level within a hard deposit. Judging by the areas investigated to virgin ground, it is safe to assume that in the peripheral areas of the mound the sequence of the four building phases is not distinguishable as the deposits are considerably thinner and covered in thick sand. Apparently habitation was nucleated around the hilltop in all phases.

The contexts of the figurines

With regard to the function of the buildings and starting from the earlier phase, the megaron was one of the most significant in the settlement (Sampson 2002, 35). The building technique, especially on the east face, is remarkable. The entrance faces north to an open court whereas the interior comprises two consecutive rooms, composing a typical thessalian megaron. The finds in combination with the arrangement of the interior indicate that it was a residence. The deposits consisted of a thick destruction layer.

Another prominent building was unearthed to the north of the megaron, belonging to the next architectural phase. This building presents a unique, almost circular ground plan but unfortunately it has not been preserved at full length. Moreover, it occupied a sizeable and prominent part of the settlement, amidst the rest of the buildings; according to the preserved dimensions, it formed a building with a diameter of 5m with no internal division. No parallels for this architectural type are known in the Aegean Neolithic so far. The carefully constructed, interior ashlar or evened facade as well as the absence of pithoi exclude the possibility that it was a storage area. Quite the opposite, the presence of large quantities of specialised vessels such as réchaud-type pedestalled basins, cheesepots and

crusted, bichrome tableware indicates a special function for this area, augmented by the presence of figurines (Sampson 2002). The condition of the finds (i.e. large fragments with no indication of weathering, dense concentrations) suggests that they comprise a primary deposition and not some kind of disposal area.

All in all, the evidence from Ftelia indicates the existence of an active population practising a mixed farming economy based in addition on the exploitation of the sea. Two circular, adjacent granaries were unearthed at 1.50m preserved height. These probably facilitated the storage of production surplus managed either by the community or a leading 'elite'. A specialised workshop produced a particular pottery type of restricted use while another workshop manufactured obsidian tools.

The figurines

A sizeable assemblage of human figurines was found in the settlement. The best preserved example, the 'Lady of Ftelia', has been restored (Fig. 4.1), yet the majority remains in heavily fragmentary condition. They are all made of the same type of clay with numerous inclusions whereas a unique example was made of talc stone. They present a simple manufacture technique and low, imperfect firing (Orphanidis 2002, 141). The surface was as a rule roughly smoothed, allowing the attrition of the original surfaces. Sometimes surfaces were decorated in crusted, white or red pigments.

Type 1 (Figs 4.1-4.2)

the 'Lady of Ftelia' belongs to one of the main types so far distinguished: female, emphasizing the pelvis with legs joined and slightly bent. This figurine is notably tall especially in comparison with other figurines of this phase in the Aegean, measuring 263mm. Of particular importance is the triangular shaping of the torso as well as the depiction of the spinal cord. Another important feature is the hairstyle with parallels in Kephala but also Thessaly. On the top of the head a small non-penetrating puncture exists. It was collected in the area of the Circular Building. To the same type belong two other parts of figurines. This type is also found in Skoteini cave (Sampson 1993, 199–200) and Sarakenos cave (Sampson 2008b). In general, numerous examples of this type are found throughout Greece, from Sitagroi to Lerna.

Fig. 4.1 ‘The lady of Ftelia’. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 4.2 Figurine fragment of type 1. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 4.3 Figurine head of type 2. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 4.4 Figurine head of type 3. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 4.5 Figurine fragments of type 4. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 4.6 Figurine of type 5. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 4.7 Figurine of talc. Scale 1:2.

Type 2 (Fig. 4.3)

A second type includes markedly oblique, flat heads, attached to long, sturdy necks. The nose and ears are emphasised, whereas the mouth

and eyes are vaguely depicted.

The obliquely-positioned head is a popular trait in Neolithic figurine art. The closest parallel is found at Kephala, Kea (Coleman 1977, pl. 26, 73 no. 128, 202). This type is also common in Thessaly, for example at Sesklo, Pefkakia, Rachmani, Arapi Magoula and Argissa. It is also found in central Greece, at Corycean cave (Touchais 1981, 154–9, fig. 32), Sarakenos Cave (Orfanidis 2008, 404, fig. 3:6; Sampson 2008b, 538, pls 68 & 70) and Skoteini cave on Euboea (Sampson 1993, 200).

Type 3 (Fig. 4.4)

A third particular type includes heads with elongated neck, oval-shaped, again obliquely attached to the neck. However specifically in this type, instead of being flat, the face is produced in a more naturalistic dimension. As a rule, the protruding ears are multiply perforated. A similar head was found at Sarakenos cave (Orfanidis 2008, 403, fig. 1:4; Sampson 2008b, 539, pl. 72).

Type 4 (Fig. 4.5)

Other figurines are created in a more schematical, abstract form. A standard feature in these examples is again the elongated neck and perforated ears.

Type 5 (Fig. 4.6)

One highly schematised figurine, with raised arms and an atypical head shape. Again the hands and lower torso are broken. Red pigment is preserved, covering the surface completely. So far, there are no known parallels. It may have been attached on a vessel rim.

A unique figurine of talc stone was also recovered (Fig. 4.7). It portrays an elongated torso while the arms are broken. The material is extremely friable but traces of pigments are preserved. According to analyses on the crust-painted pottery of Ftelia, a thick layer of talc was applied on the crusted decorated vessels *post* original firing (Aloupi 2002). The main source for talc in the Cyclades is located on the nearby island of Tinos.

Of great importance is the discovery of fragments of body parts (legs, feet and arms) of oversize figurines (Figs 4.8–4.10). The majority was collected in the area of the Circular Building (A7, L1–3). Judging by their size, they belonged to large figurines-statuettes, about 800mm. Similar figurines are found mainly in Thessaly. A similar foot fragment has also been found at Pan Cave, in northeast

Attica (Marathon) (Steinhauer 2009, 45) whereas at Sarakenos cave (Kopais, Boeotia) this type represents one of the largest groups (Sampson 2014, 56–8). Oversize figurines are also found in the Near East, for example at A'in Ghazal. Due to their fragmentary preservation, neither the analogy between parts of the body nor the total size of the different types of these big-sized figurines- statuettes can be estimated. Additionally, a considerable portion of the figurine fragments cannot be identified. However, they present no particular features which would exclude them from the types mentioned above.

All in all, the human figurines at Ftelia exhibit lack of standardisation and wide typological variety, particularly given that they make a small total of approximately 25 objects. Remains of red pigment are preserved very often. The application of red pigments is a frequent practice in the Late Neolithic Aegean, probably associated with ritual practices; during the EBA, knapped tools and implements such as palettes are associated with ritual practices such as personal adornment (Carter 1994). Implements of sandstone that could have functioned as palettes were also found in Ftelia (Sampson 2002, 112, fig. 117: 11, 46, 131). But far and foremost, the importance of red pigments is demonstrated by the proliferation of crust-decorated pottery. The decoration of the vases itself may have been conducted in a ritual manner.

In addition to the representation of the human figure, another particular feature of figurine production at Ftelia are animals, primarily domesticates, in relatively high frequency, given that animal figurines constitute diachronically a small portion in the neolithic repertoire (Nanoglou 2009, 193). The best preserved example is represented by a naturalistic swine head, preserving traces of red pigment on the carefully smoothed surface (Fig. 4.11). A very intriguing feature relates to its construction technique, as it is not made of a massive lump of clay, instead it is hollow. Moreover, it exhibits great detail in the details of the head while its size is relatively large, distinctive characteristics which contrast the generic depiction of (domesticated) quadrupeds (Nanoglou 2009, 200). Another four legged figurine has also been recovered. These two examples fall under the category of free standing figures, a more restricted type in comparison to zoomorphic handles. Another particular example portrays an animal head on a vessel handle. Similar attached heads constitute a typical Late Neolithic feature in Thessaly as well (Nanoglou 2005, 143).

The portrayal of domesticates is considered to be related with the importance of farming for neolithic subsistence and their economic

contribution to individual households (Toufexis 2003, 268–9). Their general scarcity – in comparison with human figurines – indicates however that the instances of their use were very particular and they corresponded to specific, circumstantial ideological connotations (Nanoglou 2009, 200–1). Martin & Meskell on the other hand, suggest that animal figurines were most probably used as proxies (Martin & Meskell 2012, 416). The manufacture of figurines was not alienated from other daily, repeated activities but rather a part of quotidian activities which constituted everyday materialities. Representation and engagement with animals had social, economic and symbolic extensions.

Fig. 4.8 Foot fragment. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 4.9 Foot fragment. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 4.10 Foot fragment. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 4.11 Head of a pig. Scale 1:2.

Lastly, other objects such as 'anchors' as well as an object more likely identified as a boat are included in the figurine repertoire of Ftelia. As a whole, the presence of such a varied typology of humans, animals and objects representation is indicative of the multiple uses and interpretations of the neolithic plastic art.

Discussion

As presented above, the figurines were discovered in all building phases of the settlement. However, a considerable number was recovered in the special area of the Circular Building. Typologically, along the lines of the broader Late Neolithic trends the figurines of Ftelia present a manifest simplicity; however, more naturalistic features are exhibited in several examples.

Admittedly, Ftelia does not share many cultural features with its closest and more or less synchronous neighbour, Saliagos. This is evident not only on the figurines, which do not represent a strict typology whatsoever, but also in other domains such as the decorated pottery, lithic industries and orientation of the economy. Although the 'Saliagos type' Light on Dark pottery is deemed as the characteristic feature of the Aegean Late Neolithic, examples of this type were characteristically rare at Ftelia. This marked differentiation between

the two sites hints to the existence of more than one traditions for the neolithic Cyclades, related to varied factors such as geographic position and economy. Moreover, it corroborates the chronological differentiation of the two sites according to the available C^{14} dates.

Geographically, the closest parallels for the figurines from Ftelia come from the site of Skoteini cave at Tharrounia, Euboea, where analogous oval inclined heads have been found. Moreover, several features of the pottery (for example the réchaud-type vases) but also of the specialised, 'mainland type' economy of the site based on ovicaprids (Phoca-Cosmetatou 2008, 40–1), indicate that Mykonos did not stand worlds apart from the mainland (Mastrogiannopoulou & Sampson in press).

These manifest affinities with Late Neolithic sites in central Greece are very important in examining the contacts of the inhabitants of Ftelia since the latter is principally encompassed in the south and east Aegean culture, according to the pottery. The marine route which connected Mykonos, Andros and Euboea, providing visual control, has facilitated contact in this area of the Northern Cyclades diachronically. This feature is indicative of the extensive networks between the islands supported by the geography of the north Cyclades (Andros, Tinos, Mykonos), creating an interface between Boeotia, Euboea and across the central Aegean. The recent discovery of pottery with prominent Aegean features in the Agia Triada Cave near Karystos supports this view (Mavridis & Tankosić 2009).

Positioned in the north Cyclades and in the central Aegean at the same time, Ftelia is influenced by several directions, including the Balkan and the Aegean Late Neolithic. The discovery of the megaron and metal artefacts, already in the deepest stratum, is suggestive of the mainland Greek and Balkan influence. At the same time, elements of material culture such as pottery, integrate Ftelia to the Aegean Late Neolithic. The typology of the figurines themselves presents closer affinities with the mainland counterparts – allowing however for the so far limited available data from Aegean sites.

The scarcity of neolithic cemeteries narrows the investigation of ritual practice within the frame of the settlement and the existence of possible areas with evidence of more than domestic practices, be they within the boundaries of buildings or in 'external' areas – an almost reverse state from the available data for the Early Bronze Age. An immediate repercussion of this precondition is the very often communal context for neolithic figurines vis-a-vis the private and personalised graves of the Early Cycladic period. To these, typological aspects are added such as the wide typological variability and

relatively simple manufacture of the neolithic figurines, in contrast with the standardisation and technical skill demanded for the marble Cycladic figurines.

Neolithic figurines have generally been assigned with a non practical function, being no tools or weapons (Orfanidis & Malakasioti 2011, 92). With reference to their findplaces, they are found in various loci in both caves and settlements throughout the central Aegean, during the Late Neolithic suggesting that ritual practice was not exclusive to 'marginal sites' (Tomkins 2009; Nakou 1995) indeed, it could also be incorporated in the realm of daily life. In Thessaly the figurine art, flourishing during the Early and Middle Neolithic (Orfanidis & Malakasioti 2011, 93), presents a marked decline during the Late Neolithic. In Boeotia on the contrary, figurine production meets its highest peak (Sampson 2014, 55–8). At Sarakenos cave for instance, where the biggest known assemblage of figurines in the Aegean has been recovered, the ritual aspect use is eminent, according to their contextual analysis (Katsarou & Sampson 2013). They are associated with the consumption of food and fine pottery as well as the deposition of deer antler. A similar interpretation is proposed for the Circular Building, a communal place where multi-purpose activities took place with the involvement of ritual practice (Katsarou *et al.* in press). In both the megaron and the Circular Building, the figurines are found in the most prominent areas of the settlement.

Several social practices in association with the figurines are documented at Ftelia: conspicuous consumption, commensality and communality. The practice of communal consumption of food and drink has been proposed for several neolithic sites on the mainland and Crete (Halstead 1999, Kotsakis 1999, Pappa *et al.* 2004; Vitelli 2007; Tomkins 2004). In these instances, celebrations would forge social relations within society, preserve tradition and customs and mitigate conflicts. Activities of this kind would entail occasional or customary gatherings during which ritual practices would take place. Acts of conspicuous consumption were also involved in these circumstances.

The areas at Ftelia hereby presented, correspond to this interpretation. In the case of the megaron, no features support a function other than that of a residence. As already mentioned however, its predominance among the buildings of the settlement, as well as the wealth of finds in the interior suggest that it was occupied by a prominent group of the local community, with the ability to provide hospitality to large groups – according to its dimensions – and

to conspicuously consume valuable objects- according to the finds.

In the case of the Circular Building, the communal character is supported by the massive scale for several categories of finds as well as its distinctive circular shape and capacity again. Furthermore, a ritual dimension is evident, on the conspicuous consumption of food, in combination with rare objects and specialised vessels. The absence of storage pots, the accumulation of fine, painted pottery, figurines, together with a bronze fibula, one bronze and one golden ornament and the rarest of all, blown musical instrument support the possibility that social activities of ritual character took place (Katsarou *et al.* in press).

The ritual character however is not exclusive but coexists with craft activities such as obsidian knapping and possibly the decoration of pottery with pigments (Katsarou *et al.* in press). Especially in the case of the crusted pottery it is suggested that the re-application of the pigment could be practised *in situ*, given the prolific quantities of this fine ware. The preservation of the finds excludes the possibility that these were randomly discarded, what is more since an array of 'precious' items was also concentrated here. Both obsidian knapping and pottery painting may have been conducted in this special building, in a ritual frame such as transmitting knowledge or exhibiting skill.

In the frame of these contexts, the dominant feature emerging is that of communality. In other words, according to their find places, figurines most probably conveyed meanings within groups. The varied typology of the figurines at Ftelia points to the fact that they were not associated with a standard set of beliefs or practices. Out of the assemblage, typical but also atypical forms are distinguished: figurines of type 1 and 2 can be found throughout Greece during the LN. On the other hand, not only the rare non-human figurines but also other examples of human figurines (Figs 4.5–7) indicate the existence of two parallel trends, reproductions of an already known type together with unrepeated, unique types.

Neolithic figurines constitute a special feature of artistic creativity, a manifestation of collective acceptance of concepts by the use of symbols and figurative formulations as well as expressions of varied social behaviour (Orfanidis & Malakasioti 2011, 92). They reproduce humans, animals as well as objects from the surrounding world in miniature and they are widely diffused. Interpretation of anthropomorphic figurines in particular, has ranged from the widespread theory of the 'Mother-Goddess' by Marija Gimbutas, to proposals that they functioned as toys or teaching instruments,

portraits of actual people (Bailey 2012). Bailey recently interpreted human figurines as the indication of a lifestyle in which the conception of the body was one of the core elements for the human perception of the world – as a fundamental stereotype of modern Western society, which first emerged during the Neolithic. The figurine traditions of central and eastern European Neolithic are much more varied than usually admitted and their ubiquity takes on an interpretive significance that goes well beyond frequency of represented types: more than a medium of representation, they are material and three-dimensional, they afforded being touched and handled. Because of its three-dimensionality, a figurine affords a particular engagement with the person encountering it: touch promotes a set of understandings with fundamental consequences for the comprehension of the body and human existence. Interacting with the figurines invited a more immediate and perhaps personal connection (Martin & Meskell 2012, 417). However, this suggestion cannot account for the big- sized figurines/statuettes found at Ftelia which were evidently stablestanding.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the figurines of Ftelia are associated with a domestic, private context on one hand and with a communal context on the other. The association of these areas with some sort of feasting and ritual does not rest on the discovery of the figurines, which would produce a circular argument but rather on the contextual analysis of the areas.

In line with general Late Neolithic trends, figurines are found in various locations, however with an often communal character, as in the case of Ftelia. Neolithic ritual remains a controversial issue as there are no artifacts or buildings that can be exclusively associated with a ritual use. In other words, it is apparent that ritual practice took many forms and was not locus-specific or even objectspecific and its investigation rests on the circumstances of use. In this light, figurines may have served more than one purposes, most probably they did not represent a specific or universal idea and their ritual use was not exclusive.

In no case are the figurines associated with mortuary remains, in contrast with the Early Bronze Age. Ritual was associated with the realm of the living, frequently intertwined with feasting. It should be emphasised however that the existence of cemeteries or any other

form of mortuary behaviour during the Neolithic is still inconclusive. On the contrary, knowledge for the Cycladic EBA depends heavily on cemeteries, although examples of figurines from domestic contexts do exist (see Marthari, this volume, Chapter 12). This emphasis on the mortuary realm is perhaps one of the most palpable shifts in the investigation of social behaviour and practice between the Late Neolithic and the Early Bronze age.

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5

FIGURINES FROM STROFILAS, ANDROS

Christina A. Televantou

In the Neolithic settlement at Strofilas on Andros, which flourished during the Final Neolithic period (Televantou 2006a; 2006b; 2007; 2008; 2013; in press; forthcoming a; forthcoming b), figurines were found of various materials, such as marble, stone, clay and fossil seashell. In this article we present only the figurines considered to be of special interest for the dating and development of these exceptionally important objects of the Early Bronze Age in the Cyclades. They are classified into two types, on the basis of their morphological characteristics: schematic and naturalistic.

These figurines were found in levels dated to the Final Neolithic period, either the upper destruction level or an earlier construction phase level.

Some of the rock-art representations from the prehistoric settlement at Plaka on Andros (Televantou 2006a) are also presented, because of their relevance to the material presented here.

Schematic figurines

A. Ring-idol figurines

1. Ring-idol figurine with a wide ring and an integral elongated protuberance pierced with hole (Figs 5.1, 5.19). The lower half of the ring and the upper part of the protuberance are missing. Found in the sanctuary, in the destruction layer above the rock-art representation on the floor (Televantou 2006a, 7–9, fig. 6b; 2006b, fig. 179; 2008, 48–50, fig. 6.9–10; Televantou 2103; in press; forthcoming b).

Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ695. Olive-green stone. Preserved height 19.5mm; ring external diameter 32mm; diameter of hole 6mm; depth of hole 4mm.FN period.

2. Ring-idol figurine with very wide ring, due to the small hole at the centre, and integral protuberance, mostly missing (Figs 5.2, 5.19). Found built into the west wall of Building Z (Televantou 2006a, 5, 2008, 45).
Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ805. Green soapstone. Preserved height 47mm; ring maximum external diameter 51mm; diameter of hole 5mm; depth of ring, upper 8mm, lower 6mm; preserved height of protuberance 4.5mm.
FN period.
3. Ring-idol figurine with a two-peaked quadrilateral integral V-shaped protuberance (Figs 5.3, 5.19). Intact. Found in the '*Apothetes*' south of the wall, dating to the FN period (Televantou 2008, 46, fig. 6.20; 2006a, 11, fig. 8c).
Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ585. Olivegreen stone. Height 21mm; ring external diameter 19.5mm; diameter of hole 7.5mm; depth of ring 2.5mm.
FN period.
4. Small fragment of the ring of a ring-idol figurine (Figs 5.4, 5.19). Found in the surface layer in the area north (outside) of the wall, where FN material has so far been found.
Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ696. Soft stone. Ring depth 3mm.
FN period.

The ring-idol figurine is considered to be a highly schematic and abstract rendering of the human figure, especially the female figure. It has also been linked to worship, having been interpreted as representing a deity and is a symbol of the communication code of the LN II period over a large geographical area of the Eastern Mediterranean, extending from the Black Sea, the Balkans and into Greece, where these objects have been found in gold, silver, stone, fossil seashell and clay. Ring-idol figurines are also depicted on pottery from Thessaly (Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001, 54–6; Makkay 1985; 1989; Dimakopoulou 1998a). Until recently only three ring-idol figurines had been found in the Aegean islands, in the 'Cave of Euripides' on Salamis (Lolos 1998, no. 62), at Poliochni on Lemnos (Bernabò Brea 1964, 359, 376, pls clxx, 3; clxxvii, 25; Makkay 1985, 6, 11, fig. 2:5) and at Amnissos on Crete (Makkay 1976, 257–8, fig. 21; Marinatos 1930, 98, fig. 9; Vasilakis 1998, no. 63). Figurines nos 1–4 from Strofilas add to this small corpus.

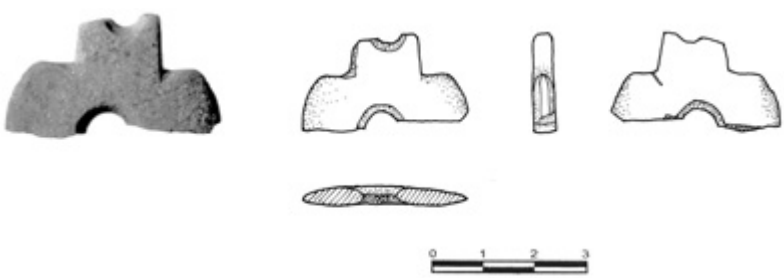

Fig. 5.1 Ring idol figurine number 1 (Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ695). Scale 1:2.

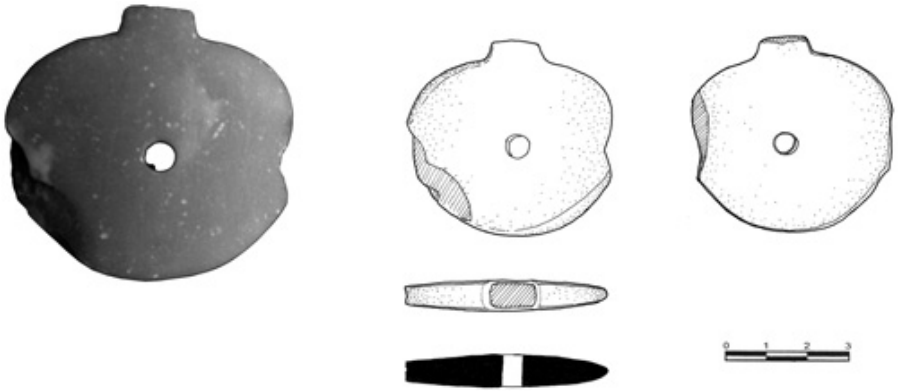

Fig. 5.2 Ring-idol figurine number 2 (Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ805). Scale 1:2.

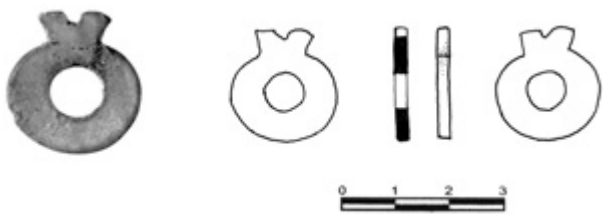

Fig. 5.3 Ring-idol figurine number 3 (Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ585). Scale 1:2.

Fig. 5.4 Ring-idol figurine number 4 (Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ696). Not to scale.

The ring-idol figurine is generally regarded as an amulet (Dimakopoulou 1998b, 16–7; Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001, 54–6). Without excluding such use, it appears that it was intended to be tied around the wrist as the sole pendant of a bracelet. This is how it is depicted in the rock-art representation from Plaka (see below and Figs 15–16), where two pairs of hands are represented in a gesture of prayer. A ring-idol hangs from each hand with a tight wristband fastening, which could have been made of metal (silver, gold, etc.) or of perishable material (e.g. leather). It is worth noting that the silver ring-idol from Salamis was found with a loop of the same material, possibly for its fastening (Lolos 1998, no. 62).

The ring-idol figurines from Strofilas are of two basic types, their main difference being in the form of the integral protuberance. Type A has a quadrilateral protuberance (nos 1–2), while in Type B two equal-sized quadrilateral protuberances sprout from the ring in inverted V-shape (no. 3, and possibly no. 4).

Type A is the most common in Greece (Dimakopoulou 1998a, nos 3–31, 56–8, 62–4, 67–74). There are variations in the basic shape of the quadrilateral protuberance, which is usually rectangular, low or elongated, sometimes with a curved upper part or sides, and is pierced by one to three holes, presumably for threading it onto the object to be fastened (see above). The width of the ring varies, according to the size of the central hole.

Ring-idol figurines no. 1 and probably no. 2, for which it is hard to determine whether it had an attachment hole, due to its bad state of preservation, are of this type. Most of the dozens of depictions in the rock-art at Strofilas (Fig. 5.5a–b), as well as some at Plaka (Figs 5.15–5.16), are likewise of this type and its basic variations.

Ring-idol figurine no. 3 and probably the fragmented figurine no. 4 belong to Type B. Type B figurines with quadrilateral or pointed protuberances are depicted in the rock art at Strofilas (Fig. 5.6; Televantou 2006a, 7, fig. 6b; 2008, fig. 6.10), but are less frequent than those of Type A. They are depicted with pointed protuberances in the rock art at Plaka (Figs 5.15–5.16), while three gold ring-idol figurines from the Neolithic treasure in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (Dimakopoulou 1998a, nos 33–5), which, as argued elsewhere, may have originated from wealthy Strofilas (Televantou 2008, 49), are of this type. Their rarity coupled with the fact that so far they have been found on Andros as objects and rockart representations, showing an established relationship between the inhabitants and the symbol, may indicate that this type is a local Cycladic evolution into a more eloquent version of the female figure. This seems to be advocated by the similarity of the shape of the ring-idol figurine to the famous EC II 'frying-pan' vessels. The symbol may have been transferred to this portable object, usually in clay and sometimes in stone and marble, which is also found sporadically outside the Cyclades.

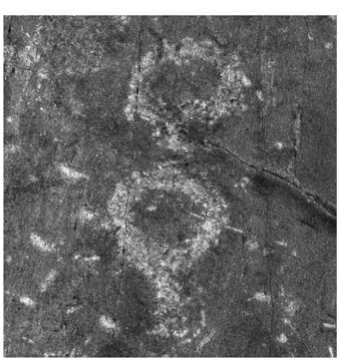

Fig. 5.5 Rock art representations of ring-idol motifs, Strofilas. Previously unpublished.

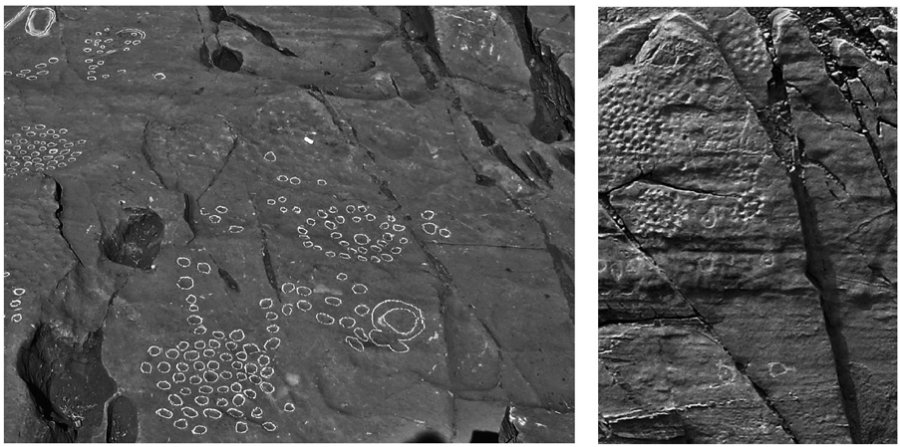

Fig. 5.6 Rock art representations of ring-idol motifs, Strofilas. Previously unpublished.

Analysing this approach, it appears that type A corresponds to the type of the clay 'frying-pan' vessel with pierced Π-shaped, rather than bifurcate, handle, and usually decorated with various symbolic motifs (such as the spiral, circle, or sun disc: Thimme & Getz-Preziozi 1977, nos 400–3). The variation without fastening hole corresponds to the shape of stone 'frying-pan' vessels from Naxos. One of green chlorite with a quadrilateral handle or protuberance is decorated with a system of spirals (Thimme & Getz-Preziozi 1977, 522, no. 364a–b; Getz-Gentle 1996, 123–4, pl. 113). A further two are of marble with oblong handle or protuberance. One has engraved linear decoration (Lambrinoudakis 1976, 278, pl. 196γ–δ; Coleman 1985, 210, no. 36; Marangou 1990a, no. 110) and the other is plain (Getz-Preziosi 1977, fig. 85.27).

Type B corresponds to the type of 'frying-pan' vessel with bifurcate handle-protuberance, represented between the prongs of which, on the surface of the disc, is the pubic area, indicating the forward-facing direction of the object, and that this is a schematic, highly abstract rendering of the female figure (e.g. Thimme & Getz-Preziozi 1977, nos 404–6; Getz-Preziozi 1996, 181–2). Of course, this does not rule out the possibility that the object or symbol could have been used

conceptually in the opposite direction, depending on the location. However, we think that the depiction of a human figure with a ring-idol head on a LN I sherd from Thessaly (Grundman 1953, 29, fig. 33; Hauptmann & Milojčić 1969, 35, pl. 2, 68) is quite helpful in determining the upright direction of the object, as we understand it, with the ring rendering the head and the rectangular protuberance the neck. It is also depicted with the same direction in the Neolithic vase-painting of Thessaly (Tsountas 1908, 219, pl. 21,2; Hourmouziadis *et al.* 1982, 80, fig. 50; Christopoulou 1998, no. 76; Rontiri 1998). Based on the above, it can be argued that in Cycladic ring-idol figurines the head and upper torso of the human (female) body are represented in a very abstract and condensed manner by the ring, and the lower body by the protuberance, which forks to give a more 'naturalistic' rendering of the legs.

The transfer of the symbol to a portable object was not confined to the schematic rendering of the female figure or deity based on the type A or B ring-idol figurine, but the disc surface where a kind of compendium of dominant symbolic motifs of Early Cycladic iconography, such as the fish, the ship, the spiral, the solar disc, was presented (Fig. 5.7). These are motifs that are depicted in detail in the rockart representations along with ring-idol figurines, in areas of communal use at Strofilas (sanctuary, entrance to the town: Area outside wall, the wall) and at Plaka (entrance to the town). That is, the abstract, but conceptually highly concentrated perception of the Early Cycladic culture, led to the creation of a particular object, the 'frying-pan' vessel (Coleman 1977, 110–4; 1985; Getz-Gentle 1996, 181–2), which was at once the image of the deity and the bearer of the principal symbols of the religious beliefs and the worldview of the inhabitants of the Cyclades in the early bronze age.

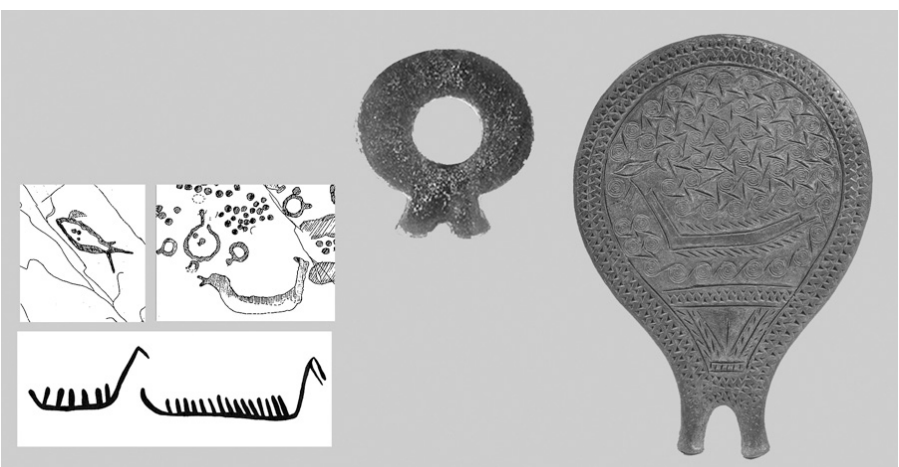

Fig. 5.7 Strophilas, drawings of rock-art representations, ring-idol figurine, and 'frying-pan' decorated with spiral and fish, from Naxos.

B. Pebble and multipartite types

5. Pebble-type figurine (Figs 5.8, 5.19). Complete (mended from three fragments). Surface find, 10m northeast of Apsidal Building 1. Eroded surface. Flat triangular pebble with rounded angles and curved underside. Slightly convex with maximum width at the centre.
Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ553. Height 82mm; maximum length 61.5mm; maximum width 15.5mm.
FN period.

A figurine of the pebble-figure type found on Saliagos is dated to the LN II period (Evans & Renfrew 1968, 63, fig. 76:3, pl. xlv:2, 66, fig. 88:4–6, pl.xliii:3-5; Renfrew 1969, 5, pl. 2:a). This, along with the fact that the Strofilas figurine was recovered from the ground surface near the excavated Apsidal Building 1, dates it to at least the final phase of the FN period. Figurines of this type continued in existence later, during the early bronze age, in the Cyclades, Crete and the North Aegean, where they are frequent (Renfrew 1969, 5, ill. 1, I.D, pl. 2b; Sotirakopoulou 1998, 110–3, fig. 1, pl. 5).

6. Schematic multipartite figurine (Figs 5.9, 5.19). Intact. Found in Building Z, Room 1, in the FN destruction level (Televantou 2006a, 5; 2008, 45). Lower part curved-semicircular, upper part triangular. At the junction of the two parts, visible on one face are two small parallel oblique notches and on the other face one notch.
Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ606. Olive-green stone, with dense green veins. Extremely smooth surface. Maximum height 32mm; maximum length 22mm; maximum width 10mm.
FN period.

This type of figurine appears to be depicted in the rock art at Plaka, between the pair of hands in prayer (see below, Figs 5.15–5.16). Obviously this is an early type of schematic figurine, a sophisticated form of the Neolithic pebble-type with which it co-exists during the FN period (Zachos 1996), as shown by figurine no. 5. It also resembles EC I multipartite figurines, indicating their Neolithic origin (Doumas 2002, 64, 51 (1–2); Sotirakopoulou 2005, 54).

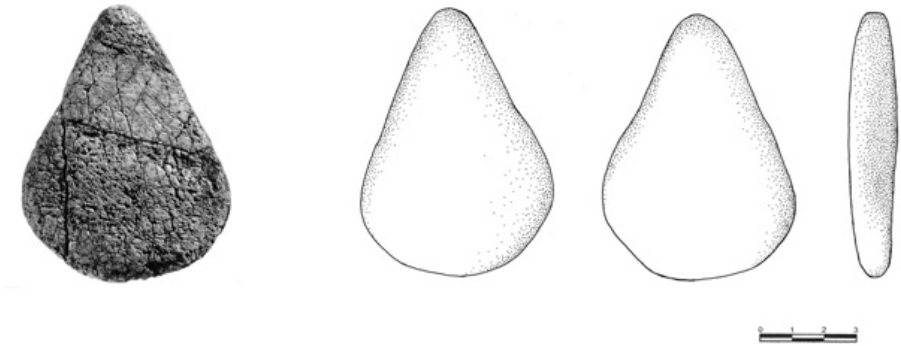

Fig. 5.8 Pebble-type figurine number 5 (Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ553). Scale 1:2.

Fig. 5.9 Multipartite figurine number 6 (Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ606). Scale 1:2.

Naturalistic figurines

7. 'Violin' figurine, headless (Figs 5.10, 5.19). Found in Building Z, Room 3a, in the FN destruction level (Televantou 2006a, 5; 2008, 45). Small flat slab with both faces smoothed, but one of them now eroded.
Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ603. White coarse-grained marble. Preserved height 78.5mm; maximum length 71mm; maximum width 13mm.
FN period.

The body is wider on one side. Preserved is a small part of the neck base, which is positioned off-centre. The upper body is integral with the fin-like arms (triangular with curved sides), while the lower body has a curved underside. The head and neck were probably a single inclined triangle, similar to the LN I marble 'violin' figurine from Saliagos (Evans & Renfrew 1968, 63, fig. 76:1, pl. xliii; Papathanassopoulos 1996, 320, no. 242). Its dating to the FN period puts it in the timeframe between the LN I and the EC I period, when 'violin-shaped' and 'violin-like' figurines continue to appear (Renfrew 1969, 5, ill. IA; pl. 2d; Doumas 2002, 64–4, fig. 51:6–8;

Sotirakopoulou 2005, 52–3), demonstrating the seamless development of the type during this long period.

8. Upper torso of a figurine (Figs 5.11, 5.19). Found in Building Complex Γ, Room 3, in the FN destruction level. The head and the lower torso from about the waist are missing. Flat body with arms rendered as triangular protuberances. Long neck of semicircular cross-section.
Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ548. White coarse-grained marble. Height 53mm; maximum length (arms) 40.5mm; width 8.5mm.
FN period.

In terms of the abstract triangular rendering of the arms, the figurine displays analogies with the Neolithic schematic 'violin-like' figurines from Saliagos (LN I) and Strofilas (no. 7, FN), respectively. It is also very similar to clay figurine no. 11 in this catalogue. It recalls the EC I–II Louros type figurines (Renfrew 1969, 8–9, ill. 2,iii; pl. 2,f; Renfrew 1977, 63–4, fig. 35, pls 80–94) whose long neck it appears to resemble. The origin of this type is attributed to the LN schematic figurines from Thessaly (Renfrew 1969, 30; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 56), while it relates to the abstract development of ECI figurines of Plastiras type (Doumas 2002, 65–6). However, the fact that figurine no. 7 seems to be its direct Neolithic Cycladic ancestor shows that its configuration had started earlier in the Cyclades.

9. Figurine head (Figs 5.12, 5.19). Found in Apsidal Building 1, FN destruction level. On the front there are three convergent sides. The two opposite ones are smoothed and the third triangular one (face) is broken. The back is curved, shaping the volume of the head.
Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ536. White coarse-grained marble. Preserved height 26.5mm; maximum length upper part 19mm, lower part 7mm; maximum width 12.5mm.
Late FN period–beginning of Early Bronze Age.

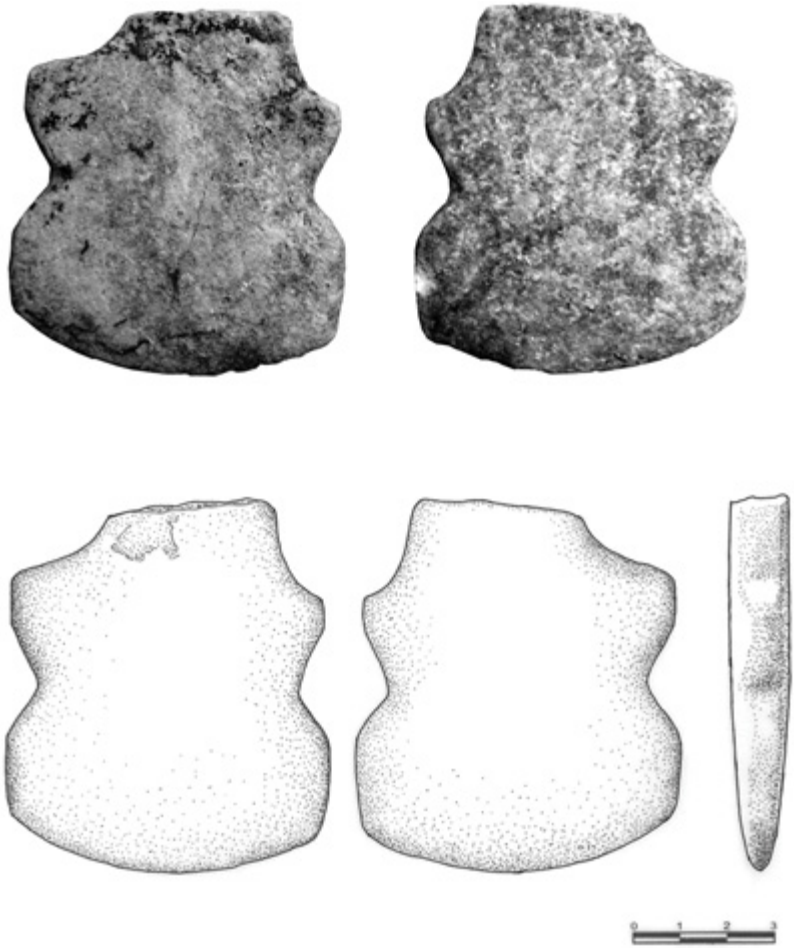

Fig. 5.10 Headless 'violin' figurine number 7 (Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ603). Scale 1:2.

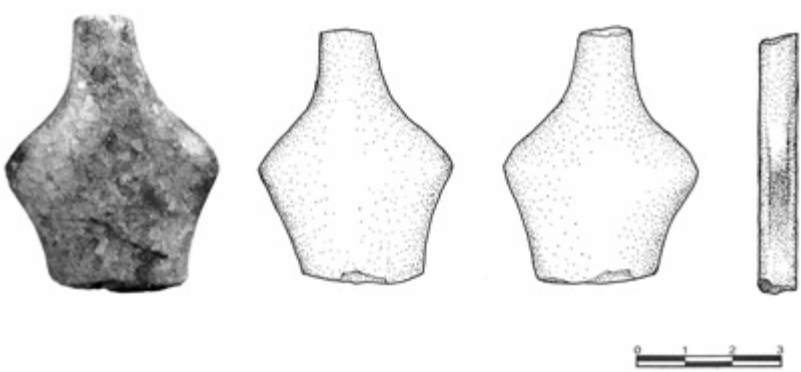

Fig. 5.11 Upper torso of 'violin-like' figurine number 8 (Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ548). Scale 1:2.

The triangular shape of the face resembles Neolithic clay figurines,

such as no. 10. It also finds parallels in an early figurine of Plastiras type (Thimme & Getz-Preziozi 1977, no. 76) and in Louros-type figurines, as well as later in EC II figurines of the Kapsala (Renfrew 1969, 15–16, ill. 2, iv.A; pl. 3, d–e; Thimme & Getz-Preziozi 1977, no. 128–9) and Middle Spedos varieties (Renfrew 1969, 20–1, ill. 3, iv.F; pl. 4; Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, no. 166). The fact that it was found in Apsidal Building 1, the only one that on present evidence may have been operational until the beginning of the early bronze age (sherds from an EC I pyxis: Televantou 2006a, 11), because of the neighbouring sanctuary, could date it to the end of the FN period-beginning of very early bronze age at the latest, indicating an early transfer of the triangular head or face type to marble.

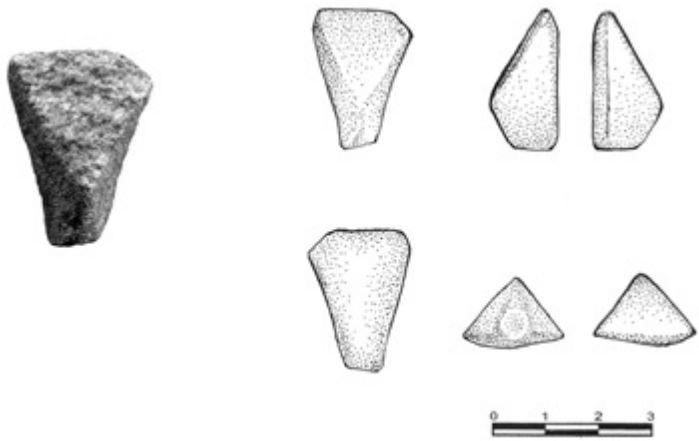

Fig. 5.12 Figurine head, number 9 (Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ536). Scale 1:2.

10. Figurine head (Figs 5.13, 5.19; Televantou 2006a, 11, fig. 8b; 2008, 53, fig. 22). Found immediately east of the apse of Apsidal Building 1. FN destruction level. The long cylindrical neck widens slightly upwards and joins the head through a shallow groove, which continues on the sides. The head is ovoid, while in profile it is crescent-shaped. The back of the head and neck is uniform and flat with a subtle concavity high on the neck, suggesting a backwards tilt.
Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ537. White fine-grained marble. Preserved height 45.5mm; height of head 16.5mm; diameter of neck 7.5mm.
FN period.

The figurine was found in an area that was probably open (the excavation was not extended to the immediate surrounding area), where a rock-art representation of an ibex inside a spiral of small cavities was revealed (Televantou 2013), which may indicate its importance, possibly in relation to Apsidal Building 1.

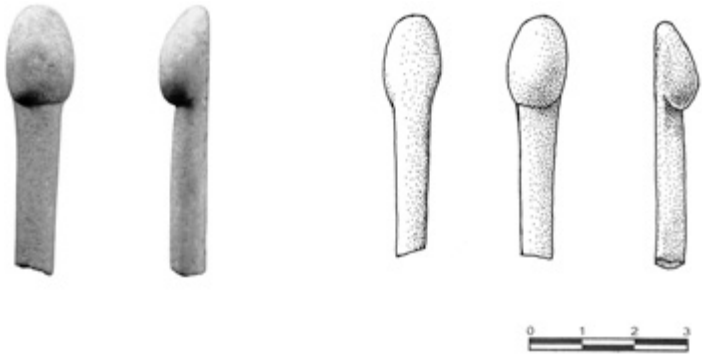

Fig. 5.13 Figurine head, number 10 (Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Λ537). Scale 1:2.

The figurine has no exact Neolithic or later parallels. Its long neck obviously originates from Neolithic figurines, like those from Ftelia on Mykonos (LN I; Sampson 2002, 141–5, figs 145–6, 148, 150). However, the ovoid head with long neck refers to the EC I Plastiras-type figurines, although on these facial features are denoted (Renfrew 1969, 6, 29–30, ill. 2, II; pl. I, d–e; 1977, 79, fig. 34, pl. 62; Doumas 2002, 65, fig. 52:1, 2, 4; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 55). Nevertheless, figurines of this type resemble no. 10, on which only the nose and ears are rudimentarily modelled. The lack of facial features points to the Louros-type figurines, where however the head is triangular (Renfrew 1977, 63–4, fig. 35, pls 80–94). Yet ovoid heads are also encountered in this group (Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 443, no. 87). These finds suggest that EC I figurines of Plastiras and Louros type originate from Neolithic Cycladic figurines, without of course excluding the possibility that they may have been influenced by other types and areas during their long evolution. A further indication of this is the fact that figurine no. 10, with its slightly backward-tilted neck-head and the sheer simplicity in rendering the human figures, is a work of art that is already permeated by the aesthetics of Early Cycladic sculpture, presaging its arrival.

11. Figurine (Figs 5.14, 5.19). Intact. Found outside, north of and near the wall in a FN level. Slender cylindrical body. The back surface is single and tilted backwards. The arms are rendered as triangular protuberances. Short neck. Large triangular backward-tilted head. Flat, triangular face with rounded chin. Two horizontal incisions in the centre indicate the eyes and two vertical lines define the nose. At either side of the upper part of the face is a suspension hole for hanging the figurine, probably as a pendant.
Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Π1560. Brown clay, fine. Brown slip with burnished surface. Traces of tan crust. Height 76.9mm; width (hands) 29mm.
FN period.

The head shape is analogous to the respective heads of contemporary figurines or figurine-amulets found at Kephala on Kea,

in the Athenian Agora and in Thessaly, which indicate the breadth of its distribution (Immerwahr 1971, 17, 48, pl. 14:220; Coleman 1977, 68, no. 26:73, 94, no. 202, pl. 26:73; Zachos 1996, 320, no. 241a–b; Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001, 60, 174, pl. 2:18, 19). Figurine no. 11 shows a complete form of the figurine. Moreover, the gender of the figure is not indicated and the cylindrical body shows that it probably wore a long robe similar to the one worn by the human figure or deity in the rock-art representations outside the gate in the fortification wall at Strofilas (Televantou 2013; in press; forthcoming b).

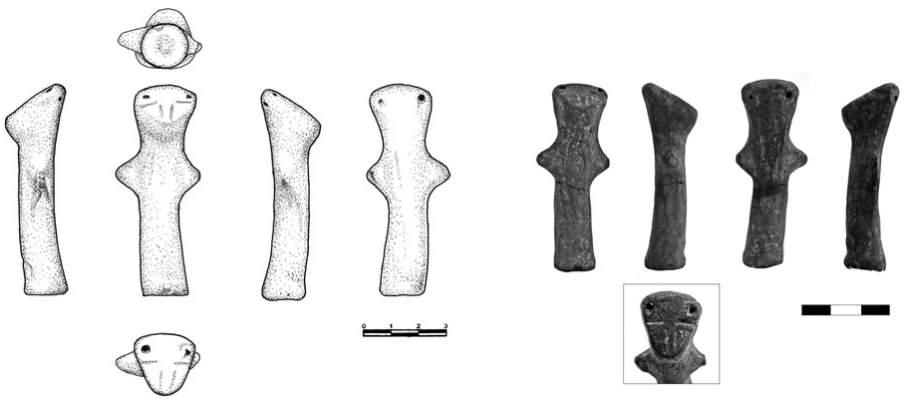

Fig. 5.14 Clay figurine number 11 (Archaeological Museum of Andros, Cat. No. Π1560). Scale 1:2.

The traces of crust on the surface of the figurine show that it was probably not a frequently used object. This, coupled with the fact that it was probably an amulet, suggest that the figurine may have been used by a prestigious community member and was possibly associated with cult.

The triangular shape of the head combined with its backward tilt, also observed in marble head no. 9, are traits of an earlier stage of Early Cycladic figurines (Renfrew 1969, 30–1; Zachos 1996; Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001, 60). Furthermore, the rendering of the arms corresponds to schematic figurine no. 7 and brings to mind EC I–II Lourostype figurines.

These data show that the figurine is an ancestor of Early Cycladic figurines, which during the long course of their development preserved and elaborated earlier elements of Neolithic, Cycladic or in some cases wider Aegean figurines.

Rock-art representations at Plaka

On the neck of Cape Plaka, which probably defines the entrance to the town, extensive rock-art representations were found (Figs 5.15, 5.16; Televantou 2006a, 12–13). Most iconographic motifs (ship, pairs of human 'footprints', sun disc, ring-idol and phallus) are similar in form and technique to those at Strofilas, placing them stylistically in the FN period. However, there are further new, important, motifs executed in the same technique, showing that rockart, which continues during the early bronze age, was not rigid but was continuously evolving, mainly in terms of the subjects. For example, the anthropomorphic portrait of a deity or sacred figure that co-exists with Neolithic pictorial motifs (see below) is depicted in profile, a rather sophisticated manner of rendering.

So far, the limited excavation, conservation and study of only a small part of the numerous moveable finds yielded evidence from EC IIIB – early MC period, when the town was probably abandoned due to an earthquake. Thus, the gap between the two periods, FN and EC IIIB, may be fortuitous. It appears that at the end of the Neolithic or beginning of the Early Bronze Age the inhabitants of Strofilas, which was abandoned in an organized manner, moved to Plaka, a fertile coastal site with sheltered harbour and as strategically positioned as Strofilas for controlling the sea routes, where a settlement may well have already existed.

Obviously, these people brought with them their habit of decorating with rock-art representations large areas for collective use, possibly destined for rituals, using symbolic and naturalistic elements to depict religion and life. At Strofilas such areas are located outside the fortification wall, in the sanctuary and the wall itself, while the same situation exists in the Neolithic settlement at Vriokastro on Andros, both *intra muros* and *extra muros* (Televantou 2006a, 2–3, fig. 2). The fact that the area with the rock-art representations at Plaka appears to have been preserved down until the town's abandonment shows that it continued to be perceived as a special, sacred(?) locus in the settlement.

One of the most important representations is the portrait of a deity or sacred figure, depicted in quite a naturalistic manner (Fig. 5.15). The portrait is encircled by symbols: two pairs of human 'footprints', two ships, a sun disc, an upward-pointing arrow and two pairs of hands in prayer, from which hangs respectively a ring-idol figurine and between them a pebble-type figurine (Fig. 5.16), as well as a figurine(?) of eight outline (Renfrew 1969, 27). The subjects encountered at Strofilas (ship, pairs of 'footprints', type A and B ring-idol motifs) are represented in the same manner, excepting the sun

disc, which is clearer with straight rays. The whole composition shows that this is the depiction of a deity in a highly organised and abstract representation, combined with the circular depiction of symbols around it. In essence, this is the deity represented in the rock-art at Strofilas in a more archaic manner (in full body and with long garment), since many of the symbols accompanying it and dispersed around it are the same (ship, ring-idol and phallus, sun disc, pairs of 'footprints').

Fig. 5.15 Plaka, rock-art representation of a deity or sacred figure, in profile, encircled by pictorial and symbolic motifs (outlined in chalk). Previously unpublished.

Fig. 5.16 Plaka, detail of Fig. 5.15: pair of hands from the wrist, from which hangs a ring-idol figurine and between them a pebble-type figurine (outlined in chalk). Previously unpublished.

Also scattered around the portrait are ships, pairs of 'footprints', a phallus motif, etc. Among them, at a short distance from the portrait is a rock-cut representation (Fig. 5.17), 1.30m long, which we believe depicts an Early Cycladic figurine (?). The triangular head with a rounded chin is clearly discernible (Figs 5.17–5.18). It is rendered with a wide carved band on the outline, while the interior is the flat surface of the bedrock. The body is rendered with a single carving (*c.* 10mm deep), the neck is not particularly distinct, while a small triangular appendage may indicate the arm. The impression is given that the legs (thigh, calf) are joined together and fleshy. The feet are discernible, separated from each other, and refer to Early Cycladic figurines.

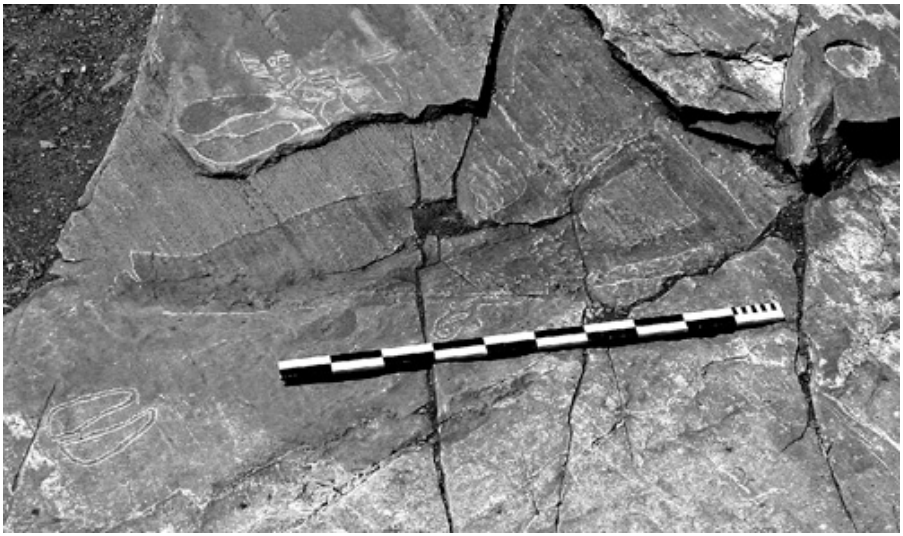

Fig. 5.17 Plaka, rock-art representation of a possible Early Cycladic figurine (outlined in chalk). Previously un published.

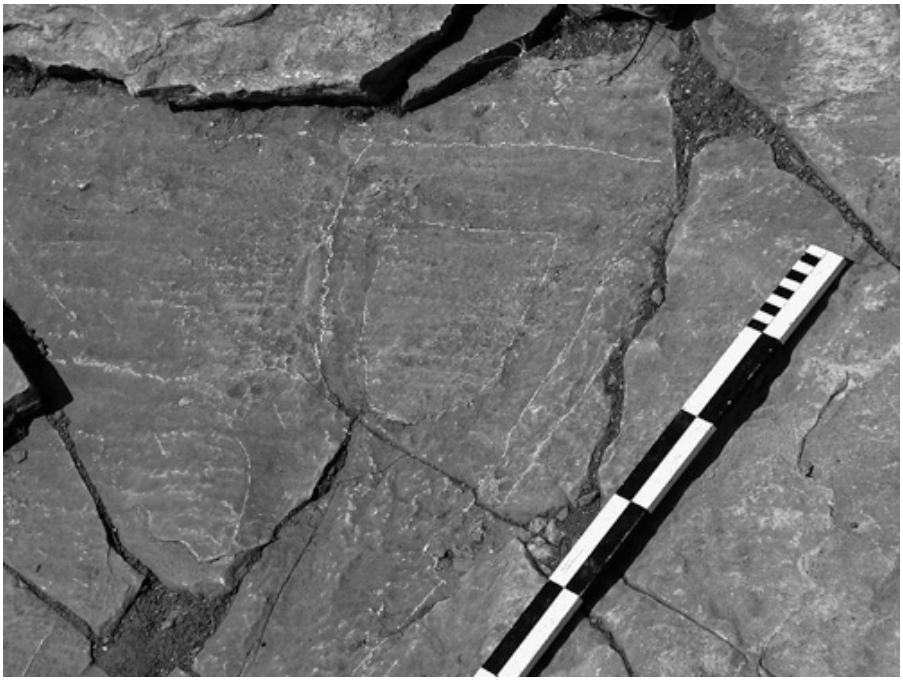

Fig. 5.18 Plaka, detail of Fig. 5.17, head of the possible Early Cycladic figurine (outlined in chalk). Previously unpublished.

The technique used for the head is analogous to the Neolithic rock-art representations, whereas the carving of the whole body is a new element. The representation appears to be later than the other surrounding Neolithic representations, given that for its creation the

layer of the rock where they are located was removed during the carving, and was preserved only for the figurine head (?).

The triangular shape of the head and the almost nonexistent (triangular?) arms refer mainly to EC I–II Lourostype figurines (no. 8), as well as to the later EC II figurines of the Kapsala and Spedos varieties. It would be reasonable to assume that in a town that flourished during the bronze age, the representation was made as an imposition of the new (Early Cycladic) on the old (Late Neolithic).

If indeed it is a representation of a figurine, as we believe, it is striking that it was depicted in a characteristic manner so that the image is recognizable, but in rather general terms without details, while there was surely the possibility of representing it much better, due to in-depth knowledge of the art. In addition, the shallow carving technique was selected to render the body, while the head was pecked on the outline so as to make it clearly visible. This manner of depiction is particularly puzzling. Was the figurine representation perhaps intended for the placement of an actual figurine, as part of some ritual? (For ideas concerning the use and meaning of Early Cycladic figurines, with further references, see Tsountas 1898, 193, 196–9; Doumas 1968, 88–94; Marangou 1990b, 140–3; Lambrinoudakis 1990, 101–2; Hoffmann 2002, 532–4; Hendrix 2003, 438–44; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 73–4). This may be the image depicted on the Early Cycladic stone tile from Kouphonisia with a relief representation of a Louros-type figurine (Zapheiropoulou 1970a, 50–1, fig. 7; 1970b, 429, pl. 372; 1988, 83, fig. 14; Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 456, fig. 186).

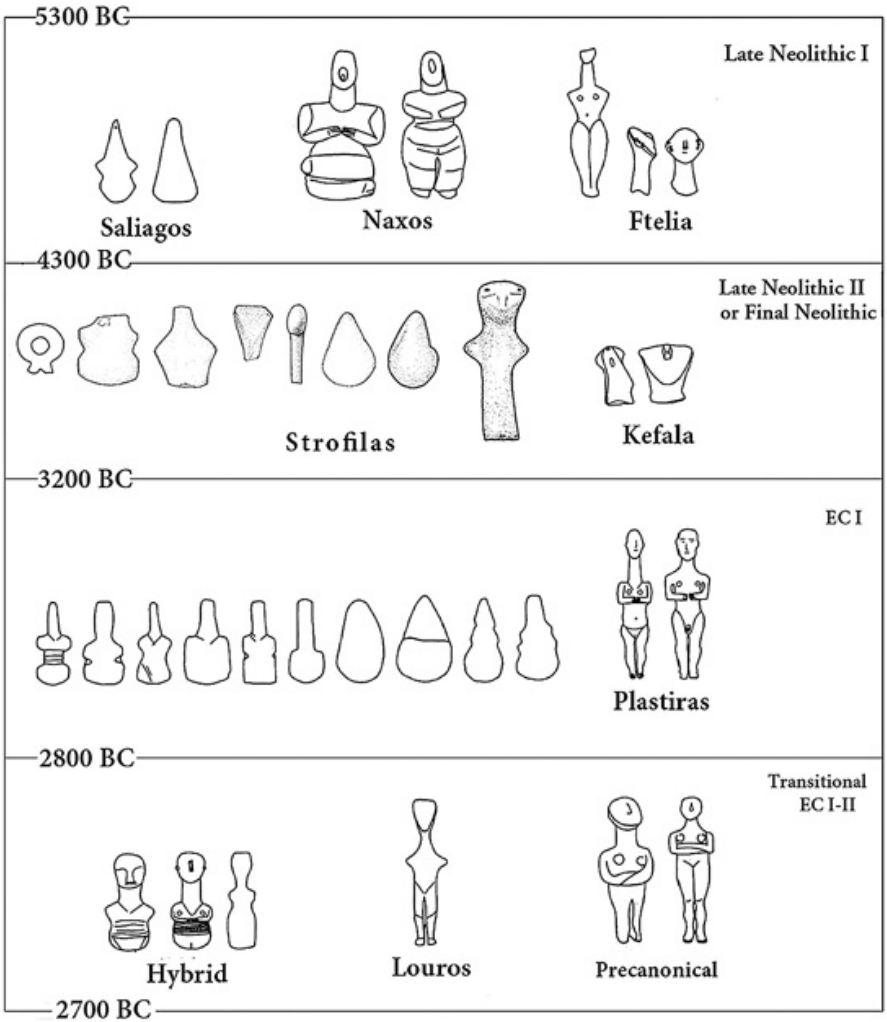

Fig. 5.19 The development of Cycladic figurines from FN to ECI period and Strofilas figurines (modified after Sotirakopoulou 2005).

Conclusions

The figurines of Strofilas presented in this paper date to the FN period, except no. 9, which may be placed at the end of the FN period or the beginning of early bronze age, and fill a large part of the gap that existed until now in this field between the LN I (Saliagos and Ftelia) and the ECI period, and for which there was limited information (Kephala).

The foregoing analysis suggests that the ideological and religious perception in the Cyclades in the FN period continued relatively

unchanged during the Early Cycladic period but expressed through the new conception that was animated by abstraction in the expressive means and concentration of meanings. This essential difference between the Neolithic and the Early Cycladic culture is evident in the transfer of the ring-idol figurine (female figure or deity) and many symbolic motifs (spiral, sun disc, ship, fish) to a single portable object, the 'frying-pan' vessel. At the same time, data from the rock-art representations at Plaka point to the preservation of Neolithic symbols alongside new ones.

It is also evident that EC figurine production has a long tradition and finds direct ancestry in the Cycladic figurines from the FN period (Fig. 5.19), which in turn originate from even earlier figurines of the LN I period, in the Cyclades or wider Aegean. In particular, types of EC I figurines, such as pebble, multipartite, violin-like, Plastiras and Louros, preserved Neolithic features which developed and continued into the subsequent EC II sculpture (backward tilt, long neck, oval and triangular head, face without relief features). Consequently, this art, as has been assumed (Renfrew 1969, 32; 1977, 64), started taking shape as early as LN I and continued to evolve uninterrupted into the EC period.

To conclude, it has generally been demonstrated that during the FN period in the Cyclades a local culture started taking shape, which reached its peak in the Early Bronze Age. This culture retained many of the elements of its Neolithic predecessor, which it developed and integrated into the new framework of ideas and concepts.

Acknowledgments

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The Early Phase

6

FIGURINES FROM AKROTIRI, NAXOS AND PLASTIRAS, PAROS

Christos Doumas

Introductory notes: the stages of development of Early Cycladic Society

Fortunately, I misunderstood the title of this Symposium. Of course, I totally agree with Colin Renfrew's remark at the beginning of his introduction that: 'archaeology of the Early Cyclades should be firmly founded upon discoveries made in the context of archaeological excavation, authorised by the competent authorities, undertaken by professional archaeologists and published by them in adequate detail' (Renfrew, this volume, Chapter 1). However, this basic principle holds for archaeology anywhere in the world, which is why I conceived the meaning of the Symposium's title as not restricted to provenance only. Antiquities kept in museums or private collections also have a context, archival and historical, as Sherratt's publication of the *Cycladica* in the Ashmolean has shown (Sherratt 2000). Moreover, the seminal work of such towering scholars as Furumark (1941) or Beazley (1942; 1956) was based overwhelmingly on unprovenanced antiquities, the authenticity of which has not been doubted.

Until very recently the cemeteries constituted the only source of information about Early Cycladic society and all attempts to establish a chronological sequence for the Early Cycladic civilisation were based on the typological development of the artefacts deposited as grave goods. Thus, following the traditional scheme, the Cycladic Early Bronze Age was conventionally divided into Early Cycladic (EC) I, EC II and EC III periods (Doumas 1977, 11–15). This model was

applied until Colin Renfrew introduced the distinction into Grotta-Pelos culture, Keros–Syros culture and Phylakopi City I culture (Renfrew 1969; 1972, 135–51). Although this terminology was used for the same conventional periods, it made clear that other factors should be taken into consideration in the study of the Early Cycladic Culture.

The bibliography on EC culture has been considerably enriched in the last few decades, not only with theoretical treatises but also with publications referring to recently excavated settlements. Having published the cemeteries that I had excavated in the past, providing the grave context in detail, nearly four decades ago (Doumas 1977), I regarded the invitation to participate in the present symposium as a challenge to re-examine these cemeteries from a different perspective: the new data available might enable me to study afresh the stages of development of the EC culture in relation to the presence or absence of figurines.

The changes observed in the stages of development of EC Culture are examined in order to seek changes which may have affected the specific context in which marble figurines were produced at each stage. From the available archaeological evidence information can be sought about domains such as demography, economic activities and social organisation (see Table 6.1).

The Early Cycladic I period

Pelos Group is the characteristic pottery of this period, which on the basis of marble sculpture can be subdivided into two phases: phase A and phase B (Table 6.1).

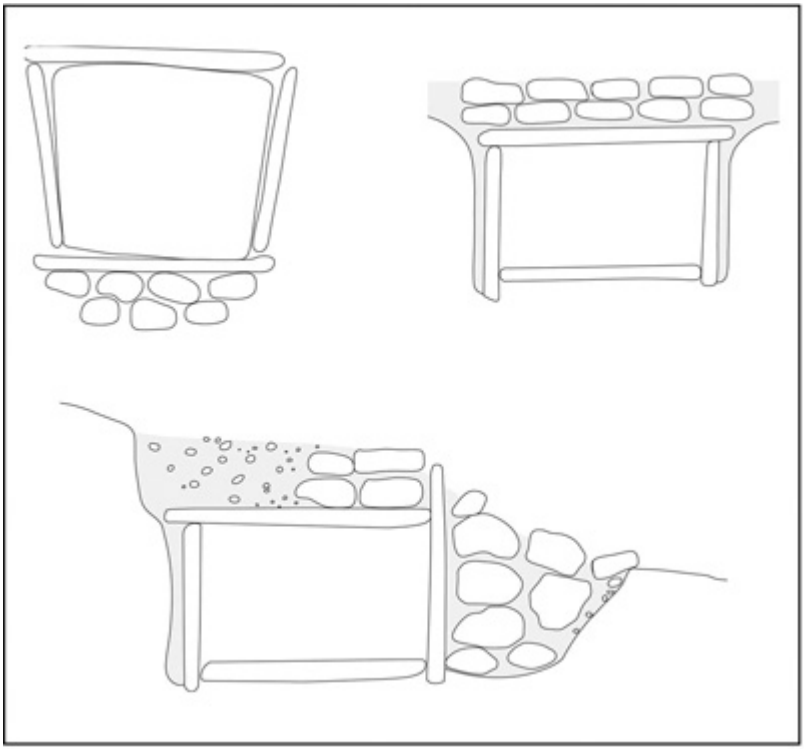

Fig. 6.1 Early Cycladic cist-grave of type A.

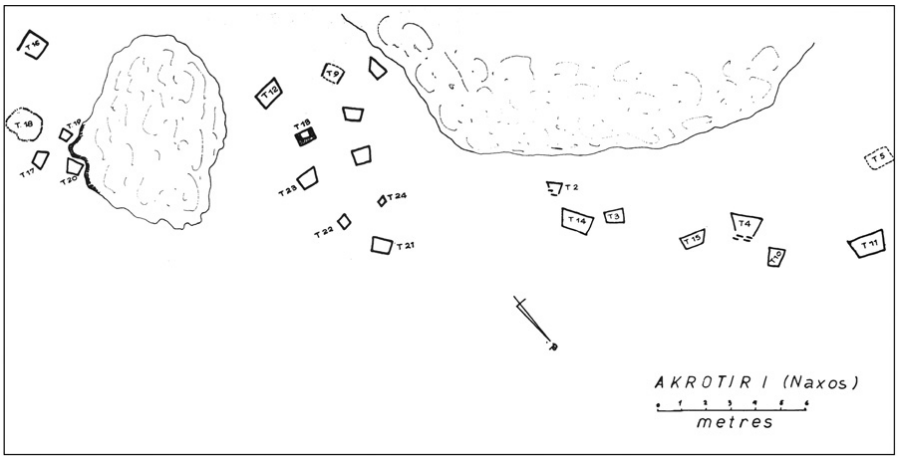

Fig. 6.2 EC I cemetery at Akrotiri, Naxos.

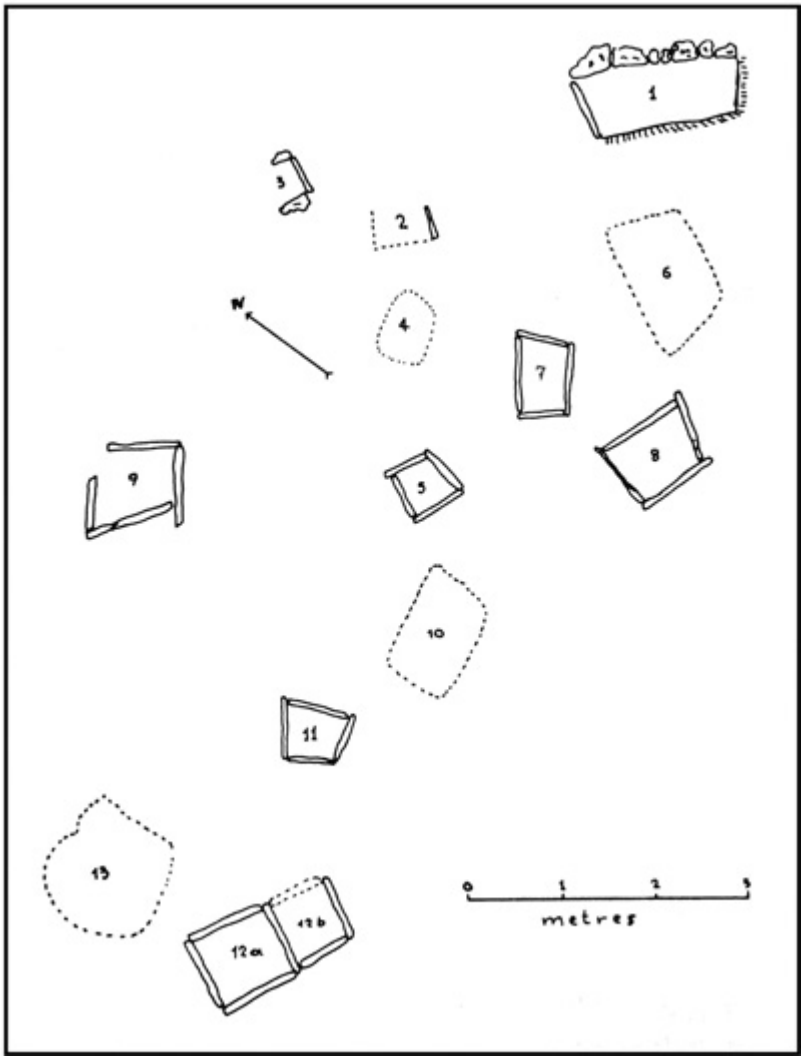

Fig. 6.3 EC I cemetery at Plastiras, Paros.

Table 6.1 Stages of development of Early Cycladic society.

Period	Phase	Settlement pattern	Pottery Group	Sculpture	Economy	Typical Sites
EC I (Grotta-Pelos Culture)	A	Farmstead	Pelos	Schematic	Primary	
	B	Farmstead	Pelos	Plastiras	Primary	Plastiras, Paros
EC II (Keros-Syros Culture)	A	Hamlet	Kampos	Louros	Primary	Agrilia, A. Kouphonisi
	B	Village	Syros	FAF	Primary	Markiani, Amorgos
	C	Nucleated Village	Kastri	Chalandriani	Secondary	Panormos, Naxos; Skarkos, Ios
ECIII/MC I		City		None	Tertiary	Phylakopi, Melos; Akrotiri, Thera

Cemeteries represent human communities and their distribution pattern in a region reflects the settlement pattern. Concerning the EC I

period, despite the complete absence of any evidence for settlements, the distribution pattern of the contemporary cemeteries suggests a wide dispersal of the population (Doumas 1977, 31).

From the size of EC I cemeteries, which hardly exceeded 20–25 cist-graves of type A (Figs 6.1–6.2) designed to accommodate a single burial each (Doumas 1977, 41–4), it has been estimated that over the span of one or two centuries, these graveyards probably served the needs of a single family (Broodbank 1989, 323; Bintliff 1977; Whitelaw 1983, 332–3). This means that the housing needs of the social unit could be covered by a single house.

The wide scatter of the EC I cemeteries indicates that the population was dispersed according to the land surface each family was exploiting and that families of farmers and pastoralists were scattered living in isolated farmsteads (Broodbank 2000, 86). This dispersal of isolated families perhaps favoured the development of the individual as the basic cell of the social group, in which status is likely to have been achieved on grounds of individual merit or position within the family (Broodbank 1989, 321). Such a social status seems to be reflected in the custom of single burials in each grave, accompanied by their personal possessions as grave goods (Doumas 1987, 18).

The author's excavations in Early Cycladic cemeteries during the 1960s were essentially limited to the very few graves that had escaped the attention of clandestine diggers. In several cases these graves had been seriously damaged by other causes, such as cultivation and erosion, but without harming their content. The cleaning and the measured drawing/mapping of even looted graves helped in forming a general picture of each cemetery.

Graves containing figurines among their grave goods are: of phase A nos 3, 9 and 21 in the cemetery at Akrotiri on Naxos (Fig. 6.2; Doumas 1977, 82–96), and of phase B graves 5 and 20 in the same cemetery, as well as grave 9 in the Plastiras cemetery on Paros (Fig. 6.3; Doumas 1977, 96–100).

Phase A

Akrotiri, grave 3 (Figs 6.4, 6.10).
The capstone of the grave was missing but its content was intact (Table 6.2; Doumas 1977, 86). This context places the grave early in phase A.

Akrotiri, grave 21 (Fig. 6.5).
The grave was found intact (Table 6.3; Doumas 1977, 93–5). The violin-shaped figurine, the more elaborate forms of the pottery with

incised decoration as well as one of the stone beads in the form of a bird are indicative of a slightly advanced date within the phase A.

Akrotiri, grave 9 (Fig. 6.6).
The grave was found heavily damaged but its content was intact (Table 6.4; Doumas 1977, 89). The violin-shaped figurine sharing anatomical details (breasts) recalling the more naturalistic Plastiras type of phase B places the grave towards the end of phase A.

Phase B

Akrotiri, grave 5 (Fig. 6.7).
Only a fragment of the floor slab was preserved, on which the grave goods (Table 6.5) were found intact.

Akrotiri, grave 20 (Fig. 6.8).
The grave was well-built and perfectly preserved (Table 6.6).

Plastiras, grave 9 (Figs 6.9, 6.11).
Though the grave was found severely damaged, its content was intact (Table 6.7).

Table 6.2 Material from grave 3 at Akrotiri, Naxos.

	Grave context	Type and variety	Figure	Reference
I	Marble figurine (NM1996)	Schematic, tripartite	6.4	Doumas 1977, 86 pl. XXVIIg
II	Clay collared jar (NM1962)		6.4	Doumas 1977, 86 pl. XXVIIe
III	Necklace of seashells (NM2004)		6.4	Doumas 1977, 86 pl. XXVIIf

Table 6.3 Material from grave 21 at Akrotiri, Naxos.

	Grave context	Type and variety	Figure	Reference
I	Marble figurine (NM1995)	Schematic, violin	6.5	Doumas 1977, 94 pl. XXXIIIc
II	Clay cylindrical pyxis (NM1970)		6.5	Doumas 1977, 94 pl. XXXIIj-k
III	Clay sea urchin-shaped pyxis (NM1971)		6.5	Doumas 1977, 94 pl. XXXIIIa, d
IV	Clay conical pyxis/jar (NM4114)		6.5	Doumas 1977, 94 pl. XXXIIIb
V	Miniature stone mortar (NM1998)		6.5	Doumas 1977, 95 pl. XXXIIIe
VI	Miniature stone pestle (NM1999)		6.5	Doumas 1977, 94 pl. XXXIIIf
VII	Miniature stone pestle (NM2001)		6.5	Doumas 1977, 94 pl. XXXIIIg
VIII	Seven stone beads of assorted shape (NM2009)		6.5	Doumas 1977, 94 pl. XXXIIIh

Table 6.4 Material from grave 9 at Akrotiri, Naxos.

	Grave context	Type and variety	Figure	Reference
I	Marble figurine (NM1992)	Schematic, violin	6.6	Doumas 1977, 89 pl. XXIXh
II	Marble figurine (NM1997)	Schematic, quadripartite	6.6	Doumas 1977, 89 pl. XXIXl
III	Clay collared jar (NM1958)		6.6	Doumas 1977, 89 pl. XXIXj
IV	Clay collared jar (NM1960)		6.6	Doumas 1977, 89 pl. XXIXk
V	Stone pendant-amulet (NM2003)		6.6	Doumas 1977, 89 pl. XXIXm
VI	Small necklace of tiny sea-shells and one small stone bead (NM2008)		6.6	Doumas 1977, 89 pl. XXIXi

Table 6.5 Material from grave 5 at Akrotiri, Naxos.

	Grave context	Type and variety	Figure	Reference
I	Marble figurine (NM1989)	Schematic, violin	6.7	Doumas 1977, 87 pl. XXVIIIi
II	Marble figurine (NM1990)	Plastiras	6.7	Doumas 1977, 87 pl. XXVIIIj
III	Clay cylindrical pyxis (NM1969)		6.7	Doumas 1977, 86 pl. XXVIIIc
IV	Clay cylindrical pyxis (NM1975)		6.7	Doumas 1977, 86 pl. XXVIIIf
V	Marble collared jar (NM1956)		6.7	Doumas 1977, 87 pl. XXVIIIh
VI	Marble palette (NM1991)		6.7	Doumas 1977, 87 pl. XXVIIId
VII	Necklace of 21 stone beads (NM2005)		6.7	Doumas 1977, 87 pl. XXVIIIg

Table 6.6 Material from grave 20 at Akrotiri, Naxos.

	Grave context	Type and variety	Figure	Reference
I	Marble figurine (NM1993)	Schematic, violin	6.8	Doumas 1977, 93 pl. XXXIIh-i
II	Marble figurine (NM1994)	Plastiras	6.8	Doumas 1977, 93 pl. XXXIIf-g
III	Bronze bead (NM2011)		6.8	Doumas 1977, 93 pl. XXXIIc

Table 6.7 Material from grave 9 at Plastiras, Paros. Items marked with an asterisk were stolen from the Paros Museum and have not yet been recovered.

	Grave context	Type and variety	Figure	Reference
I	Marble figurine (PM656) *	Plastiras	6.9	Doumas 1977, 99 pl. XXXVb
II	Marble figurine (PM657) *	Plastiras	6.9	Doumas 1977, 99 pl. XXXVa
III	Marble figurine (PM658) *	Plastiras	6.9	Doumas 1977, 99 pl. XXXVd
IV	Marble figurine (PM659) *	Plastiras	6.9	Doumas 1977, 99-100 pl. XXXVc
V	Marble collared jar (PM651)		6.9	Doumas 1977, 99 pl. XXXIVd
VI	Marble collared jar (PM654)		6.9	Doumas 1977, 99 pl. XXXIVe
VII	Marble bowl (PM650)		6.9	Doumas 1977, 98 pl. XXXIVf
VIII	Whetstone (PM673)		6.9	Doumas 1977, 100 pl. XXXIVc
IX	Fragment of bronze needle		-	Doumas 1977, 100
X	Fragments of obsidian blades		-	Doumas 1977, 100

Although no changes are observed in pottery technology, marble sculpture in Phase B shows remarkable advances. Besides the naturalistic rendering of the human figure, vessels such as the collared jar and an early form of bowl bear witness to skillful crafting and an adequate toolkit.

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Fig. 6.4 The context of grave 3 at Akrotiri, Naxos.

Fig. 6.5 The context of grave 21 at Akrotiri, Naxos.

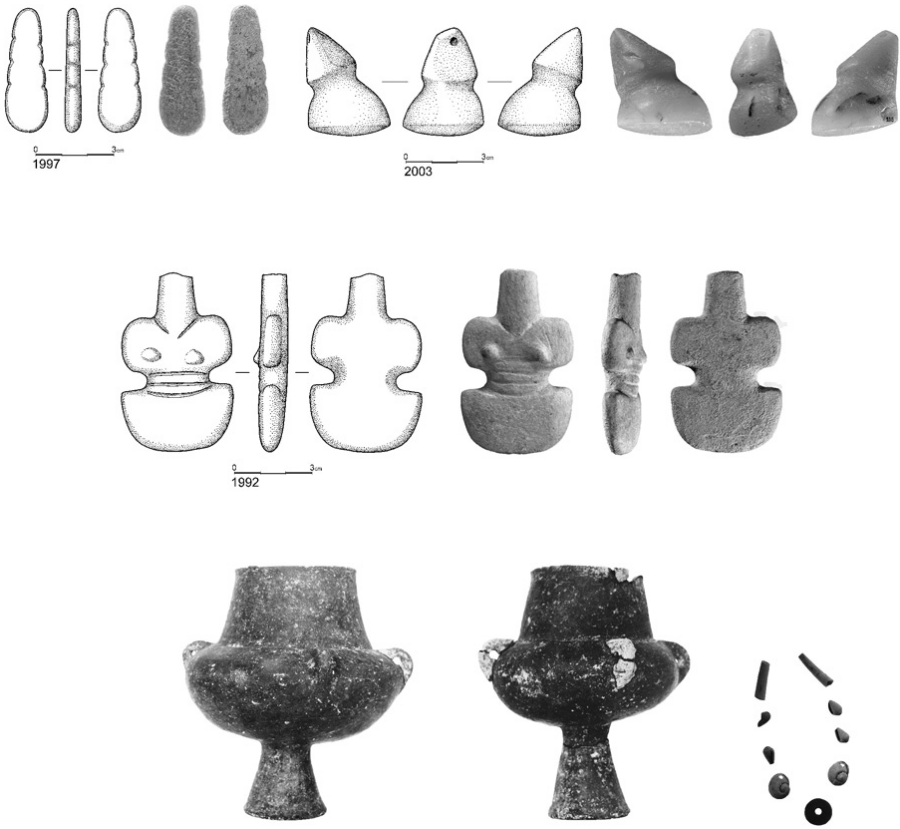

Fig. 6.6 The context of grave 9 at Akrotiri, Naxos.

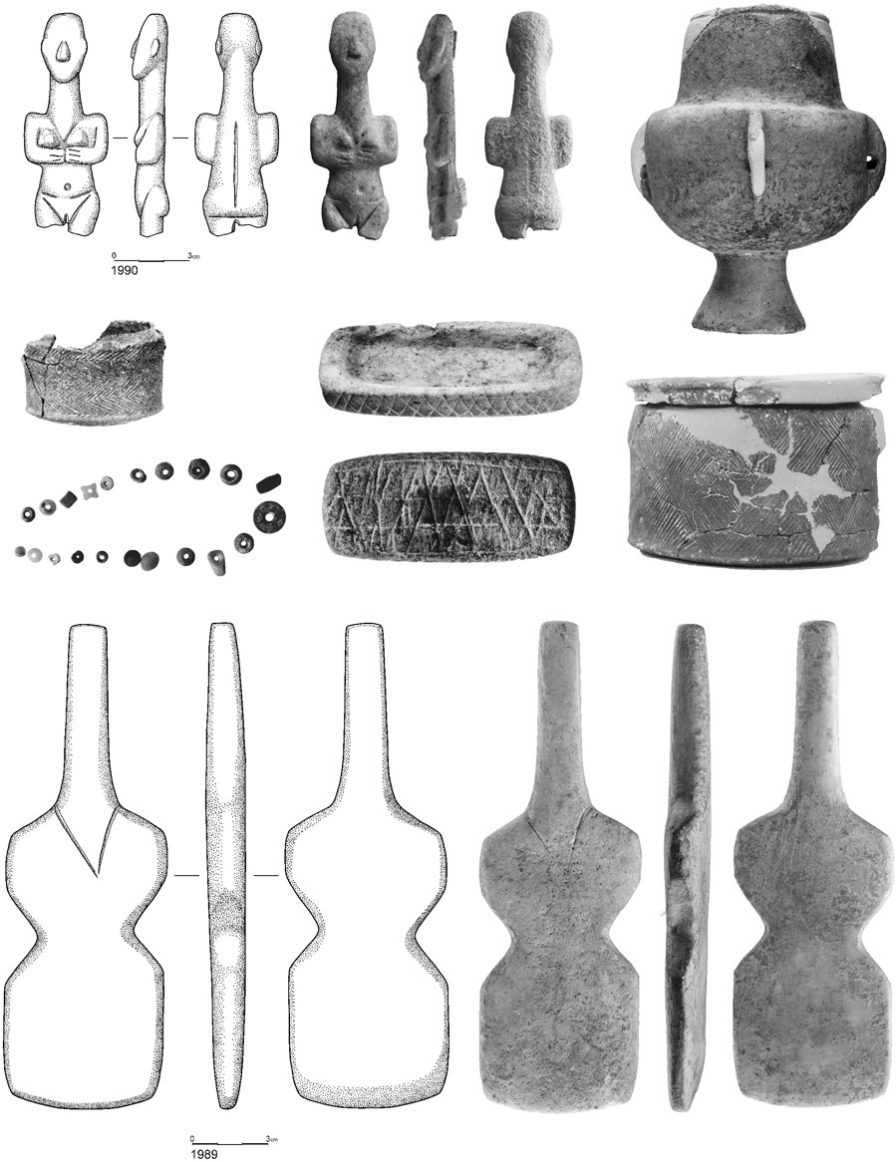

Fig. 6.7 The context of grave 5 at Akrotiri, Naxos.

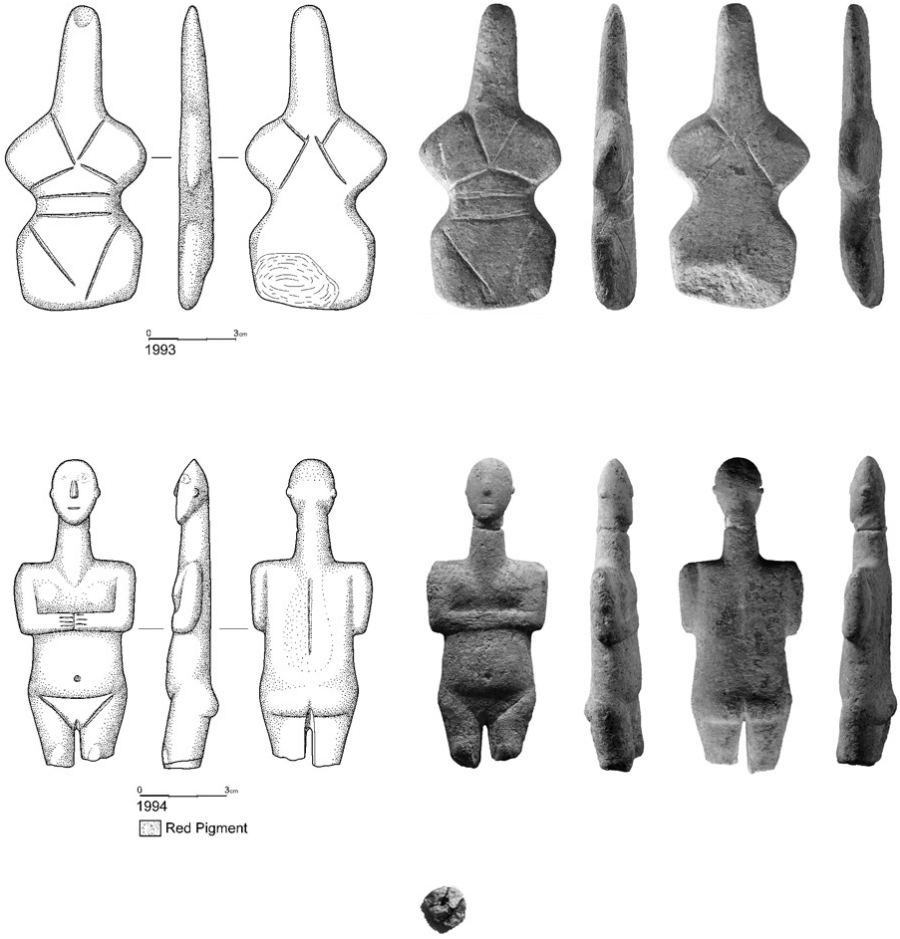

Fig. 6.8 The context of grave 20 at Akrotiri, Naxos.

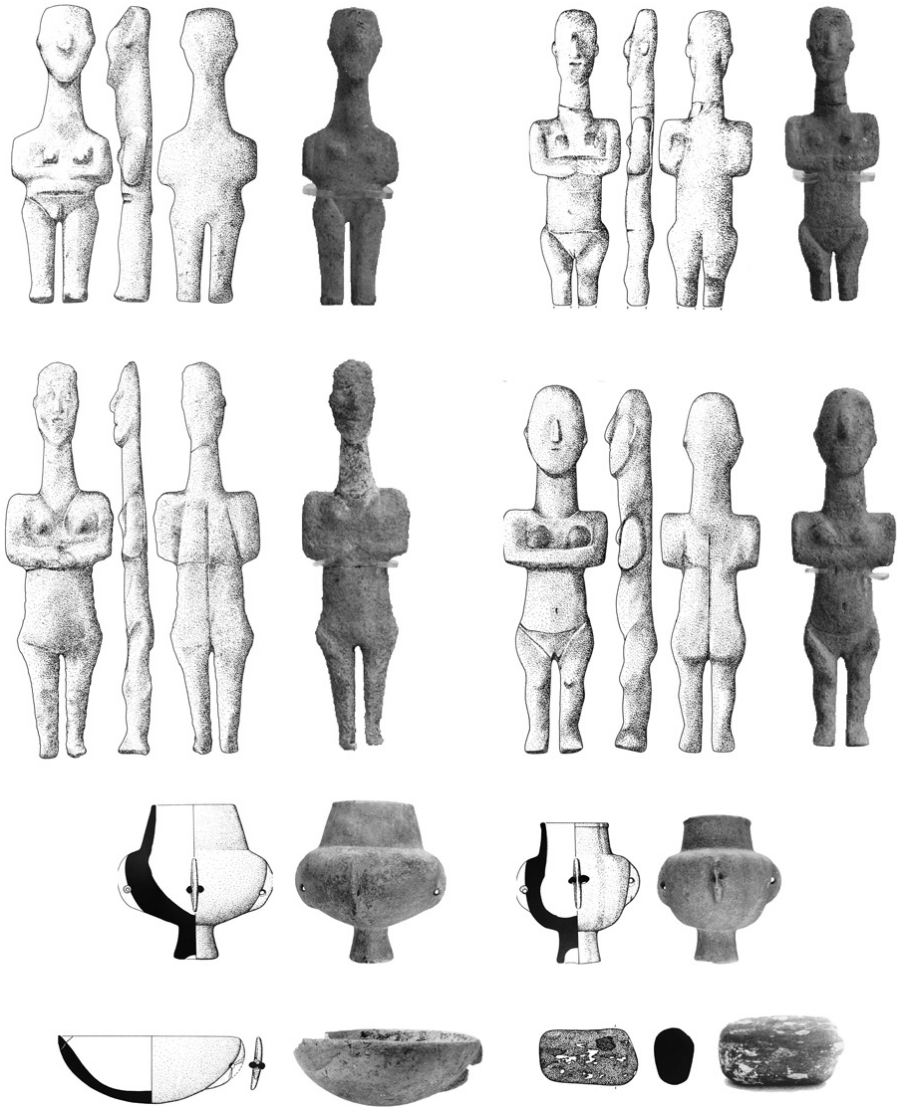

Fig. 6.9 The context of grave 9 at Plastiras, Paros.

Fig. 6.10 Grave 9 at Akrotiri, Naxos, during excavation.

Fig. 6.11 Plastiras, Paros, grave 9, during excavation.

7

SCHEMATIC MARBLE FIGURINES FROM SECURE EARLY CYCLADIC I GRAVE CONTEXTS ON THE ISLANDS OF ANO KOUPHONISI, ANTIPAROS, DHESPOTIKO, NAXOS, PAROS AND SIPHNOS

Jörg Rambach

More than 100 years after the explorations of Christos Tsountas in several islands of the Cyclades, it remains true today that most of the known schematic marble figurines from secure Early Cycladic I grave contexts were revealed in graves discovered and explored by this scholar (Tsountas 1898, 137–212; 1899, 73–134; Rambach 2000a pls 1–70; 2000b with Kombinationstabellen I and II). We still owe today the vast majority of preserved and published secure EC grave-good associations to his activities in the late 19th century on the islands of Amorgos, Antiparos, Dhespotiko, Paros, Siphnos and Syros. Much less evidence in this regard is available from the excavations conducted by Clon Stephanos, an anthropologist, in the first decades of the 20th century on the island of Naxos (Stephanos 1903, 52–7; 1904, 57–61; 1905, 216–25; 1906, 86–90; 1908, 114–7; 1909, 209–10; 1910, 270–3; 1911, 357). Some schematic marble figurines in grave context had also been recorded from prehistoric cemeteries in Antiparos, where J.T. Bent (1884, 42–59) opened some graves in 1883. Important new EC I grave-good assemblages were uncovered during rescue excavations undertaken by C. Doumas (1977, 73) in the years between 1961–1963 in the islands of Naxos and Paros. Schematic marble

figurines and their context in EC I graves of Naxos (site of Akrotiri) will be presented in this volume by the excavator himself (Doumas 1977, 82–96 graves 3, 5, 9, 20, 21; cf. also Rambach 2000a, 181 pls 86–95). From the late EC I (Kampos Group) cemetery of Agrilia on Ano Kouphonisi an unpublished schematic marble figurine and a small stone plaque with the depiction of a Louros figurine in relief are recorded (Zapheiropoulou 1970a, 429 pl. 372δ; 1970b, 51 fig. 7; 1983, 83 fig. 14; Thimme 1977, 456 fig. 186). During the last decades only one schematic marble figurine from a recently discovered EC I grave context has been published. O. Philaniotou (2008, 195-2007 esp.198. 201 fig. 20.10; 20.20) presented a schematic marble figurine as part of the grave-good assemblage from grave 113 of the cemetery of Tsikniades on Naxos.

Excavations of Christos Tsountas (1894–1897)

Paros: cemetery of Glypha

Located in the southeast area of the island. Tsountas reported the discovery and exploration of ten cist graves at this site in 1897 (Tsountas 1898, 139, 177; according to Tsountas 1898, 150 in the cemetery of Glypha no cist graves of type B1, with short entrance and side not blocked with a slab but with dry-stone walling, but only type A cists were noticed; for types A and B1 cf. Doumas 1977, 41–5). According to the excavator the cemetery of Glypha was so small, the graves so closely to each other regularly arranged in two rows and the construction of all so homogeneous, that it is impossible that a big chronological difference existed between them (Tsountas 1898, 204; Rambach 2000a, 15). The inventory of the four graves 21–4 published by Tsountas is indeed very homogeneous and can chronologically be assigned to the Plastiras Group (EC Ia2). Unfortunately it is not known if the offerings in the graves with the consecutive numbers 25 and 30 – one cylindrical clay pyxis with incised herringbone decoration and a high marble beaker respectively – have still to be assigned to the cemetery of Glypha or already to the one of Galana Krimna (Rambach 2000a, 15). Unfortunately the Inventory book of the National Museum at Athens quotes as location of origin for the graves Nos 25 and 30 only the name of the island. For the preserved grave-gift assemblages from the graves of Glypha and Galana Krimna see Rambach 2000a, 15–20 pl. 4, 4–9; 5, 1–4; 6, 1–5; 7, 1–7). In addition it is not known how many of the ten graves discovered at Glypha Tsountas considered to be worth recording in his catalogue of graves (Tsountas did not

number all the graves, but only the ones containing offerings; Tsountas 1899, 74 note 2; Rambach 2000a, 15 with note 47. In theory the graves with the consecutive numbers 21–30, but also these numbered 19–28 may have belonged to Glypha). Tsountas stressed the wealth of marble vessels observed in this small cemetery. He mentioned the discovery of six marble vases at Glypha, in contrast to the much bigger neighbouring cemetery at Galana Krimna, where only one marble vessel was uncovered (Tsountas 1898, 151). In neither cemetery was obsidian found (Tsountas 1898, 151 note 1).

Glypha grave 21 (Tsountas 1898, 155).
Grave type: all the stone slabs of the destroyed cist grave were removed. Presumably type A cist grave (For Early Cycladic grave types see Doumas 1977, 37–53; Rambach 2000a, 1–4). *Burial*: no comment by the excavator. *Offerings*: in the soil which was disturbed by natural processes Tsountas found three schematic marble figurines, a small stone pestle, a circular plaque of schist and the shell of a murex sea snail.

EAM4757(1)	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 51.5mm. Figure 7.1, 1. Tsountas 1898, 155; Rambach 2000a, 16 pl. 4, 4; 163, 12.
EAM4757(2)	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 82mm. Figure 7.1, 2. Tsountas 1898, 155 pl. 11, 11; Rambach 2000a, 16 pl. 4, 5; 163, 5.
EAM4757(3)	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, head and neck missing, preserved length 96mm. Figure 7.1, 3. Tsountas 1898, 155; Rambach 2000a, 16 pl. 4, 8; 163, 7.
EAM4758	Pestle made of black stone, length 66mm. Tsountas 1898, 155 pl. 8, 12; Rambach 2000a, 16 pl. 4, 7; 156, 9.
EAM11827	Circular plaque of schist, diameter 84mm. Tsountas 1898, 155; Rambach 2000a, 16 pl. 4, 6; 157, 8.
EAM?	Shell of a murex sea snail, length 120mm. Tsountas 1898, 155; Rambach 2000a, pl. 182, 12.

Glypha grave 24 (Tsountas 1898, 155).
Grave type: type A cist grave. Dimensions: 0.92m (length of rear side) × 0.50m (length of front side) × 0.85m (distance between front and rear side) × 0.50m (depth inside the cist; cf. Tsountas 1898, 152 note 1; Rambach 2000a, 3 with note 10). *Burial*: remains of the skull in the left rear corner. *Offerings*: in front of the skull two marble vessels and one schematic marble figurine

EAM4763	Marble collared jar (‘Kandila’) with four vertical suspension lugs, on high conical foot, height 284mm. Tsountas 1898, 155 pl. 10, 16; Rambach 2000a, 17 pl. 6, 2; 142, 1. 3.
EAM4764	Small marble collared jar (‘Kandila’) with four vertical suspension lugs, on high

	conical foot, height 138.5mm. Tsountas 1898, 155; Rambach 2000a, 17 pl. 5, 4; 143, 4.
EAM4765	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine with incised pubic triangle, length 106mm. Figure 7.1, 4. Tsountas 1898, 155 pl. 11, 20; Rambach 2000a, 17 pl. 6, 1; 163, 6.

Paros: cemetery of Panayia

Located in the southeast area of the island. Tsountas (1898, 139) uncovered 23 cist graves at this site in 1897. However, he was informed that some graves had been opened in this cemetery already before him (Tsountas 1898, 139). According to Tsountas cist graves of type A (upright stone slabs on four sides) were the rule in this cemetery. Type B1 cists, with upright slabs on three sides and dry-stone walling on the short front (entrance) side, were rare (Tsountas 1898, 142. 149–50). Graves 56, 57 and 75 belonged to the latter category (Doumas 1977, 42 fig. 25a; Rambach 2000a, 21–8). The known grave-good associations from Panayia are to be dated either in EC Ia1 or in EC Ia2 (Pelos Group and Plastiras Group respectively; Rambach 2000a, 21–8; 2000b, Kombinationstabelle I, Z 001, 009, 038; Kombinationstabelle II, Z 001, 007, 010, 042).

Panayia grave 77 (Tsountas 1898, 158).
Grave type: type A cist grave. Dimensions: 0.48m (length of rear side) × 0.28m (length of front side) × 0.40m (distance between front and rear side) × 0.37m (depth inside cist). Due to the small dimensions of this cist grave Tsountas considered it as a child's burial. *Burial*: no skeletal remains. *Offerings*: one schematic marble figurine and one perforated pendant of red stone.

EAM4798	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 60.5mm. Figure 7.1, 5. Tsountas 1898, 158; Rambach 2000a, 28 pl. 11, 6; 165, 1.
EAM4799	Long oval pendant of red-brown stone, perforated at the thicker end, length 35mm. Tsountas 1898, 158 pl. 8, 64; Rambach 2000a, 28 pl. 11, 7; 178, 3.

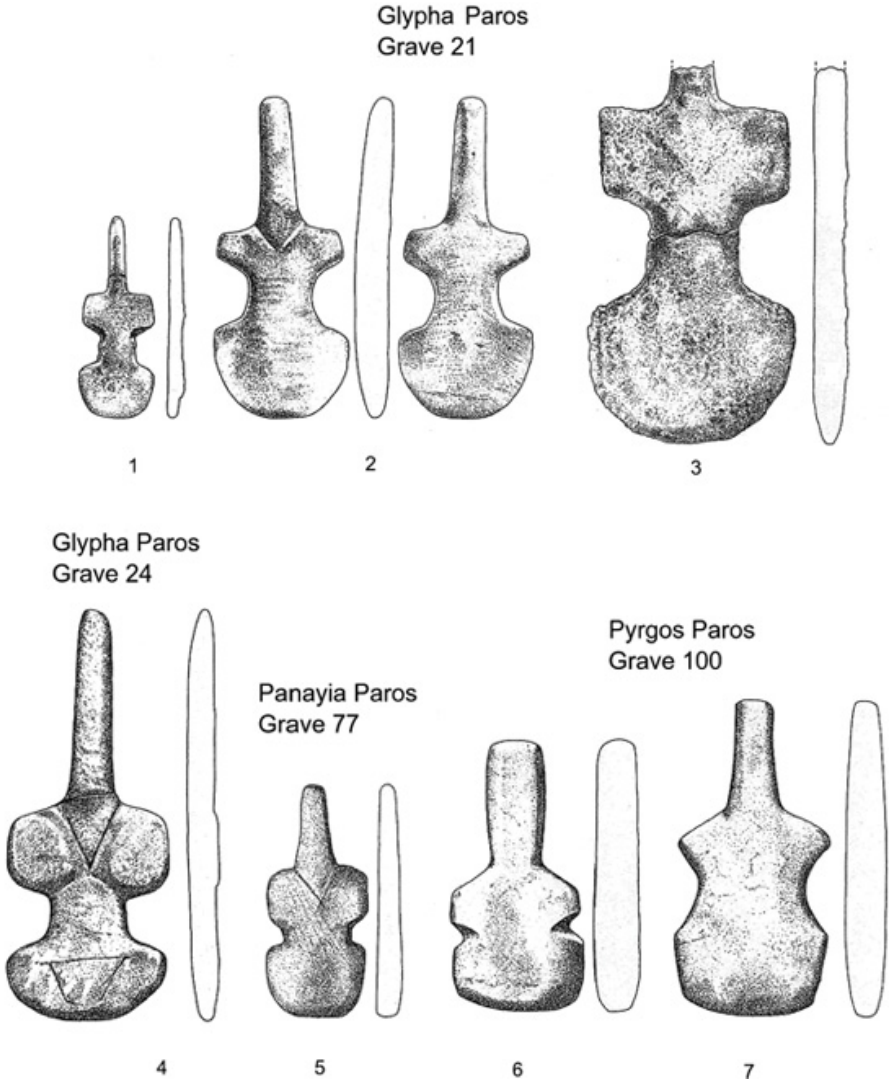

Fig. 7.1 Schematic figurines from Glypha, Panayia and Pyrgos on Paros. Scale 1:2.

Paros: cemetery of Pyrgos

Located in the southeast area of the island (Tsountas 1898, 141; Rambach 2000a, 28). In 1897 Tsountas (1898, 150) uncovered 58 cist graves at this site, among them 21 without any grave-gifts. According to its cist graves the cemetery of Pyrgos differed from other EC burial due to the small dimensions of the cists as Tsountas (1898, 143, 178) stressed. Among the total of 58 graves only 13 outnumbered at their longest – the rear side – the length of 0.80m (Tsountas 1898, 143). Cist graves of type A – built with four upright slabs – were the rule also in Pyrgos. Cists of type B1 with dry-stone walling on the short front side were rare (Tsountas 1898, 150). According to the published

grave-good associations this cemetery was used in EC Ia1 and EC Ia2 and perhaps also in EC Ib (Kampos-Group; Rambach 2000a, 29 with note 69).

Pyrgos grave 100 (Tsountas 1898, 159).

Grave type: type A cist grave. Dimensions: 0.50m (length of rear side) × 0.38m (length of front side) × 0.43m (distance between front and rear side) × 0.28m (depth inside cist). *Burial*: no skeletal remains mentioned. In the left rear corner a stone plaque was found, which Tsountas interpreted as a pillow-stone for the head of the deceased. *Offerings*: in the left front corner a small cylindrical clay pyxis with lid was found. Close to the latter two schematic marble figurines were observed. In the right rear corner another clay pyxis, spherical and with lid, was recovered.

EAM4816	Undecorated spherical clay pyxis with lid, height 68mm (without lid). Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, 34 pl. 13, 1; 114, 1. 4.
EAM4817	Undecorated cylindrical clay pyxis with lid, height 67mm (without lid). Tsountas 1898, 159 pl. 9, 14; Rambach 2000a, 34 pl. 13, 2; 112, 2. 5.
EAM4818(1)	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 81mm. Figure 7.1, 7. Tsountas 1898, 159 pl. 11, 17; Rambach 2000a, 34 pl. 13, 4; 165, 12.
EAM4818(2)	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 69.5mm. Figure 7.1, 6. Tsountas 1898, 159 pl. 11, 14; Rambach 2000a, 34 pl. 13, 3; 166, 2.

Pyrgos grave 103 (Tsountas 1898, 159–60).
Grave type: type A cist grave. Dimensions: 0.49m (length of rear side) × 0.34m (length of front side) × 0.41m (distance between front and rear side) × 0.29m (depth inside cist). *Burial*: no skeletal remains mentioned. *Offerings*: close to the right side of the grave were found: 14 schematic marble figurines, five stone beads, 23 dentalium shells, five small perforated sea snails and six tiny cone shells, also perforated. A little further, towards the middle of the grave's front side lay a clay vessel without raised base, decorated with incised lines coming down from the shoulders.

EAM4820	Clay collared jar with 2+2 vertically perforated vertical lugs, decorated with vertically incised lines from shoulder to bottom, height 106.5mm. Tsountas 1898, 160 pl. 9, 28; Rambach 2000a, 35 pl. 13, 20; 102, 5.
EAM4821	14 schematic marble figurines.
EAM4821, 1	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 30.5mm. Figure 7.2, 1. Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, 35 pl. 13, 13; 162, 6.
EAM4821, 2	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 31.5mm. Figure 7.2, 2. Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, 35 pl. 13, 14; 162, 7.
EAM4821, 3	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 34.5mm. Figure 7.2, 3.

	Tsountas 1898, 159 pl. 11, 4; Rambach 2000a, 35 pl. 13, 15; 162, 8.
EAM4821, 4	Spade-shaped marble figurine, length 34mm. Figure 7.2, 5. Tsountas 1898, 159 pl. 11, 7; Rambach 2000a, 35 pl. 13, 17; 164, 2.
EAM4821, 5	Spade-shaped marble figurine, length 33.5mm. Figure 7.2, 4. Tsountas 1898, 159 pl. 11, 13; Rambach 2000a, 35 pl. 13, 16; 164, 4.
EAM4821, 6	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine with detailed depiction of the interior body structure, head and neck missing, preserved length 29mm. Figure 7.2, 6. Tsountas 1898, 159 pl. 11, 6; Rambach 2000a, 35 pl. 13, 18; 162, 5.
EAM4821, 7	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 46mm. Figure 7.2, 7. Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, 36 pl. 13, 19; 162, 9.
EAM4821, 8	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 54mm. Figure 7.2, 8. Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, 36 pl. 13, 22; 166, 1.
EAM4821, 9	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 61.5mm. Figure 7.2, 9. Tsountas 1898, 159 pl. 11, 10; Rambach 2000a, 36 pl. 13, 23; 165, 10.
EAM4821, 10	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 87.5mm. Figure 7.2, 11. Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, 36 pl. 13, 21; 165, 8.
EAM4821, 11	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 97mm. Figure 7.2, 12. Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, 36 pl. 14, 1; 164, 10.
EAM4821, 12	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 94mm. Figure 7.2, 13. Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, 36 pl. 14, 2; 165, 6.
EAM4821, 13	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 105.5mm. Figure 7.2, 14. Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, 36 pl. 14, 3; 165, 7.
EAM4821, 14	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 55mm. Figure 7.2, 10. Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, 36 pl. 14, 4; 162, 10.
EAM4822	Seven stone beads: Tassel-shaped pendant, upper part with perforation broken, white marble, preserved length 18mm. Tsountas 1898, 159 (?); Rambach 2000a, 36 pl. 14, 5; 178, 8f. Tassel-shaped pendant, upper part with perforation broken, white marble, preserved length 19.5mm.

	Tsountas 1898, 159 (?); Rambach 2000a, 36 pl. 14, 6; 178, 8g.
	Three olive-shaped beads made of pale green stone, length 10mm; length 9.5mm; length 8mm. Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, 36 pl. 14, 7-9; 178, 8c-e.
	One cylindrical bead, pale green stone, length 7.5mm.
	Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, 36 pl. 14, 10; 178, 8a.
	One depressed-spherical bead, pale green stone, diameter 7.5mm.
	Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, 36 pl. 14, 11; 178, 8b.
EAM4822	Necklace composed of 13 dentalium shells, five small perforated sea snails and six perforated tiny cone shells.
	Tsountas 1898, 160; Rambach 2000a, 36 pl. 181, 10.

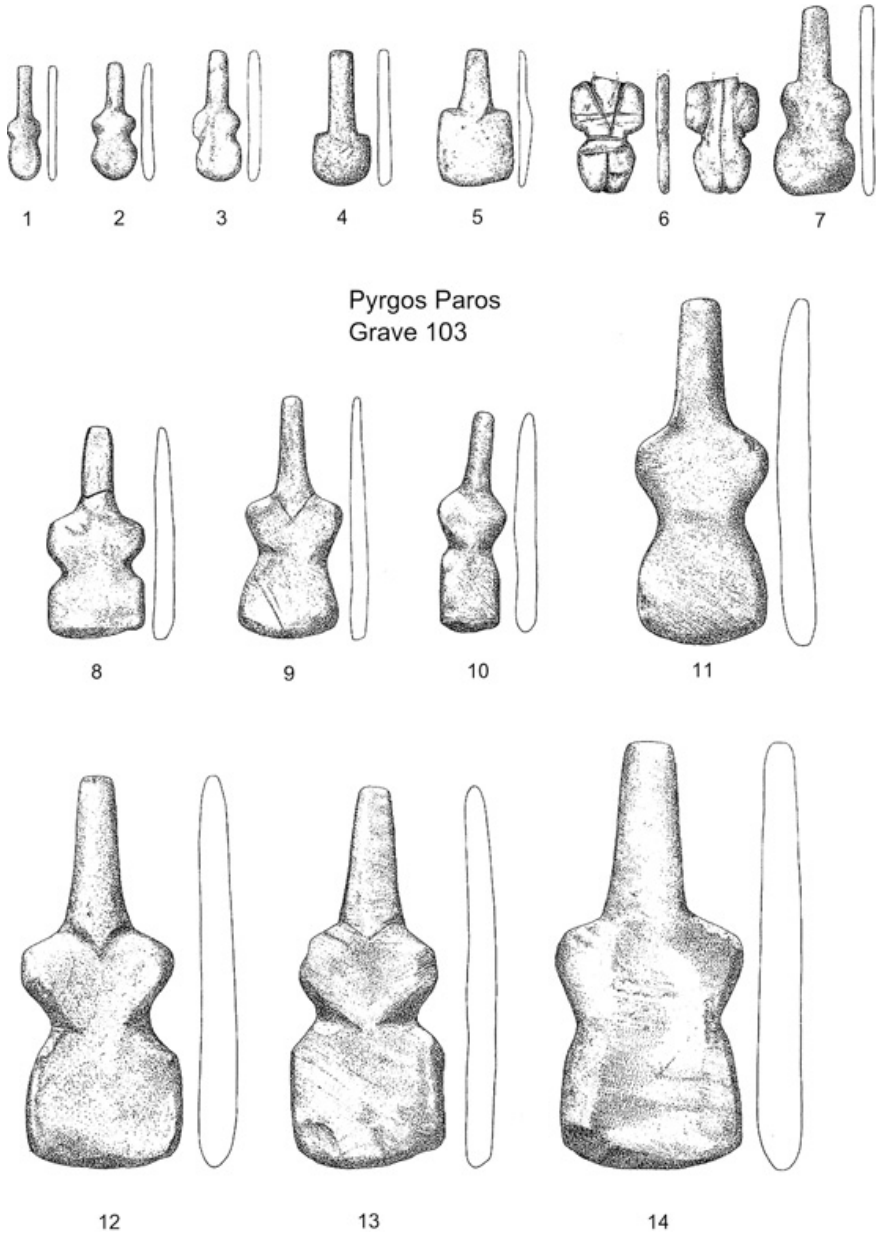

Fig. 7.2 Schematic figurines from Pyrgos on Paros. Scale 1:2.

Antiparos: cemetery of Krasades

Located at the western side of the island near the narrow strait between Antiparos and the neighbouring island of Dhespotiko. In 1897 four larger EC burial grounds were known to Tsountas (1898, 140), all of them located in the southern half of the island at the sites called: Apantima, Soros, Petalidi and Krasades. At all these sites illegal

excavations had been taken place, at some by J.T. Bent and his friends, the Swan brothers, and at the others by some Frenchman (Tsountas 1898, 140). Tsountas excavated only in the cemetery of Krasades, because this one was close to a mine and the houses of the miners and therefore it was not possible for the grave robbers to exhaust it. Tsountas (1898, 140) estimated the total of graves at Krasades to be at least 50, because this was the number of pits opened by himself and the others that he could count. According to Tsountas many of the grave cists in this cemetery showed dry-stone walling on their short front side (type B1 cist graves). Among the graves published by him no cist of this type is mentioned (Tsountas 1898, 161–2; Rambach 2000a, 41 with note 76). It is unknown how many graves Tsountas uncovered at this site. However, there could not have been more than eleven worth recording (Rambach 2000a, 41 with note 77). The grave good assemblages from the documented burials prove the use of this cemetery from EC Ia to EC Ib and EC IIa (grave 112; Rambach 2000a, 41–7).

Krasades grave 115 (Tsountas 1898, 161–2).
Grave type: type A cist grave. Dimensions: 1.10m (length of rear side) × 0.57m (length of front side) × 0.42m (distance between front and rear side) × 0.37m (depth inside cist). *Burial*: the skull lay in the left rear corner. *Offerings*: in front of the skull were found: nine stone beads, six tiny beads of white and easily abrading material, a piece of natural rock-crystal perforated at one end, another – bigger – unperforated piece of natural rock-crystal and two schematic marble figurines. The broken head of one of the figurines was found a little bit further away beside the feet of the deceased.

EAM4852	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine (Renfrew's notch waisted form: 1969, 5 with note 22 Il. 1, 1.B), mended at the neck, length 79mm. Figure 7.3, 1. Tsountas 1898, 161–2, pl. 11, 19; Rambach 2000a, 43 pl. 16, 21; 166, 4.
EAM4853	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 144mm. Figure 7.3, 2. Tsountas 1898, 161–2; Rambach 2000a, 43 pl. 17, 1; 166, 8.
EAM4854	14 stone beads or pendants and two pieces of rock-crystal. Three pendants in the shape of a phallus, pale green slightly translucent stone length 29mm; pale brown marble length 14mm; dark green slightly translucent stone length 44mm. Tsountas 1898, 161–2 pl. 8, 37–8; Rambach 2000a, 43 pl. 16, 6–8; 179, 1a.b. f. Two flat-circular beads, red-orange translucent stone diameter 8mm; red-orange translucent stone diameter 3.8mm. Tsountas 1898, 161–2 pl. 8, 41 (?);

	Rambach 2000a, 43 pl. 16, 10–11; 178, 11e–f.
	One spherical bead, pale orange-brown translucent stone, diameter 9mm.
	Tsountas 1898, 161–2 pl. 8, 41 (?); Rambach 2000a, 43 pl. 16, 12; 178, 11d.
	One conical horizontally perforated pendant, very light, red-brown ochre (?), length 13mm.
	Tsountas 1898, 161–2 pl. 8, 43; Rambach 2000a, 43 pl. 16, 13; 179, 1d.
	Two flat-circular beads, made of white limestone (?) diameter 3.5mm; 3.8mm.
	Tsountas 1898, 161–2 pl. 8, 41 (?); Rambach 2000a, 43 pl. 16, 14–15; 178, 11a–b.
	Olive-shaped bead, pale green stone, length 24.5mm.
	Tsountas 1898, 161–2; Rambach 2000a, 43 pl. 16, 16; 179, 1g.
	Bi-conical bead, pale green stone, length 17.5mm.
	Tsountas 1898, 161–2; Rambach 2000a, 43 pl. 16, 17; 179, 1e.
	Barrel shaped bead, pale whitish-green stone, length 16mm.
	Tsountas 1898, 161–2; Rambach 2000a, 43 pl. 16, 18; 179, 1h.
	Olive-shaped bead, greenish-white stone, length 19mm.
	Tsountas 1898, 161–2; Rambach 2000a, 43 pl. 16, 19; 179, 1i.
	Spherical bead, very light, red-brown, textured stone, diameter 13.5mm.
	Tsountas 1898, 161–2; Rambach 2000a, 43 pl. 16, 20; 179, 1c.
	Unperforated piece of natural rock-crystal, length 36mm.
	Tsountas 1898, 161–2; Rambach 2000a, 43 pl. 178, 11c.
	Piece of natural rock-crystal perforated at one end (not found).
	Tsountas 1898, 161–2 pl. 8, 40; Rambach 2000a, 43.
EAM11883	Spherical bead made of lead, diameter 10.5mm.
	Tsountas 1898, 161–2; Rambach 2000a, 43–44 pl. 16, 9; 178, 11g.

Krasades grave 117 (Tsountas 1898, 162).

Grave type: type A cist grave. Dimensions: 1.16m (length of rear side) × 0.62m (length of front side) × 0.66m (distance between front and rear side) × 0.42m (depth inside cist). *Burial*: the skull lay in the left rear corner. *Offerings*: in front of the skull a marble vessel was found (shape as Tsountas 1898, pl. 10, 18). Towards the right rear corner, at the feet of the deceased, lay 13 schematic marble figurines and one small marble bowl (diameter 50mm).

EAM4856	13 schematic marble figurines, among

	them 12 fiddle-shaped figurines.
EAM4856, 1	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 34mm. Figure 7.3, 9. Tsountas 1898, 162; Rambach 2000a, 44 pl. 17, 9; 163, 9.
EAM4856, 2	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 34.5mm. Figure 7.3, 8. Tsountas 1898, 162; Rambach 2000a, 44 pl. 17, 8; 166, 2.
EAM4856, 3	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 33.5mm. Figure 7.3, 10. Tsountas 1898, 162 pl. 11, 8; Rambach 2000a, 45 pl. 17, 10; 163, 13.
EAM4856, 4	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, neck and head missing, preserved length 21mm. Figure 7.3, 7. Tsountas 1898, 162; Rambach 2000a, 45 pl. 17, 7; 163, 11.
EAM4856, 5	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 52.5mm. Figure 7.4, 4. Tsountas 1898, 162 pl. 11, 5; Rambach 2000a, 45 pl. 17, 14; 163, 5.
EAM4856, 6	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 55.5mm. Figure 7.4, 1. Tsountas 1898, 162 pl. 11, 9; Rambach 2000a, 45 pl. 17, 11; 163, 3.
EAM4856, 7	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 51mm. Figure 7.4, 3. Tsountas 1898, 162; Rambach 2000a, 45 pl. 17, 13; 165, 5.
EAM4856, 8	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 53.5mm. Figure 7.4, 2. Tsountas 1898, 162; Rambach 2000a, 45 pl. 17, 12; 165, 3.
EAM4856, (9)	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 71mm. Figure 7.3, 6. Tsountas 1898, 162 pl. 11, 1; Rambach 2000a, 45 pl. 18, 1; 163, 2.
EAM4856, (10)	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 63mm. Figure 7.3, 5. Tsountas 1898, 162; Rambach 2000a, 45 pl. 17, 5; 165, 10.
EAM4856, (11)	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 68mm. Figure 7.4, 5. Tsountas 1898, 162; Rambach 2000a, 45 pl. 17, 15; 164, 8.
EAM4856, 12	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 152mm. Figure 7.3, 3. Tsountas 1898, 162; Rambach 2000a, 45 pl. 17, 6; 163, 4.
EAM4856, (13)	Tripartite marble figurine, length 40mm. Figure 7.3, 4. Tsountas 1898, 162 pl. 11, 15; Rambach 2000a, 45 pl. 17, 4; 164, 6.
EAM4857	Small earless round bottomed marble bowl, at the exterior five engraved radial lines, diameter 51mm.

Tsountas 1898, 160 fig. 7 (there misleadingly assigned to grave 106); Rambach 2000a, 44 pl. 18, 2; 153, 3.

Note: not inventoried and not re-identified is the marble beaker with two horizontally perforated vertical suspension lugs at the sides, which Tsountas 1898, 162 as pl. 10, 18 assigns to this grave.

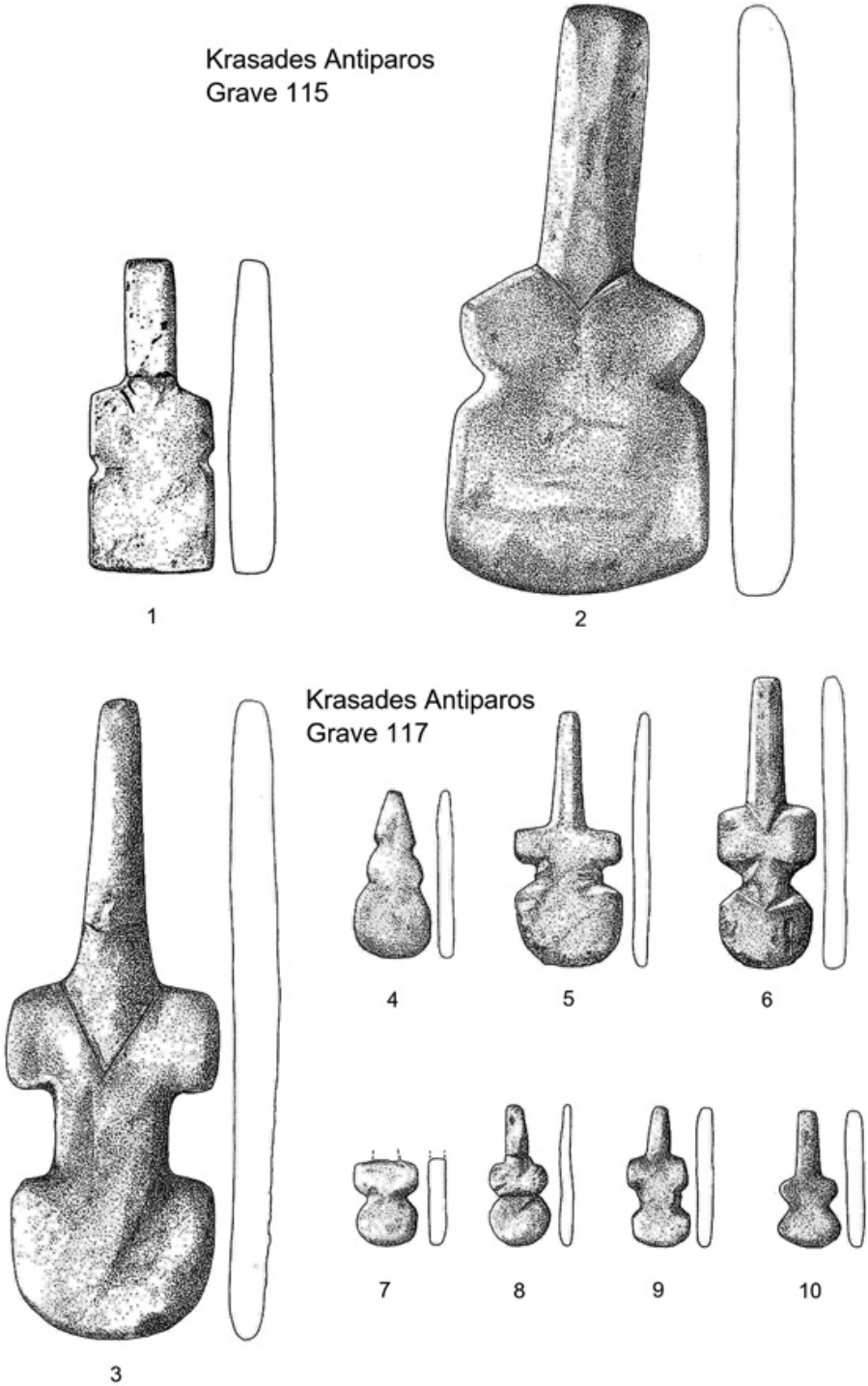

Fig. 7.3 Schematic figurines from Krasades on Antiparos. Scale 1:2.

Dhespotiko: cemetery of Livadhi

Located in the south of the island. At the mouth of the southwards opening sandy glen of Livadhi still at the times of Tsountas the only freshwater source of this island was located directly besides the sea (Tsountas 1898, 140 with note 1). There, at the slope of a gently northwards rising ridge, Tsountas (1898, 140) discovered in 1897 three assemblages of graves spatially divided from each other. The first group of graves consisted of six double graves, i.e. double-storied cist graves. The second – about 50m apart from the first – provided four ordinary cist graves. Still more remote was the third group of graves, which again was composed of eight to nine multi-storied stone cists (Tsountas 1898, 140–1).

Among the first grave group are counted the graves with the consecutive numbers 123–6 and 130, among the second the graves listed under the numbers 127–9 and among the third group the graves with numbers 131–4 (Tsountas 1898, 162).

The use of the first grave group may have started already in EC Ia (grave 124 below), though definitely in EC Ib and lasted obviously until EC IIb (grave 126 above). In the second group of graves interments took place in EC Ia2 as well as in EC IIa. For the third group there is only one chronologically secure grave good assemblage, which is to be dated to EC IIa (Rambach 2000a, 48).

Livadhi grave 127 (grave group II; Tsountas 1898, 163).
Grave type: type A cist grave. Dimensions: 0.90m (length of rear side) × 0.60m (length of front side) × 0.64m (distance between front and rear side) × 0.55m (depth inside cist). *Burial*: no comments. *Offerings*: close to the left side of the cist a schematic marble figurine was found, another similar one occurred at the opposite right side.

EAM4868	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 75mm. Figure 7.4, 7. Tsountas 1898, 163; Rambach 2000a, 52 pl. 19, 8; 164, 1.
EAM4869	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 186mm. Figure 7.4, 6. Tsountas 1898, 163; Rambach 2000a, 52 pl. 19, 9; 164, 11.

Livadhi grave 129 (grave group II; Tsountas 1898, 163).
Grave type: type A cist grave. Dimensions: 0.86m (length of rear side) × 0.33m (length of front side) × 0.70m (distance between front and rear side) × 0.49m (depth inside cist). *Burial*: no comments. *Offerings*: at the right side of the grave cist a marble vessel was found. Close to the latter a marble palette with traces of red pigment was uncovered. Upon the palette lay three schematic marble figurines and two pebbles, one of these showing traces of red pigment.

EAM4872	At the three preserved corners vertically perforated flat oblong marble palette, length 269mm. Tsountas 1898, 163 pl. 10, 12; Rambach 2000a, 52 pl. 19, 12; 154, 1.
EAM4872	Rounded pebble, l ength 41mm.

	Tsountas 1898, 163; Rambach 2000a, 53 pl. 19, 10; 157, 3.
EAM4872	Large chip of marble, length 53mm. Tsountas 1898, 163; Rambach 2000a, 53 pl. 19, 11; 157, 2.
EAM4873	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 82mm. Figure 7.5, 3. Tsountas 1898, 163, 195 pl. 11, 16; Rambach 2000a, 53 pl. 20, 2; 166, 12.

Note: Tsountas (1898, 195) noticed traces of red pigment depicting a kind of band at the neck of this figurine.

EAM4874	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 120mm. Figure 7.5, 2. Tsountas 1898, 163, 195 pl. 11, 18; Rambach 2000a, 53 pl. 20, 3; 164, 3.

Note: Tsountas 1898, 195 noticed a band of red pigment in the middle of the bar-shaped head of this figurine.

EAM4875	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine, length 93mm. Figure 7.5, 1. Tsountas 1898, 163; Rambach 2000a, 53 pl. 20, 4; 164, 12.
EAM4876	Marble collared jar (‘Kandila’) with four vertical suspension lugs, on high conical foot, height 170mm. Tsountas 1898, 163; Rambach 2000a, 53 pl. 20, 1; 143, 6.

Note: Tsountas 1898, 163 refers to a marble vessel of the same shape as the one depicted on his pl. 10, 18, i.e. a marble beaker. The inventory of the National Museum in Athens quotes for grave 129 a marble collared jar. This discrepancy seems to trace back to a probable misprint in Tsountas’ publication. There, on his pl. 10, 16 a marble collared jar is depicted.

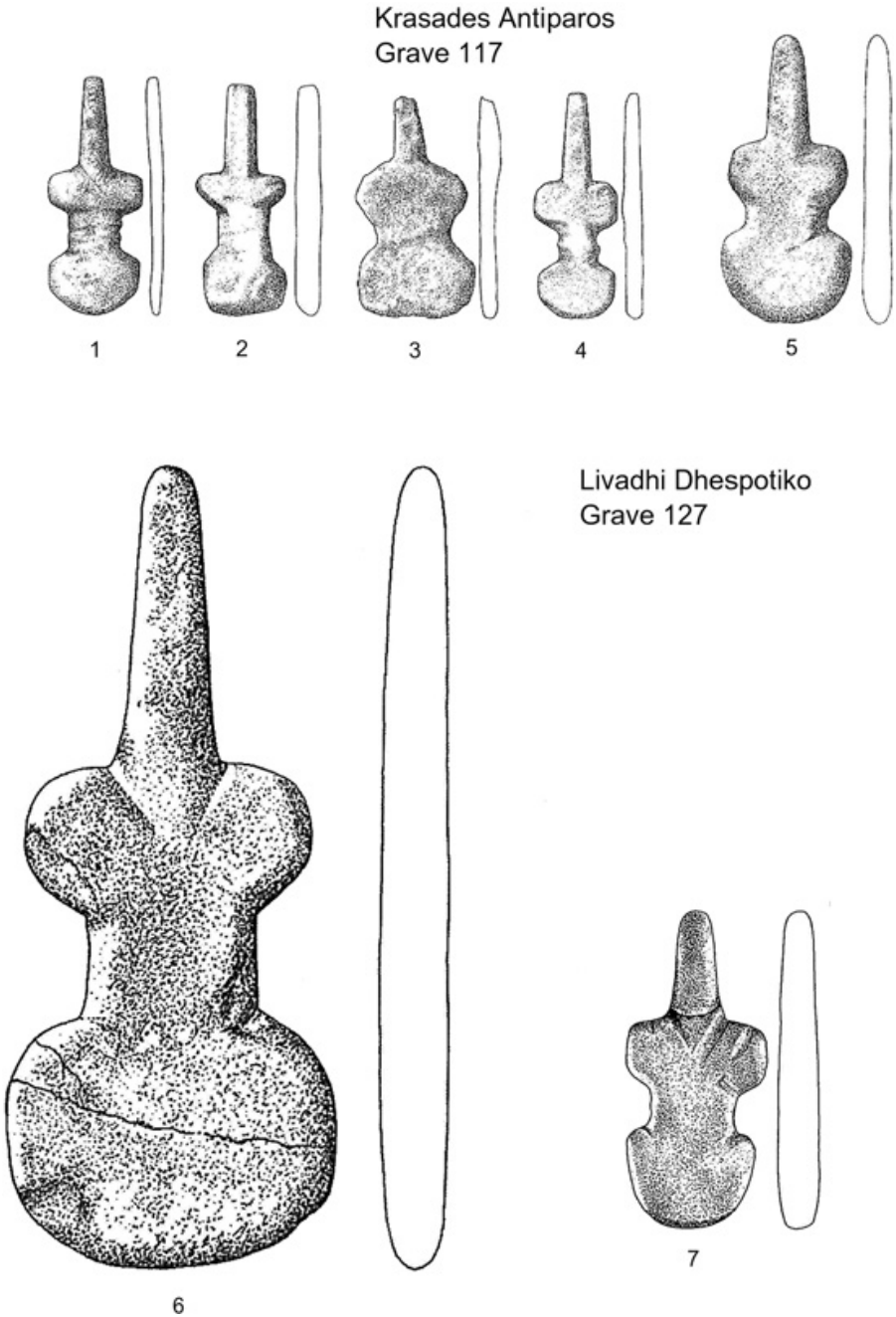

Fig. 7.4 Schematic figurines from Krasades on Antiparos and Livadhi on Dhespotiko. Scale 1:2.

Dhespotiko: cemetery of Zoumbaria

Northwest of the groups of graves of the Livadhi burial ground and on

top of the ridge which starts to rise there, at a location called Zoumbaria, Tsountas discovered in 1897 a larger cemetery of fourteen cist graves. For him it was obvious that there existed still more graves, but he was not able to complete the excavation of this cemetery (Tsountas 1898, 141). Most of the graves excavated by him in Zoumbaria had to be assigned to type A cists (Tsountas 1898, 149–50). All the grave good assemblages from Tsountas' excavations at this place have to be dated to EC Ia (Rambach 2000a, 55–9). To the same chronological horizon should also belong the twenty cist graves – among them ten without offerings – excavated by N. Zapheiropoulos in 1959 at the same location (Zapheiropoulos 1960, 244–7 esp. 246). Also these cist graves contained the deceased with the head orientated to the left side and resting on its right side in contracted position (Zapheiropoulos 1960, 247 esp. pl. 216 γ. Left implies left from the position of a viewer in front of the shorter front side of the trapezoid cist grave). The offerings – one incised decorated clay vessel each in the ten graves – do not seem to widen the framework of the known spectrum of EC I pottery shapes. Zapheiropoulos recorded cylindrical pyxides and collared jars with and without foot (Zapheiropoulos 1960, 247 with pl. 216 γ: Clay collared jar with 2 + 2 vertically perforated vertical lug handles). One of these ten graves – containing one cylindrical clay pyxis with incised decoration as an offering – has been published by Bossert & Erhardt (1965, 112–25 fig. 1; 2, 1) including an anthropological analysis of the skeletal remains of the deceased. Zapheiropoulos (1960, 247) recorded the collection of EC II pottery fragments in the area of this cemetery. However, as documentation he only cites a fragment of an unpublished Cycladic frying pan with spiral decoration.

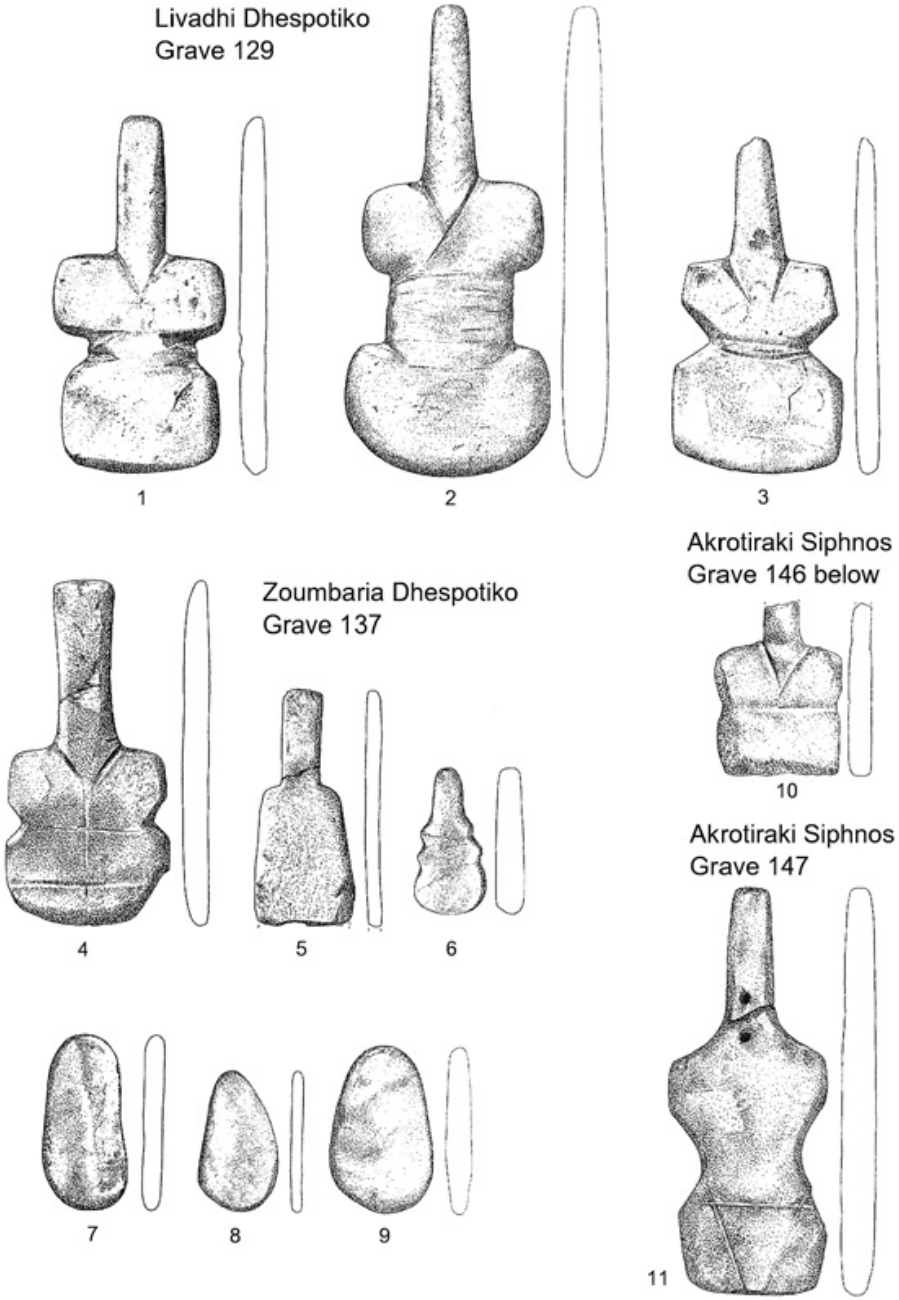

Fig. 7.5 Schematic figurines from Livadhi and Zoumbaria on Dhespotiko and Akrotiraki on Siphnos. Scale 1:2.

Zoumbaria grave 137 (Tsountas 1898, 165).
Grave type: type A cist grave. Dimensions: 0.95m (length of rear side) × 0.78m (length of front side) × 0.56m (distance between front and rear side) × 0.43m (depth inside cist). *Burial*: Remains of the skull in the left rear corner. *Offerings*: In front of the skull were found: one clay vessel, totally decayed, three schematic marble figurines and three flat pebbles probably also representing figurines.

EAM4885 (1)	Tripartite schematic marble figurine, length 38.5mm. Figure 7.5, 6. Tsountas 1898, 165; Rambach 2000a, 58 pl. 22, 46; 164, 9.
EAM4885 (2)	Bottle-shaped schematic marble figurine, length 59mm. Figure 7.5, 5. Tsountas 1898, 165 pl. 11, 3; Rambach 2000a, 58 pl. 22, 50; 166, 5.
EAM4885 (3)	Fiddle-shaped schematic marble figurine, length 86mm. Figure 7.5, 4. Tsountas 1898, 165; Rambach 2000a, 58 pl. 22, 45; 166, 13.
EAM4885 (4)	Flat oval marble pebble, length 47mm. Figure 7.5, 7. Tsountas 1898, 165; Rambach 2000a, 58 pl. 22, 47; 165, 13.
EAM4885 (5)	Flat oval marble pebble, length 37.5mm. Figure 7.5, 8. Tsountas 1898, 165; Rambach 2000a, 58 pl. 22, 48; 165, 11.
EAM4885 (6)	Flat oval marble pebble, length 44.5mm. Figure 7.5, 9. Tsountas 1898, 165 pl. 11, 2; Rambach 2000a, 58 pl. 22, 49; 165, 9.

Siphnos: cemetery of Akrotiraki

In the southeastern area of this island, at the bay of Platys Aigialos, some years ago a prehistoric cemetery at the site of Akrotiraki was discovered, which was first mentioned by Pollak (1896, 210–11). At this location Tsountas also tried to excavate in 1898, but unfortunately most of the graves had already been excavated. For this reason he was not able to discover more than seven or eight new ones (Tsountas 1899, 73). In Tsountas' opinion this cemetery was not constituted by a large quantity of graves, even though it covered a considerable area. He noticed that the graves were not all located close to each other, but formed – as Tsountas was able to judge on the basis of his own explorations and the excavations of the landowner – small groups of three, four or five graves each. For him it seemed obvious that each family interred its dead some way away from those of the others (Tsountas 1899, 73–4). As on Dhespotiko the graves were one- or two-storied. Tsountas (1899, 74) himself found four two-storied grave cists at Akrotiraki, but he noticed another two-storied one, which had been opened before him. In terms of shape, dimensions and construction technique the grave cists did not differ at all from those of Paros, Antiparos and Dhespotiko. The only difference observed was the fact that in Siphnos – besides type B1 cist graves with dry-stone walling on their short front side - often all the sides of the grave cist were walled up with small field stones (type E cist

graves; Tsountas 1899, 74; for type B1 and E cist graves cf. Doumas 1977, 47 fig. 27b; 29f–j; 31d–f). Similar were also the position and the orientation of the deceased in the graves as documented by the quite well preserved skeleton in the upper storey of grave 145 (type E cist). There the deceased was found in a contracted position laying on its right side. The right arm was bent beneath the body and the right hand perhaps reached the area beneath the head. The left arm was similarly bent at the elbow and the left hand presumably touched the cylindrical clay pyxis in front of the skull. The legs were contracted to the extent that the knees were closer to the head than the pelvis (Tsountas 1899, 74–5). The grave good assemblages in the graves of Akrotiraki document burial activities which had taken place from EC Ia on and ended in EC IIb (Rambach 2000a, 60–5 and Kombinationstabellen I and II).

Akrotiraki grave 146 (Tsountas 1899, 75).
Grave type: double-storied cist grave, type? *Burial, top*: no comments. *Offerings, top*: totally decayed spherical clay pyxis with incised decoration. Note: pyxis, not inventoried and not re-identified in the EAM. *Burial, bottom*: no comments. *Offerings, bottom*: schematic marble figurine, more than half of the barshaped neck and head missing. No comments to its position in the grave at the time of its discovery.

EAM4958	Fiddle-shaped (?) schematic marble figurine, preserved length 42mm. Figure 7.5, 10. Tsountas 1899, 75; Rambach 2000a, 63 pl. 25, 2; 166, 11.

Akrotiraki grave 147 (Tsountas 1899, 75–6).
Grave type: one-storied cist grave, type? *Burial*: no comments. *Offerings*: schematic marble figurine with two repair perforations at the neck for mending in prehistoric times. On lower body engraved triangle for the depiction of the vulva. No comments to the figurine's position in the grave at the time of its discovery.

EAM4959	Fiddle-shaped marble figurine with neck broken and mended in prehistoric times, length 101.4mm. Figure 7.5, 11. Tsountas 1899, 75–6 fig. 28; Rambach 2000a, 64 pl. 25, 3; 164, 7.

Investigations of James Theodore Bent 1883 on the island of Antiparos

In 1883 during a stay in Antiparos Bent (1884, 47) was shown extensive prehistoric graveyards there. He visited no less than four on the island itself and heard from natives of the existence of others in other parts of the island. According to his report a rock in the sea between Antiparos and the adjacent uninhabited island of Dhespotiko

was covered with graves and another, bigger island in this narrow strait was called 'Cemeteri' from the graves on it. In the shallow water of the bay in this area, where Antiparos and Dhespotiko were once joined by a tongue of land, Bent (1884, 47) could notice underwater traces of ancient dwellings, among them a well, an oven and a small square house. Continuing his description of this area he wrote that about a mile above this spot with the submerged houses (i.e. north of these) an extensive graveyard existed on the slope of the mountain. Here, and in another prehistoric cemetery to the southeast of Antiparos, he opened a total of about 40 graves (Bent 1884, 48). It is most likely that this burial ground at the western coast of Antiparos is identical with the site of *Krasades*, where Tsountas excavated fourteen years later (Tsountas 1898, 140; cf. also Renfrew 1972, 516 Antiparos No. 8 and fig. Appx I.4). The other, Bent's 'richer' cemetery to the southeast, may be identified with the sites of Apantima or Ayios Sostis (cf. Renfrew 1972, 516–7 Antiparos No. 11 and 13 fig. Appx I.4.). In Bent's opinion the cemetery above the submerged houses on the western side of the island 'was greatly inferior to the other, in the character of the graves themselves, and in the nature of the finds therein' (Bent 1884, 48). He noted

> most of the graves in the western 'poorer' graveyard were very irregular in design, some oblong, some triangular, some square; they generally had three slabs to form the sides, the fourth being built up with stones and rubbish. There was always a slab on the top and sometimes at the bottom of the grave. They were on an average three feet long, two feet wide, and seldom more than two feet deep. In every grave on this western side we found bones chiefly heaped together in confusion, so much so that it seems impossible that the bodies can have been buried even in a sitting posture, and most graves contained the bones of more bodies than one … In the graves in the cemetery to the south-east of the island, I found only one body in each, they were considerably larger and better built; some of them had graves beneath, and in every case a slab or pillow on which the head was rested (Bent 1884, 48–9).

In the western cemetery with poorer graves Bent (1884, 49 figs 1–2)

> found the rudest representations of the human form in marble, those which somewhat resemble a violin, both of which were in one grave and were probably meant to represent man and wife … In one grave here I also found some flat round bits of marble which I threw away as mere pebbles at the time, but after consideration makes me inclined to believe that they were intended for the same purpose (Bent 1884, 49).

Despite the fact that an obsidian source exists on Antiparos Bent recorded: "In the poorer graves in the first cemetery there was not a trace of volcanic glass implements, whilst in the richer ones obsidian flakes or knives were very common …" (Bent 1884, 52). Regarding the pottery Bent (1884, 53–5, figs 10, 11 and 13) stated:

> In the poorer graves we seldom found anything else but pottery: it is all of a rude character and frequently incised with rude patterns. The vase shaped like a sea urchin is covered with

> a sort of herring-bone pattern, and stands about a foot high … As to shape, the specimens are very varied: there were lids without their bottoms, and frequent vases with a rim for a lid which was missing; most of them had vertical or horizontal holes through which a string had been passed for suspension.

Thus Bent described and presented in his 1884 publication for the western 'poorer' cemetery vase shapes and styles of decoration common to Pelos- and Kampos Group pottery vessels. His observations for this burial yard which is most likely identical with the one excavated by Tsountas at the location called 'Krasades' match well with the use of this cemetery from EC Ia to EC Ib and EC IIa (grave 112) documented by the then discovered grave-good associations (Rambach 2000a, 41–7). Interesting is the fact that Bent (1884, 48) believed he had noticed multiple burials in the graves of his 'poorer' western cemetery in contrast to the observations made by Tsountas (1898, 143) in 1897.

Bent's 'poorer' western cemetery (most likely identical with the one excavated by Tsountas at Krasades)

Grave good association I (Bent 1884, 49).
Grave type: type B1 cist grave? *Burial*: no comments. *Offerings:* two violin-shaped schematic marble figurines.

BM London A5	Roughly fiddle-shaped schematic marble figurine, length 118mm. Bent 1884, 49 fig. 1; Thimme 1977, Cat.No. 52 with further bibliography.
BM London A6	Roughly fiddle-shaped schematic marble figurine, length 126mm. Bent 1884, 49 fig. 2; Thimme 1977, Cat.No. 30 with further bibliography.

Grave good association II (Bent 1884, 49).
Grave type: type B1 cist grave? *Burial*: no comments. *Offerings*: some flat round bits of marble, thrown away by Bent, but later by himself considered as possible pebble-shaped schematic marble figurines

Excavations of Clon Stephanos on Naxos (1903–1910)

In the first decade of the 20th century C. Stephanos, an anthropologist, excavated more than 418 Early Cycladic graves in several cemeteries in all parts of the island of Naxos, mostly however located near the southern or eastern coast. The excavator, scientifically more interested in the skeletal remains than in the material culture found in these graves, presented the results of his

investigations in very short preliminary reports (Stephanos 1903, 52–7; 1904, 57–61; 1905, 216–25; 1906, 86–90; 1908, 114–17; 1909, 209–10; 1910, 270–3; 1911, 357). Thanks to G. Papathanasopoulos (1962, 104–51) the re-identified grave-good associations of 39 Early Cycladic graves from the excavations of Stephanos were published. Among the published 39 graves 15 can be assigned to EC I (EC Ia1–2 = Panayia-Complex = Pelos- + Plastiras-Group; EC Ib = Kampos-Group): Karvounolakkoi grave 1; Keli graves 7–9; Spedos grave 20; Aila grave 25; Louros Athalassou grave 26; Phyrroges grave 27; Mnimouria Polychniou grave 29; Kampos Makris graves 31–6 (for the numbering of these graves cf. Papathanasopoulos 1962, 104–9). Graves 23 and 24 are not Early Cycladic. It is astonishing that Stephanos, in the more than 418 prehistoric cist graves which he opened, did not find more than 38 marble figurines: three were found in the cemetery of Karvounolakkoi (Stephanos 1903, 55), 14 came from Spedos (Stephanos 1903, 56; 1906, 89), seven figurines were uncovered in one grave in Louros Athalassou (Stephanos 1904, 60). A further seven were reported from the cemeteries of Phyrroges, Louros Athalassou, Mnimouria Polichniou, Kameno Mitato and Psara (Stephanos 1904, 57–60), three from Kampos Makris (Stephanos 1906, 88), one from Roon (Stephanos 1908, 115 note 2) and three from Aphentika (Stephanos 1910, 272). Among them Stephanos reported 11 schematic marble figurines, whether fiddle-shaped or not: one from Karvounolakkoi (Stephanos 1903, 55), four from Spedos (Stephanos 1906, 89), two either from Phyrroges or Louros Athalassou or Mnimouria Polichniou or Kameno Mitato or Psarra (Stephanos 1904, 58–9), three from Kampos Makris (Stephanos 1906, 88) and one from Aphentika (Stephanos 1910, 272). The four recorded for Spedos were found in Spedos grave 16 of Papathanasopoulos' list of re-identified grave-good associations from the excavation of Stephanos in Naxos in an EC II (Syros Group) context (one figurine is missing; cf. Papathanasopoulos 1961–61, 124–5 with note 67).

Thus there were at most seven schematic marble figurines which may have originated from EC I grave contexts. Unfortunately among these seven only two were re-identified by Papathanasopoulos as being part of the grave-good assemblages of Kampos Makris grave 35 and grave 36 in his list of re-identified grave-good associations from Stephanos' excavations in Naxos. These two were found in a secure EC I (Pelos Group context; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 143–4 pl. 75α–β). The third one recorded by Stephanos (1906, 88) for this cemetery could not be re-identified (Papathanasopoulos 125 note 67). The one unidentified schematic marble figurine from Karvonolakkoi derives

from a cemetery used in EC Ia2 (Plastiras Group), but also in EC II (Syros Group; Aplomata-Chalandriani Complex). The two unidentified schematic marble figurines reported as originating either from Phyrroges or Louros Athalassou (disturbed grave?) or Mnimouria Polichniou or Kameno Mitato or Psarra may also have been found in EC I or EC II grave-contexts. For Phyrroges EC Ia (Pelos-Group) – and EC IIa (early Syros Group; Aplomata-Group) – grave-good assemblages are identified (cf. Papathanasopoulos 1962, 138–40 pl. 71α–γ; 72; cf. also Rambach 2000b, Beilage 14 Kombinationstabelle I, Z. 17 and Z. 68; Beilage 15 Kombinationstabelle II, Z. 19 and Z. 73). For Mnimouria Polichniou EC Ib (Kampos-Group) – and possibly EC IIa (early Syros Group; Aplomata-Group) – grave-good associations have been noticed (cf. Papathanasopoulos 1962, 140 pl. 59β; 76α). For Kameno Mitato or Psara no identified grave-good assemblages are available (cf. Renfrew 1972, 517–9). In the case of the large cemetery of Aphentika two re-identified grave-good assemblages exist. One can definitely be dated in EC IIa, the other one is difficult to date (cf. Papathanasopoulos 1962, 148–9 pl. 76δ;79α–β; 80α–β: graves No. 40 and 41). However, Stephanos (1910, 271) recorded for this cemetery many graves with cylindrical pyxides, among them some with incised decoration in horizontal or vertical zones, i.e. EC I cylindrical pyxides of the Pelos-Group.

A total of 15 graves from Stephanos' excavations on Naxos is definitely datable in EC I: Karvounolakkoi grave 1 (Papathanasopoulos 1962, 109–10 pl. 41α–β), Keli graves 7–9 (Papathanasopoulos 1962, 112–4 pl. 44; 45α–β), Spedos grave 20 (Papathanasopoulos 1962, 128 pl. 59α), Aila grave 25 (Papathanasopoulos 1962, 131–2 pl. 65α–β), Louros Athalassou grave 26 (Papathanasopoulos 1962, 132–7 pl. 66α–δ; 67α–ε; 68α–γ; 69α–β; 70α–ε), Phyrroges grave 27 (Papathanasopoulos 1962, 138 pl. 71α–γ), Mnimouria Polichniou grave 29 (Papathanasopoulos 1962, 140 pl. 59β), Kampos Makris graves 31-36 (Papathanasopoulos 1962, 140–4 pl. 73α–γ; 74α–ζ; 75α–γ). From Karvounolakkoi an early Cycladic 'frying pan' can be dated to the Kampos Group (EC Ib; Stephanos 1903, 55 with note 1; cf. Rambach 2000b, 209. No. 3, 3; 225 No. 2). According to the description given by Stephanos (1903, 56) for the finds from the cemetery of Keli it is most likely that all the ten graves found there belong to EC I. Also the three graves excavated by Stephanos (1908, 115) at the site of Pherantaki have to be assigned to EC I according to Stephanos' description of the pottery found inside the graves (undecorated cylindrical pyxides). This means that to the fifteen certain EC I graves we may add ten almost certain EC I graves from

Stephanos' excavations in Naxos. Regarding the two largest cemeteries – Phyrroges with about 100 graves excavated by Stephanos and Aphentika with about 170 excavated graves by him – we may assume that perhaps more than half of the cist-graves in these two cemeteries may possibly have been constructed as early as in EC I (perhaps 150–200 of these graves). According to Stephanos (1904, 59; 1908, 115) cylindrical clay pyxides, with or without lids, undecorated, but often covered with a red polished slip, or with linear incised decoration in the form of vertical or horizontal cord-like bands (i.e. 'herringbone' motif) were obviously quite common grave-gifts in Phyrroges. For Aphendika Stephanos (1910, 271) stated:

> Most of the grave-gifts were pottery vessels, altogether about one hundred; mainly pyxides and pear-shaped vessels, rarely fig-shaped vases or small bowls with rounded bottom. The pyxides, subspherical or cylindrical, were usually undecorated; those ornamented with incised linear motifs in zones (mostly horizontal, more rarely vertical) were decorated all over their body. Some of the pyxides were double-vases.

Thus at the most seven EC I schematic marble figurines from Stephanos' excavations in Naxos, deriving from seven different graves, have possibly to be seen alongside about 150–200 or more EC I graves from Stephanos' excavation in Naxos without deposition of schematic marble figurines.

The seven marble figurines from the only undisturbed grave in the cemetery of Louros Athalassou (Stephanos 1904, 57–60; 1905, 216–25) constitute a mixture of elements taken from schematic figurines and others taken from anthropomorphic figurines with more detailed and more plastic depiction of the human anatomy (head and legs). These seven marble figurines of the so called 'Louros type' (for the first definition of this type cf. Renfrew 1969, 8-9) represent up to now the only specimen of this type deriving from a secure grave context (Renfrew 1969, 8; 1977, 63–4).

The cemetery of Kampos Makris

In the summer of 1906 Stephanos (1906, 86) excavated at a location called Κάμπος της Μάκρης 56 'premycenaean' cist-graves lying close to each other. The cemetery was discovered in a small inshore plain close to the bay of Moutsounas at the Eastern coast of Naxos. Most of the cists in this burial place were built with four upright slabs of schist or titanstone (type A cist-graves) and were covered usually with one, or more rarely with two slabs of the same stone (Stephanos 1906, 87). The deceased commonly rested close to the rear side of the cist. Presumably because the dimensions of many cists seemed to have

been very small, Stephanos (1906, 87) considered many of the graves in Kampos – always containing one deceased – as graves built for children. However, in many cases the bones of the skeleton had decayed or had entirely disappeared. Cylindrical or spherical clay pyxides (usually without traces of a lid) constituted the grave-goods in the burial ground of Kampos Makris. The cylindrical pyxides were often decorated with linear or cordon-like incised ornamentation. In contrast the spherical ones only seldom bore ornamentation (Stephanos 1906, 87). In no other cemetery on Naxos had Stephanos (1906, 87–8) noticed such an amount of clay vessels with incised decoration in relation to undecorated specimen as in Kampos Makris. In addition he stressed the fact that no clay jugs, no marble vessels and no traces of metal at all had been uncovered in the cemetery of Kampos Makris (Stephanos 1906, 88). However, in each of three adjacent graves he noticed the deposition of one schematic marble figurine (Stephanos 1906, 88).

Kampos Makris grave 5 (Stephanos 1906, 90 'Τάφος ε'; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 143 grave 35).
Grave type: type A cist grave? *Burial*: no comments. *Offerings*: one schematic marble figurine and two footed fig-shaped clay vessels with incised linear ornamentation.

EAM8830	Spatula-shaped schematic marble figurine, length 88mm, maximum thickness 16mm. Stephanos 1906, 90; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 143 pl. 75α.
EAM?	According to Stephanos grave 5 of Kampos Makris contained also two footed fig-shaped clay vessels with incised linear ornamentation. The re-identification of these was not possible. Stephanos describes also the marble 'kandilia' of Karvounolakkoi grave 3, i.e. in Papathanasopoulos' list grave no. 1, as 'fig-shaped' vessels (Stephanos 1903, 55; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 109–110 pl. 41α–β). Stephanos 1906, 90; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 143 with note 113.

Kampos Makris grave 6 (Stephanos 1906, 90 'Τάφος στ'; Papathanaso poulos 1962, 143 grave 36).
Grave type: type A cist grave? *Burial*: no comments. *Offerings*: one schematic marble figurine and one cylindrical clay pyxis with incised linear ornamentation.

EAM6122 (3)	Cylindrical clay pyxis decorated with incised dense herringbone ornamentation covering in horizontal zones the whole body of the vase except rim-zone, lid not preserved, height 92mm, diameter at rim 125mm. Stephanos 1906, 90; Papathanasopoulos

	1962, 143–4 pl. 75α.
EAM6140 (3)	Fiddle-shaped schematic marble figurine with elongated neck/head, length 61mm. Stephanos 1906, 90; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 143 pl. 75β.

Cemetery of Louros Athalassou

In 1904 Stephanos (1904, 57) excavated 'pre-mycenaean' cemeteries in the western part of the island of Naxos. During his investigation in the burial ground of Louros Athalassou, close to the cemetery of Phyrroges, he found – except for one – only disturbed grave-cists (Stephanos 1904, 58; 1905, 216). The undisturbed one, however, proved to be one of the richest EC graves ever discovered. Unfortunately Stephanos gave no concrete description of grave-type and burial customs for this undisturbed grave at Louros Athalassou. Similarly he only gave summary information for the graves of Phyrroges, Louros Athalassou, Mnimouria Polichniou, Kameno Mitato and Psarra (Stephanos 1904, 57–8). According to this information it is most probable that the grave of Louros was a B1 cist grave with drystone walling on its short front side, which contained one deceased person resting on the right side in contracted position close to the rear side of the cist with its head in the rear left corner (Stephanos 1904, 57–8; cf. also 1903, 54–5).

Grave of Louros Athalassou (Stephanos 1904, 57–60; 1905, 216–20. 222–4; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 132–7).
Grave type: type B1 cist grave? The stone-cist of this grave had a niche, where upright standing marble figurines were discovered (Stephanos 1904, 58; 1905, 222). *Burial*: no concrete comments. *Offerings*: seven marble figurines, found upright standing in a niche. Grave-gifts for beauty care or tattoos: obsidian blades together with their nucleus, three copper-awls, six tiny spherical clay vases, one of them broken. Most of these miniature vases show fine incised ornamentation with spirals and contain blue colorant. One perforated marble bowl with rounded bottom in two parts, with mending-perforations, presumably used for pulverization of the colorant. One cylindrical clay plate covered with an almost black slip. On its outer surface are depicted: In the centre a multi-rayed sun, around the latter spiral-ornamentation and towards the periphery four fishes, all incised. One small spherical wide-mouthed marble vase. Four spherical clay pyxides without decoration, one of these in fragments. One necklace of approximately 200 perforated small silver-discs.

EAM6100 (4)	Slightly biconical spherical clay pyxis, without lid, vertical lugs below rim missing, mended, not complete, at exterior surface burnished reddish slip, height 105mm, diameter at rim 80mm. Stephanos 1904, 59; 1905, 219 fig. on p. 218 pyxis between marble figurines and 'frying pan'; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 134 pl. 67δ.
EAM6100 (8)	Slightly biconical spherical clay pyxis with two vertically perforated vertical

	lugs beneath rim, without lid, mended, not complete, at exterior surface deep red burnished slip, height 130mm, diameter at rim 90mm. Stephanos 1904, 59; 1905, 219 fig. on p. 218 central pyxis on photo; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 133–4 pl. 67α.
EAM6136 (2)	Small deep earless marble bowl with small omphalos-depression in rounded bottom, complete, height 48mm, diameter at rim 58mm. Stephanos 1904, 59; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 134. 137 pl. 67β.
EAM6140 (6)	Almost naturalistic marble figurine of Louros type, with conical cap on its head, length 174mm. Stephanos 1904, 58; 1905, 222 fig. on p. 218 the sixth from left; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 136 pl. 70ε.
EAM6140 (7)	Almost naturalistic marble figurine of Louros type, mended at lower neck, length 193mm. Stephanos 1904, 58; 1905, 222 fig. on p. 218 the third from left; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 135 pl. 70α.
EAM6140 (9)	Almost naturalistic marble figurine of Louros type, mended at upper part of neck and at knee of right leg, fragmented at right knee already in prehistoric times, length 215mm. Stephanos 1904, 58; 1905, 222 fig. on p. 218 the fourth from left; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 135 pl. 70β.
EAM6140 (10)	Almost naturalistic marble figurine of Louros type, mended at upper part of neck, length 220mm. Stephanos 1904, 58; 1905, 222 fig. on p. 218 the fifth from left; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 135 pl. 70γ.
EAM6140 (11)	Almost naturalistic marble figurine of Louros type, mended at middle part of neck, length 180mm. Stephanos 1904, 58; 1905, 222 fig. on p. 218 the sixth from left; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 136 pl. 70δ.
EAM6140 A	Clay ‘frying pan’ with incised decoration (sun in the centre, spiral-quatrefoil and four fishes), handle missing, diameter 220mm. Stephanos 1904, 59; 1905, 219 fig. on p. 218; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 132 pl. 66α-β.
EAM6204 (1)	Miniature clay collared jar with incised spiral ornamentation, in the interior blue colourant, height 30mm. Stephanos 1904, 58–9; 1905, 220 fig. on p. 218 central foreground;

	Papathanasopoulos 1962, 132–3 pl. 66γ–δ.
EAM6204 (2)	Miniature clay collared jar with incised spiral ornamentation, mended from two pieces, height 20mm. Stephanos 1904, 58–9; 1905, 220 fig. on p. 218 central foreground; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 133 pl. 66γ–δ.
EAM6204 (3)	Miniature clay collared jar with incised spiral ornamentation, in the interior blue colourant, preserved height 170mm. Stephanos 1904, 58–9; 1905, 220 fig. on p. 218 central foreground; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 133 pl. 66γ–δ.
EAM6204 (4)	Miniature clay collared jar with incised spiral ornamentation, in the interior blue colourant, almost half of the vessel missing, preserved height 130mm. Stephanos 1904, 58–9; 1905, 220 fig. on p. 218 central foreground; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 133 pl. 66γ–δ.
EAM6204 (5)	Miniature clay collared jar with row of incised hatched upright triangles on shoulder, mended from four pieces, incomplete, preserved height 20mm. Stephanos 1904, 59; 1905, 220 fig. on p. 218 central foreground; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 133 pl. 66γ–δ.
EAM6204 (6)	Eight small fragments from the belly of a miniature clay collared jar, in the interior traces of blue colourant. Stephanos 1904, 58–9; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 133 pl. 66γ–δ.
EAM6204 (8)	Fourteen fragments of small and thin obsidian blades . Stephanos 1904, 58; 1905, 223 fig. on p. 218 in the right lower corner; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 134 pl. 68β.
EAM6204 (11)	Elongated conical obsidian-nucleus, used as pestle, complete, length 88mm. Stephanos 1904, 58; 1905, 223 fig. on p. 218 in the right lower corner; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 134 pl. 68α.
EAM6205 (1)	Two hundred perforated small silver-discs, diameter 7mm, thickness 1mm, probably deriving from a necklace. Stephanos 1904, 59; 1905, 224; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 135; 137 pl. 67γ.
EAM6205 (2)	Perforated stone bead, ordinary yellow-black stone, diameter 11mm, thickness 18mm. Papathanasopoulos 1962, 135; 137 pl. 67ε.
EAM8824	Three copper awls, quadrangular in section (maximum thickness 4mm), one complete, length 134mm, two broken:

	length 92mm; length 93mm. Stephanos 1904, 58; 1905, 218; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 134; 137 pl. 68γ.
EAM8825	Small flat marble bowl with rounded bottom and relatively thick walls (5–7mm), in two parts, with three pairs of mending perforations, height 35mm, diameter at rim 125mm. Stephanos 1904, 59; 1905, 221–2 fig. on p. 218 in the left lower corner; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 134–5 pl. 69α–β.
EAM8826	One perforated silver bead, diameter 9mm, thickness 1mm according to Papathanasopoulos. Bead not mentioned by Stephanos.. Papathanasopoulos 1962, 135; 137 pl. 67γ.
EAM8827	Four small natural sea shells, perforated ('eyes of the Panayia'), probably from necklace. Papathanasopoulos 1962, 135; 137 pl. 67α.
EAM?	Widely naturalistic marble figurine of Louros type, missing, length *c.* 130mm. Stephanos 1904, 58; 1905, 222 fig. on p. 218 the first from left; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 136 note 93.
EAM?	Widely naturalistic marble figurine of Louros type, missing, length *c.* 140mm. Stephanos 1904, 58; 1905, 222 fig. on p. 218 the seventh from left; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 136 note 93.
EAM?	Slightly biconical spherical clay pyxis, without lid, missing, not re-identified. Stephanos 1904, 59; 1905, 219 fig. on p. 218 pyxis at right edge of photo; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 137.
EAM?	Spherical clay pyxis in fragments, not reidentified. Stephanos 1904, 59; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 137.

Conclusions

For the graves he investigated in the islands of Paros, Antiparos and Dhespotiko Tsountas (1898, 194) mentioned the discovery of 46 schematic marble figurines: Paros Glypha graves 21 (Fig. 7.1, 1–3) and 24 (Fig. 7.1, 4), Panayia grave 77 (Fig. 7.1, 5), Pyrgos graves 100 (Fig. 7.1, 6–7) and 103 (Fig. 7.2, 1–14), Antiparos Krasades grave 117 (Fig. 7.3, 3–10; 4, 1–5) and Krasades (?) grave 121, Dhespotiko Livadhi grave 127 (Fig. 7.4, 6–7) and 129 (Fig. 7.5, 1–3), Zoumbaria

grave 137 (Fig. 7.5, 4–9) and Zoumbaria (?) grave 139. In the inventories of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (EAM) schematic marble figurines from Tsountas' excavations in Paros, Antiparos and Dhespotiko are recorded for: Paros Glypha graves 21 (Fig. 7.1, 1–3) and 24 (Fig. 7.1, 4), Panayia grave 77 (Fig. 7.1, 5), Pyrgos graves 100 (Fig. 7.1, 6–7) and 103 (Fig. 7.2, 1–14), Antiparos Krasades grave 115 (Fig. 7.3, 1–2) and 117 (Fig. 7.3, 3–10; 4, 1–5), Dhespotiko Livadhi graves 127 (Fig. 7.4, 6–7) and 129 (Fig. 7.5, 1–3), Zoumbaria grave 137 (Fig. 7.5, 4–9). From these graves are known forty-four schematic marble figurines and three flat marble pebbles (Fig. 7.5, 7–9) which presumably have also to be considered as schematic figurines. The missing schematic marble figurine mentioned by Tsountas for grave 139 (presumably belonging to the cemetery of Zoumbaria on Dhespotiko) may be identical with a schematic figurine given in 1905 from the stock of prehistoric antiquities in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens as a present to the Archaeological Museum of Florence, where it is inventoried with provenance from 'Dhespotiko' (cf. Pecorella 1970, 151–70 esp. 165 No 13 fig. 13 pl. V 13). For the inventory of grave 115 at Krasades Tsountas (1898, 161–2) mentioned two schematic marble figurines. In listing the schematic marble figurines from the graves in Paros, Antiparos and Dhespotiko he did not mention grave 115 Krasades but instead a grave 121 (presumably Krasades) as containing one or more (?) schematic marble figurines. This may be due to a mistake made by Tsountas in numbering the graves with schematic marble figurines or the fact that besides grave 115 Krasades actually a grave 121 did exist which contained one or more schematic marble figurines. In Paros, Antiparos and Dhespotiko Tsountas (1898, 150) excavated about 190 graves. Among these were eight which were presumably previously robbed. Among the remaining 182 graves 51 did not contain any grave-gift (Tsountas 1898, 150). Not included in this number were the graves in the cemeteries of Mnimoria and Drios on Paros, where Tsountas (1898, 150) stopped excavating because he could not find anything in the graves.

Thus among the approximately 190 graves excavated by Tsountas in the cemeteries of Glypha, Panayia, Pyrgos, Abyssos and Galana Krimna on Paros, of Krasades on Antiparos and of Livadhi and Zoumbaria on Dhespotiko, which chronologically have to be assigned almost completely to the first stage of the Cycladic Early Bronze Age, only ten (!) contained schematic marble figurines (cf. Rambach 2000a, pl. 4–22).

Among these ten graves one was furnished with 14 schematic marble figurines: Pyrgos grave 103 (Fig. 7.2, 1–14), one with 13: Krasades grave 117 (Fig. 7.3, 3–10; 4, 1–5), one with 3 schematic marble figurines and 3 'pebble figurines': Zoumbaria grave 137 (Fig. 7.5, 4–9), two with 3 schematic marble figurines: Glypha grave 21 (Fig. 7.1, 1–3) and Livadhi grave 129 (Fig. 7.5, 1–3), three with 2 schematic marble figurines: Pyrgos grave 100 (Fig. 7.1, 6–7), Krasades grave 115 (Fig. 7.3, 1–2) and Livadhi grave 127 (Fig. 7.4, 6–7). Equipped with only 1 single schematic marble figurine were grave 24 of Glypha (Fig. 7.1, 4) and grave 77 of Panayia (Fig. 7.1, 5).

In the 12 graves excavated by Tsountas in the cemeteries of Akrotiraki and Vathy on Siphnos, which were used either in EC I or in EC II, he only noticed two schematic marble figurines (Tsountas 1899, 73–7 fig. 28; Rambach 2000a, pls 23–5). Both figurines were found as single grave-gifts in their grave-compartment (Akrotiraki grave 146 bottom; Fig. 7.5, 10) or grave (Akrotiraki grave 147; Fig. 7.5, 11). The analogy between excavated graves and graves furnished with schematic marble figurines resulting from Tsountas investigations on Paros, Antiparos, Dhespotiko and Siphnos clearly document how extremely seldom were graves furnished with schematic marble figuirnes during the first stage of the Early Cycladic bronze age.

The observations available for Stephanos' excavations of Early Cycladic graves on Naxos fit well in this regard with the results obtained by Tsountas' investigations.

Among the 46 schematic marble figurines mentioned by Tsountas as discovered during his excavations on Paros, Antiparos and Dhespotiko 27, i.e. 58%, derived from two extraordinary rich graves (Pyrgos grave 103 and Krasades grave 117). Furthermore quite often EC I schematic marble figurines did not occur in the graves as a sole specimen, but in company with other schematic marble figurines or naturalistic marble figurines of Plastiras type. Equipped with only one single schematic marble figurine were grave 24 of Glypha and grave 77 of Panayia on Paros, graves 146 bottom and 147 of Akrotiraki on Siphnos, three graves in the cemetery of Kampos Makris on Naxos, Akrotiri grave 5 and Akrotiri grave 21 from Doumas' excavations on Naxos (cf. Rambach 2000a pl. 86, 3; 91, 12) and grave 113 of the cemetery of Tsikniades on Naxos from Philaniotou's excavations (Philaniotou 2008, 195–207 esp. 198. 201 fig. 20.10; 20.20). Among the 12 known EC I graves with offerings of schematic marble figurines from Tsountas' excavations on Paros, Antiparos, Dhespotiko and Siphnos 8, i.e. 67%, contained more than one schematic marble figurine. If we add to this account also the two graves with schematic

marble figurines found by Bent on Dhespotiko (Krasades), the three graves with offerings of this kind from Kampos Makris (Stephanos Excavations), five graves from Doumas' excavations at Akrotiri on Naxos (Akrotiri graves 3, 5, 9, 20, 21; cf. Rambach 2000a, pl. 86, 3–4; 88, 17. 19; 91, 1. 12) and the one from Tsikniades on Naxos, then we get a ratio of 23:13 between graves with more than one marble figurine and graves with only one marble figurine; i.e. 56% of the graves with schematic marble figurines were furnished with more than one marble figurine (graves 5 and 20 from Akrotiri on Naxos contained one schematic marble figurine and one figurine of the naturalistic Plastiras type (cf. Rambach 2000a, pl. 86, 5; 91, 2)

Graves that contained nothing other than one EC I schematic marble figurine seem to be restricted to Akrotiraki grave 146 bottom (Fig. 7.5, 10) and grave 147 (Fig. 7.5, 11) on Siphnos.

Generally most of the EC I graves furnished with schematic marble figurines can be assigned to the 'richer' EC I graves. However, not all of the 'rich' EC I graves contained grave gifts in form of schematic marble figurines (e.g. Glypha, Paros grave 22, Panayia, Paros grave 56, Zoumbaria, Dhespotiko grave 135; cf. Rambach 2000a, pl. 4, 9; 5, 1–2; 7, 9–20; 8, 1–8; 21, 8–20; 22, 1–43).

Schematic marble figurines were associated in EC I graves (Tables 7.1–7.5) with marble 'kandilas', high marble beakers, miniature stone bowls, naturalistic marble figurines of Plastiras type, stone pendants or stone beads as part of a necklace, small oblong marble palettes, stone pestles, perforated seashells as parts of a necklace, incised decorated or undecorated cylindrical clay pyxides, incised decorated or undecorated spherical clay pyxides, incised decorated collared clay jars, undecorated collared clay jars on high foot, in one case with a plaque of schist, a murex sea snail, pieces of rock crystal and in two cases with a bead made of copper/bronze (Akrotiri, Naxos graves 4 and 20). Comparatively frequently they were associated in the graves with stone pendants, perforated stone beads or shells as parts of a necklace (in eight of 22 graves). In none of the 22 graves with EC I schematic marble figurines from the excavations of Tsountas, Stephanos, Bent, Doumas and Philaniotou were obsidian implements recorded.

On some of the schematic marble figurines the gender is indicated. Specimen from Glypha on Paros grave 24 (Fig. 7.1, 4), Akrotiraki on Siphnos grave 147 (Fig. 7.5, 11), Akrotiri on Naxos grave 20 (cf. Rambach 2000a, pl. 91, 1) and perhaps Pyrgos on Paros grave 100 (Fig. 7.1, 7; cf. Rambach 2000a, pl. 13, 4; 165, 12) and Akrotiri on Naxos grave 21 (cf. Rambach 2000a, pl. 91, 12) show an incised

depiction of the vulva (Rambach 2000a, pl. 6, 1; 13, 4; 25, 3; 91, 1.12). On a specimen from Akrotiri on Naxos grave 9 the gender is identifiable due to plastically reproduced female breasts (cf. Rambach 2000a, pl. 88, 17). The schematic marble figurines with engraved depiction of the vulva were already considered by Tsountas (1898, 196) to represent naked women.

Table 7.1 Ttsountas' excavations on Paros, Antiparos, Dhespotiko and Siphnos: associations of EC I schematic marble figurines in graves

Island	Cemetery grave	Schematic marble figurine	Marble 'kandila'	Marble beaker	Incised decorated cylindrical clay pyxis	Undecor. cylindrical clay pyxis	Incised decorated spherical clay pyxis	Undecor. spherical clay pyxis	Incised decorated clay collared jar	Undecorated clay collared jar on high foot	Stone pendant bead	Snail shell as part of necklace	Stone pestle	Other
Paros	Glypha 21	3											1	Plaque of schist Murex sea shell
	Glypha 24	1	2											
	Panayia 77	1									1			
	Pyrgos 100	2				1		1						
	Pyrgos 103	14							1		7	24		
Antiparos	Krasades 115	2									14			2 pieces rock crystal; lead bead
	Krasades 117	13		1 (?)										1 small earless marble bowl with incised radial lines
Dhespotiko	Livadi 127	2												
	Livadi 129	3	1 (?)	or 1 (?)									1	1 oblong marble palette 1 marble chip
	Zoumbaria 137	3 (+3)												1 clay vessel completely destroyed
Siphnos	Akrotiraki 146 above	1												
	Akrotiraki 147	1												

Table 7.2 Bent's excavations on Antiparos. Associations of EC I schematic marble figurines in graves.

Cemetery grave	Schematic marble figurine	Marble 'kandila'	Marble beaker	Incised decorated cylindrical clay pyxis	Undecor. cylindrical clay pyxis	Incised decorated spherical clay pyxis	Undecor. spherical clay pyxis	Incised decorated clay collared jar	Undecorated clay collared jar on high foot	Stone pendant bead	Snail shells as part of necklace	Stone pestle	Other
Krasades (?) Grave-good Association 1	2												
Krasades (?) Grave-good Association 2													Some pebble-shaped schematic marble figurines (?)

Table 7.3 Stephanos' excavations on Naxos: associations of EC I schematic marble figurines in graves.

Cemetery grave	Schematic marble figurine	Marble 'kandila'	Marble beaker	Incised decorated cylindrical clay pyxis	Undecor. cylindrical clay pyxis	Incised decorated spherical clay pyxis	Undecor. spherical clay pyxis	Incised decorated clay collared jar	Undecorated clay collared jar on high foot	Stone pendant bead	Snail shells as part of necklace	Stone pestle	Other
Kampos Makris 5	1							2					
Kampos Makris 6	1			1									

Table 7.4 Doumas' excavations on Naxos: associations of EC I schematic marble figurines in graves.

Cemetery grave	Schematic marble figurine	Marble 'kandila'	Marble beaker	Incised decorated cylindrical clay pyxis	Undecor. cylindrical clay pyxis	Incised decorated spherical clay pyxis	Undecor. spherical clay pyxis	Incised decorated clay collared jar	Undecorated clay collared jar on high foot	Stone pendant bead	Snail shells as part of necklace	Stone pestle	Other
Akrotiri 3	1								1		21		
Akrotiri 5	1	1		2						20			1 small oblong marble palette 1 marble figurine of Plastiras Type 1 copper bead
Akrotiri 9	2								2	1	8	1	
Akrotiri 20	1												1 marble figurine of Plastiras Type 1 copper bead
Akrotiri 21	1			1		1		1		7		2	1 small bowl of rose stone

Table 7.5 Philaniotou's excavations on Naxos: associations of EC I schematic marble figurines in graves

Cemetery grave	Schematic marble figurine	Marble 'kandila'	Marble beaker	Incised decorated cylindrical clay pyxis	Undecor. cylindrical clay pyxis	Incised decorated spherical clay pyxis	Undecor. spherical clay pyxis	Incised decorated clay collared jar	Undecorated clay collared jar on high foot	Stone pendant bead	Snail shells as part of necklace	Stone pestle	Other
Tsikniades 113 (Closed deposit ?)	1			1						1			

Tsountas noticed traces of lines in red colour on two fiddle-shaped figurines in grave 129 of Livadhi on Dhespotiko (Fig. 7.5, 2–3; Tsountas 1898, 195–6; for the use of colourant on Early Cycladic marble figurines cf. Preziosi & Weinberg 1970, 4–12; Hoffman 2002, 525–50; Horst 2011, 194–201; Steinmann & Wähning 2011, 185–93). The figurines of grave 129 however were found lying on a marble palette with red colourant together with a pebble that showed traces of red colourant too (Tsountas 1898, 163).

Because some of the schematic marble figurines were found inside the EC I graves with missing neck or head or broken at the neck one might assume the practice of the ritual of deliberate breakage of figurines at the time of interment. Among the 57 identified schematic marble figurines uncovered in EC I graves during the excavations of Tsountas on Paros, Antiparos, Dhespotiko and Siphnos, during Bent's excavation at the site of Krasades (?) on Dhespotiko, during Stephanos' excavations at Kampos Makris on Naxos, during Doumas'

excavations at Akrotiri on Naxos and finally during Philaniotou's excavations at Tsikniades on Naxos (grave 113) 39 specimens were undamaged and completely preserved, 13 were broken (usually at the neck, one mended), but complete, and only five were broken at the neck and the missing part of neck and head not found (or not noticed ?) in the grave. The one specimen mended before interment derived from Akrotiraki on Siphnos grave 147 (Fig. 7.5, 11).

Due to the fact that 39 of the 57 schematic marble figurines (68%) were found completely undamaged and the observation that several graves contained only completely preserved schematic marble figurines, the idea of a custom of deliberate breakage of figurines before interment is not supported.

Unfortunately, due to the absence of recorded anthropological data we have no idea, whether schematic marble figurines were designated as grave gifts especially for male or for female burials or were used for interments of both genders. The dimensions of the cist of grave 77 in the Pyrgos Cemetery on Paros, which contained as offerings one schematic marble figurine (Fig. 7.5, 5) and one stone pendant, were so limited that Tsountas (1898, 158) considered it to be a child's grave.

It was quite clear for Tsountas (1898, 193) that the marble figurines were connected with the religious or afterlife beliefs of the islanders. However, he concluded that the presence of the figurines in the graves did not have such importance that the welfare of the deceased in the 'other world' or his resurrection to a new life was dependent on these (Tsountas 1898, 198; cf. also Höckmann 1968, 73). For if this were so, marble figurines would have been found in most or in all graves. According to Tsountas (1898, 198–9) the manufacture of the simpler ones is so easy and requires so little technical skill that everyone was able to produce dozens of them during their lifetime.

There is however one crucial question. Were also EC figurines made of perishable material, e.g. wood also deposited in EC I graves? The presence and the number of marble figurines deposited in graves might have been very different from the evidence which is available for us today, since we are usually only able to recognize figurines made of imperishable materials. It is quite clear that the EC I cylindrical clay pyxides with incised decorations did imitate pyxides made of wickerwork not only in regard to their decoration but also in terms of their shape (Rambach 2000b, 175–80). EC I necklaces too might have been manufactured not only with stone beads, stone pendants or perforated sea shells but also with wooden beads and pendants. The EC I marble 'Kandila' imitated the EC I clay collared jar on a high foot. Thus we should not rule out the possibility that

wooden figurines were imitated by marble figurines or that the latter were considered a more precious version of the same item. Many of the 'unfurnished', 'poor' or 'poorer' EC I graves might have been furnished originally with perishable grave gifts, e.g. a cylindrical pyxis made of wickerwork, or wooden beads and pendants, or wooden figurines, or with all these three basic EC I grave-good items together. In consequence it is unfortunately not possible to estimate what percentage of EC I graves might actually have been furnished with figurines and how important they might have been for funeral rites or the afterlife of the deceased.

EC marble figurines have been variously interpreted (cf. Thimme 1965, 72–86; Höckmann 1968, 72–3; Barber 1984, 10–14; Renfrew 1984, 24–30; Lambrinoudakis 1990, 99–111; Hoffman 2002, 525–50; Goodison 2008, 417–31; Horst 2011, 194–201). Different scholars considered them as representations of the deceased, as substitutes for concubines, as icons of servants or as ancestors.

The transcendental character of the statuettes was stressed by other writers. Female figurines were perceived as symbols of a mother-goddess, associated with fertility and rebirth, or as divine nurses. For other scholars they were apotropaic images, symbols of conductors of souls, mourners or worshipers. Some suggest that the primary use of the figurines may have been in shrines rather than graves. Others have doubted the religious character of the figurines, stressing more their possible social dimensions, e.g. as representations of females at the age of marriage, or have even suggested the use of figurines as toys.

For the author it seems plausible that the use of figurines in Early Cycladic times might have been very complex and that they might have had entirely different meanings.

The seven marble figurines from grave 26 of Louros at Naxos were the sole figurines of the so called Louros type, deriving from a secure grave context, associated there with pottery of the late EC I Kampos Group. Six other specimens of this type which combines stylistic elements of both schematic and naturalistic figurines are said to have been found together 1933 in a grave context on Paros without known associations of pottery or other datable grave-goods (for these figurines inventoried in Cambridge in the Fitzwilliam Museum cf. Thimme 1977, nos 88–93; Renfrew 1969, 8 III. 14–9). A small stone plaque with the depiction of a Louros figurine in relief was uncovered in the cemetery of Agrilia on Ano Kouphonisi which featured only graves of the late EC I Kampos Group. The cemetery also contained two graves with a marble vessel of the EC Ia2 Plastiras Group

(Zapheiropoulou 1970a, 429 pl. 372δ; 1970b, 51 fig. 7; 1983, 83 fig. 14; Thimme 1977, 456 fig. 186; Rambach 2000b, 213–4 with notes 912, 919–20).

The seven marble figurines found in a niche in grave 26 of Louros standing there in an upright posture were considered by the excavator Stephanos (1904, 60) to represent 'a group of gods'. Of the five preserved figurines only two (one with incised pubic triangle) seem to reproduce a female body (Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 70β.δ). The three remaining figurines without secure indication of gender seem to be suggestive of a male body in view of their obviously slimmer hips (Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 70α.γ.ε).

The figurines of Louros type from Louros grave 26 were still closely related to the schematic figurines of the EC I period. This was so not only in terms of the treatment of the body, but also in view of their deposition in the grave as a group consisting of several figurines.

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8

A SCHEMATIC FIGURINE OF SHELL FROM MERSINIA ON KYTHNOS

Theodora Papangelopoulou

Several Neolithic and pre-Neolithic sites have been located on Kythnos (Sampson *et al.* 2010): the Mesolithic settlement at Maroulas has been documented by excavation (Sampson *et al.* 2002, 45–67). Early Bronze Age settlements (at Lefkes, Agios Ioannis, Aspra Spitia, Kakovolo) seem to have been mainly associated with metallurgical activities.

In northwest Kythnos, between the gulf of Kolona to the south and the deep ravine leading to the gulf of Sarakiniko, within the wider area of Kakovolo, where modern mining took place until 1940, Early Cycladic mining and metallurgical sites were located a few years ago (Bassiakos & Philaniotou 2007, 19–56).

More specifically, on a plateau with visibility towards Kea and the whole of eastern Kythnos, there is a small EC site with building remains and EC sherds (Hadjianastasiou 1998, 260). Southeast of this plateau lies the Mersinia ravine and across, on another hill, in the area called 'Aspra Kellia', there is a prehistoric copper mine. There is another mine 500m northeast of Aspra Kellia, at the site of Petra, while copper smelting sites have been located at Pounta, Sideri and Aspra Spitia – Paliopyrgos (Fig. 8.1).

In the course of a project recently initiated by the 21st Ephorate to relocate and map the above sites recorded in the literature, we carried out a survey in the northwest part of the island. Crossing the Mersinia ravine from the north, we came across a site unknown so far – a small cist grave (approximately 0.60 × 0.50m), of which the three vertical schist slabs, with no covering slabs, are visible sunk into the ground. Beside it were concentrations of stone, a few non-diagnostic

prehistoric sherds and obsidian tools (Fig. 8.2). From the wider area we collected an obsidian arrow head, for which an initial search for parallels suggests a Late Neolithic date (Evans & Renfrew 1968, pl. xxxvii).

Although no burial grounds associated with the Early Cycladic settlements of Kythnos have been located so far, we may assume, judging from the size of these settlements that they were small cemeteries, or clusters of 2–3 graves. The existence of isolated graves cannot be excluded either (Tsountas 1898, 138). The new finds led to the conclusion that here was a small cluster of graves which needs to be further investigated and is probably connected with the settlement at Kakovolo. This conclusion was corroborated by an unexpected find: near the cist grave we noticed a small white object partly buried by modern erosion, which to our surprise, proved to be a schematic figurine made of shell (Figs 8.3 & 8.4).

The figurine is 57mm high and its maximum width is 26mm. Its surface is flat on both sides. It bears encrustations, thicker on the back. In some areas the surface is porous or chipped. The neck is rendered with a flat plank-shaped extension with a pronounced backward bend, which seems to follow the natural bend of the shell from which it was made. The head is not distinguished. The body is shaped as a rough figure-of-eight with two angular notches, one on each side to indicate the waist. The waist is further emphasised by two parallel horizontal incisions on the main side. Alternatively, these might be interpreted as an early rendering of the folded arms (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 53). Incised lines on the back may be tool marks.

At this stage it is impossible to identify accurately the kind of shell that was used. Apart from *Spondylus gaederopus* which is found in the Mediterranean and during the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age was used for exchange from the Balkans to Central Europe, other kinds of shell that were used for the manufacture of artefacts were limpet and mussel, cone and murex.

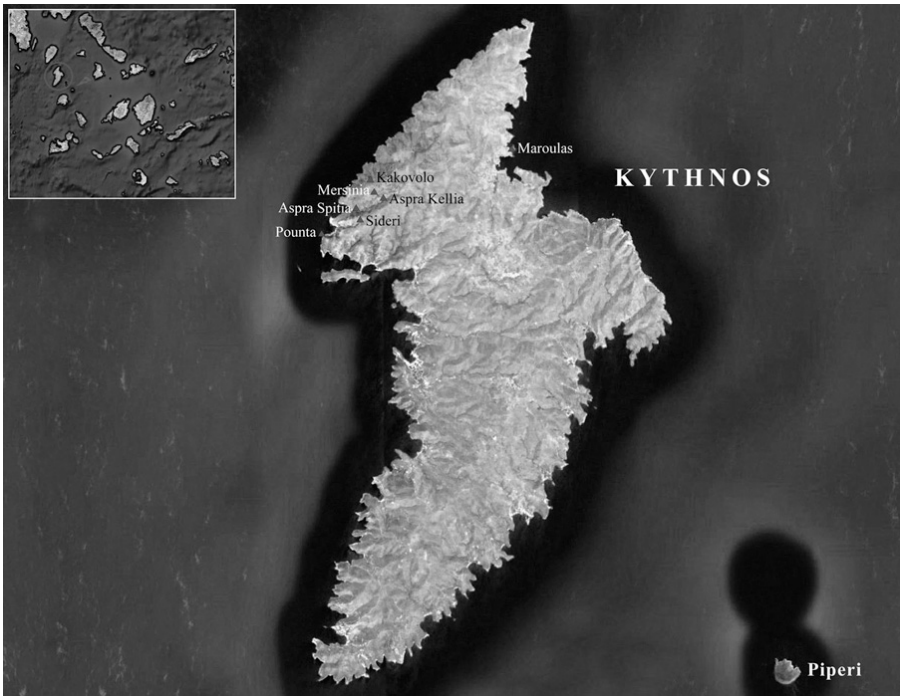

Fig. 8.1 The island of Kythnos.

Fig. 8.2 The grave at Mersinia.

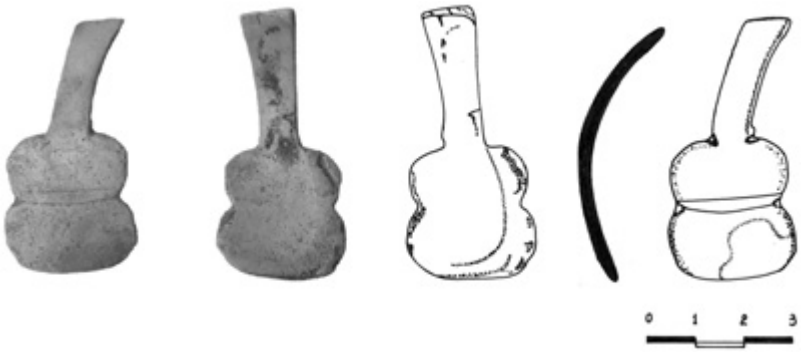

Fig. 8.3 Shell figurine from Mersinia. Scale 1:2.

For the people who lived near the sea, as in the case of the islands, shells were a particularly nourishing food and were also used as jewellery, or symbolic objects, on the one hand because of their sturdiness and on the other because of their association with the world of the sea. Some originated from the recycling of food refuse, whereas others were collected specifically for their aesthetic value, to be transformed into artefacts (Veropoulidou 2011 77–84).

Apart from small figurines, which were the rarest, several objects made of shell, or even unworked shells (beads, periwinkles , tusk shells) are found mainly in graves of the EC I period (Doumas 1977, 80, 86, 88–9, 92, pls xxvi.c, xxvii.f, xxix.c, i, xxxi.f; Tsountas 1898, 160; Zervos 1957, figs 258–9; Thimme 1977, no. 442).

Apart from the most widely distributed marble ones, figurines were made of other materials, such as pebble, limestone, white tufa, green steatite, clay, flint, lead, ivory, shell or, more rarely, bone. Sometimes the choice of other materials was due to lack of marble, as in the case of Akrotiri on Thera (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 143–5), or to a deliberate decision, as in the case of the Apeiranthos type figurines made of shell, found in graves on Naxos (Kontoleon 1971, 179, pls 212–3; Lambrinoudakis 1990, nos 100–1).

From the first phase of the Cycladic early bronze age (EC I) the two figurines made of *Spondylus gaederopus* allegedly from a grave of Kapros, northeast of the port of Katapola in Amorgos (Kapros, Grave D) are of particular interest. One is a tiny naturalistic figurine which may find parallels with the Plastiras type (EC I) and the other is a flat schematic figurine with long neck and a pronounced backward curve which belongs to the ‘spatula’ type (Thimme 1977, 431, no. 44; Renfrew 1967, 7, 18, pl. 4. nos 26, 27).

However, searching for parallels as regards the material, we realise that most known figurines made of shell belong to the Apeiranthos type, dating to the later cultural group, that of Keros-Syros (EC II).

The better known examples come from Naxos, an island rich in good quality marble. These are two figurines from grave 13 of the Aplomata cemetery, which are described as made of murex shell (Kontoleon 1971, 179, pls 212–3; Lambrinoudakis 1990, nos 100–1), two figurines from grave 16 of the Spedos cemetery (Dimakopoulou 1990, nos 86–7), another of the Apeiranthos variety allegedly 'from a grave on Naxos' (Thimme 1977, 434, no. 57). There is also one of unknown provenance (Thimme 1977, 434, no. 58).

Other known figurines made of shell include one of Louros type, probably from Paros (Thimme 1977, 444, nos 89–91), and a head of a canonical figurine of unknown provenance (Thimme 1977, 479, no. 210).

The Mersinia figurine belongs to the wider category of schematic figurines of the Grotta-Pelos culture (EC I, 3200/3000 BC, until *c.* 2500 BC). This type consists of simple, small, flat figurines (known also as 'Brettidolen'), which occur from the Neolithic Period in the Cyclades, Crete and Asia Minor, while some examples have been found also in western Attica. The find contexts of almost all the above EC I schematic types (violin form, notch-waisted form, pebble form, etc) are quite similar: they occur mainly as grave offerings. Most of them have been found initially in graves of Paros, Antiparos, Despotiko, Siphnos, and Amorgos, excavated by C. Tsountas. Several have been found in graves of Naxos excavated by K. Stefanos and later on in graves of Naxos and Paros excavated by C. Doumas.

Often appear in groups: grave 117 of Krassades in Antiparos contained 13 identical figurines, grave 103 of Pyrgos in Paros 14 (Tsountas 1898, 159 and 162) and graves 129 and 137 at Livadi and Zoumbaria in Despotiko, 3 and 5 respectively (Tsountas 1898, 163 and 165). Tsountas observes that the figurines of the Pyrgos grave were probably made by one artisan and the figurines of the Krassades grave by another (Tsountas 1898, 195; Getz-Preziosi 1987, 59).

Fig. 8.4 Shell figurine from Mersinia. Not to scale.

Figurines of this type have also been found in the settlements of Agia Irini on Kea, Akrotiri on Thera and Phylakopi on Melos.

More specifically, following C. Renfrew's classification (Renfrew 1969, 3–5) the Mersinia figurine belongs to the notch-waisted form, which may be an early form of the violin shaped category (Evans & Renfrew 1968, 63, fig. 76, pl. xliii:1; Renfrew 1969, 5, pl. 2: C; 1977, 61, fig. 33; 1991, 40, pl. 8; Doumas 1994, 70, 303, no. 38).

In the violin form the waist is rendered by a pronounced and wide indentation on either side, so that the figurine acquires the shape of a violin, whereas in the notch-waisted variety the waist is rendered by angular notches, as in the case of the Mersinia example. Figurines of both types often bear incisions stressing the waist, the neck, the arms, the pubic triangle etc (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 47–53). All the examples so far known come from graves: grave 100 at Pyrgos on Paros (Tsountas 1898, 159, pl. 11: 14; Rambach 2000, 33–4, pl. 13: 3, 166: 2), graves 115 and 117 at Krassades on Antiparos (Tsountas 1898, 162, pl. 11: 8; Zervos 1957, pl. 56: a; Getz-Preziosi 1987, pl. 2.B: upper row, 1st, 2nd, 7th;· Rambach 2000, 42–3, pl. 17: 1, 7–8, 10;

163: 11, 13; 166: 3, 8; Bent 1884, 49, fig. 2; Renfrew 1969, 5, fig. 1: I.B; Thimme 1977, 221, 428–9, no. 30; Fitton 1989, 31, fig. 18: right), grave 21 at Akrotiri on Naxos (Doumas 1977a, 94, pl. xxxiii:c; Rambach 2000, 181, pl. 91: 12; Doumas 2002, 104, no. 47), grave 129 at Livadi on Despotiko (Tsountas 1898, 163, pl. 11: 16; Zervos 1957, pl. 53: a; Rambach 2000, 52–3, pl. 20: 2, 166:1 2) and grave 137 at Zoumbaria on Despotiko (Tsountas 1898, 165; Zervos 1957, pl. 55; Rambach 2000, 58, pl. 22: 45, 166: 13).

The fact that the Mersinia figurine is the first known figurine from the island of Kythnos makes it particularly important. Its use as a grave offering is obvious.

Its presence in an area literally covered with metallurgical sites, may be fortuitous. However, it is tempting to associate this site in northwest Kythnos with Krassades in west Antiparos and Akrotiraki on Siphnos (Tsountas 1899, 75–6, 97–8, fig. 28; Rambach 2000, 64, pl. 25: 3,164: 7) which are also connected with mines and metallurgical activities (Papadopoulou 2011; in press). As we saw earlier on, 13 violin-like figurines were found in grave 17 at Krassades. Broodbank (2000, 222) considers this as an example of 'conspicuous consumption' and associates it with the exploitation of the nearby mines. Of course, in the case of the Mersinia figurine there is no specific evidence, since it is an isolated, surface find.

We may assume that within a network of exchange and interaction between communities involved in metallurgical activity a common type of figurine had been established for burial practices during the first phase of the Early Cycladic period. This argument should be treated with great caution, since we have no information about burial practices on Kythnos while, on other islands, we need further research and investigation of the relationship between the excavated cemeteries and the communities active in mining or metallurgy.

Acknowledgements

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THE EARLY CYCLADIC II AND III SETTLEMENTS

9

THE CYCLADIC MARBLE FIGURINES FROM EBII AYIA IRINI, KEA: EVIDENCE FOR RITUAL DEPOSITION IN DOMESTIC CONTEXTS

David E. Wilson

Of the 42 Cycladic marble figurines from the harbour settlement of Ayia Irini on Kea, only five were found in secure EBA contexts. A description with illustrations of all the Ayia Irini figurines was first published by Caskey (1971; 1974), but with only very preliminary information on their find contexts; it was with this initial contextual data that Davis (1984) based his assessment of the possible use and meaning of the Ayia Irini figurines from the Bronze Age settlement. The subsequent stratigraphic study by Eliot and Wilson of the EBII excavated remains at Ayia Irini made it possible to clarify and/or confirm the contexts and relative dates of the five figurines found in undisturbed EBII deposits. A brief summary of the contexts and their period dating was published by this author (Wilson 1999, 156), but with no detailed discussion of the figurines' stratigraphic contexts or the possible meaning of their deposition. Therefore, this paper provides further contextual information regarding these figurines and the nature of their deposition, as well as exploring their possible social meaning and function within the EBII settlement.

Date and origins of production

The developed and late EBII contexts in which the five figurine fragments were found provide only a *terminus ante quem* for the date

of their craft production; all five may have been considerably older than the time when they were eventually deposited, marking the end point of what may have been a long use life. Four of the five figurines are of canonical folded-arm type (SF-226, 228–30), placing their time of production at some point in the relatively lengthy Keros-Syros phase (= early and developed ECII). The more naturalistic leg fragment SF-227 may be earlier and comparable to figurines of late ECI Plastiras type (Renfrew 1969, 6–8; Sotirakopoulou 1998, 126–34). Although from a post-EBA Period V context, a second figurine, X-13, is also early in stylistic terms, belonging to the ECI schematic violin form (Davis 1986, X-13, 50, 97 = Caskey 1971, no. 29). Of the 42 figurine fragments from all contexts at Ayia Irini, these two have the greatest antiquity, and were already centuries old when they were brought to Ayia Irini no earlier than developed EBII.

It is usually assumed that none of the marble figurines found at Ayia Irini were locally made on Kea but imported from some other Cycladic source or sources. This assumption, however, has yet to be tested and only a combined program of geological survey for possible marble sources and physicochemical analysis would resolve this question. On purely stylistic grounds, however, the varieties/sub-varieties in style of the Ayia Irini figurines from all period contexts argue for more than one tradition or workshop of production suggesting multiple island sources. In the case of the Plastiras type figurine SF-227 and the violin form figurine X-13, both would have been made centuries prior to Ayia Irini's re-settlement in later EBII, at a time when the island of Kea as a whole appears to have been largely uninhabited; for this reason alone neither figurine is likely to be local.

Of the four folded-arm figurines from EBII contexts, one, SF-226, has been classified by Renfrew in his Kea subvariety (Renfrew & Boyd, this volume, Chapter 26); a second example of this same sub-variety was found re-deposited at Ayia Irini in an early LBA Period VII destruction level (Cummer & Schofield 1984, no. 397, 22-3, 69 = Caskey 1971, K3.1, 116-17). There are only two other examples of the Kea sub-variety known from stratified contexts, both from the Keros-Syros phase Special Deposit South at Kavos on Keros (Renfrew & Boyd, this volume, Chapter 26: SF1155 and SF156). The similarities in style and overall form of these four figurines may suggest a common origin, crafting tradition or workshop. None of the marble figurines from the sanctuary deposits at Kavos were made from local marble sources (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis, this volume, Chapter 32), ruling out at least Keros as a possible source for the Kea sub-variety

figurines.

Catalogue of Ayia Irini figurines from EBII contexts (Table 9.1)

The brief catalogue entries below largely repeat the information found in Caskey (1971, 1974) and Wilson (1999). A further assessment of the stratigraphic and ceramic evidence for the four main building phases comprising Periods II and III at Ayia Irini has made it possible to clarify the relative date of the deposits in the EBII settlement sequence (Wilson 2013); this allows for greater chronological precision in the dating of the figurine contexts given below.

SF-226 (K9.55) Deposit AU (late Period II) (Figs 9.1, 9.7)
Complete except for head and neck.
Preserved height 121mm, width shoulders 62mm, waist 40mm, thickness chest and knees 15mm.
Grayish white medium-coarse grained marble.

Table 9.1 Ayia Irini figurines in EBII contexts: concordance of publication, inventory, and Chora Museum numbers

Keos IX.1 (Wilson 1999, 156)	Caskey 1971; 1974 Cat. no.	Ayia Irini Inv. no.	Chora Museum Acquisition no.
SF-226	1971, no. 7	K9.55	CM. 383
SF-227	1971, no. 15	K9.65	CM. 386
SF-228	1971, no. 11	K9.57	CM. 385
SF-229	1974, no. 37	K70.67	CM. 387
SF-230	1971, no. 9	K9.56	CM. 384

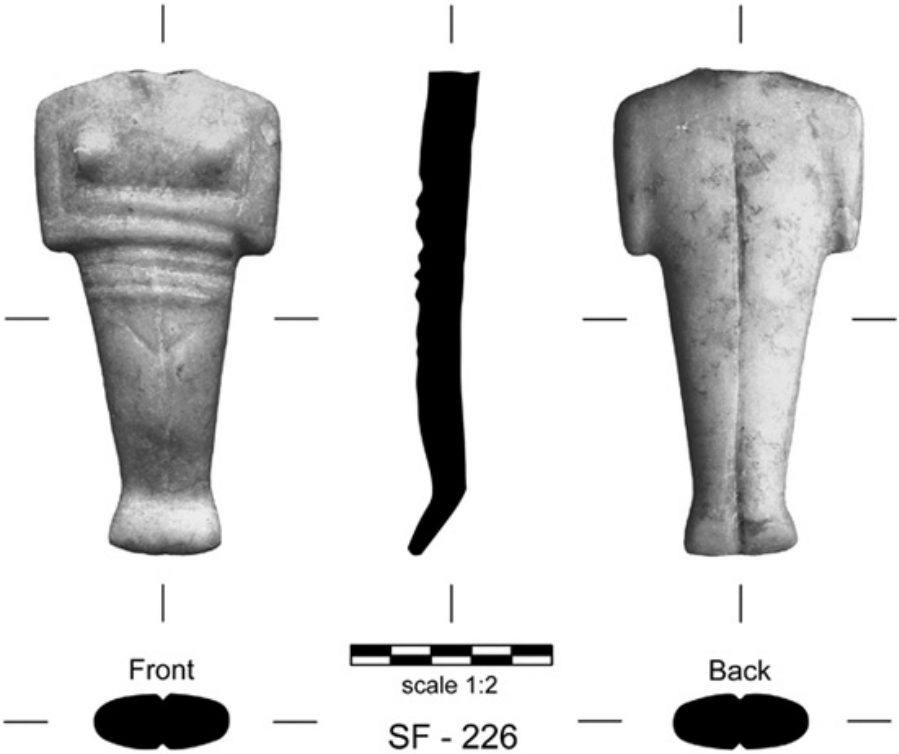

Fig. 9.1 SF-226. Scale 1:2.

SF-227 (K9.65) Deposit AC (early Period II) (Figs 9.2, 9.6)
Fragment: right leg from mid-thigh to below knee.
Preserved length 43mm, width calf 13mm, thickness calf 14mm.
White fine-grained marble.

SF-228 (K9.57) Deposit BL (late Period III) (Fig. 9.3, 9.8)
Fragment: top of thighs to below knees.
Preserved height 118mm, width hips 80mm, thickness mid-thigh 36mm.
White medium-coarse grained marble.

SF-229 (K70.67) Deposit BI (late Period III) (Figs 9.4, 9.8)
Fragment: mid-thighs to knees.
Preserved height 62mm, width hips 44mm, thickness 20mm.
White medium-coarse grained marble.

SF-230 (K9.56) Deposit CA (late Period III) (Figs 9.5, 9.8)
Fragment: mid-thighs to feet.
Preserved height 71mm, width at mid-thigh 39mm, thickness at mid-thigh 21mm.
White medium-grained marble.

EBII contexts of the figurines and nature of their deposition

Table 9.2 summarises the stratigraphic contexts of the five figurines within the EBII Ayia Irini sequence; these contexts belong to three of the four main building phases of the EBII settlement: early (SF-227) and late Period II (SF-226), and late Period III (SF-228–30). Early and late Period II at Ayia Irini in terms of the relative chronology in the west Aegean fall within the developed ceramic phase of EBII, broadly contemporary with Lerna IIIC on the Helladic mainland; early and late Period III are contemporary with at least a portion of late EBII (Lefkandi I-Kastri Group ceramic phase), which overlaps with the House of Tiles of Lerna IIID (Wilson 2013, table 10, 410–26).

SF-227 (Fig. 9.2) was found in one of the earliest EBII deposits at Ayia Irini, belonging to the initial re-settlement phase of the site in early Period II after a very long hiatus in occupation following the Final Neolithic (Period I). It came from a very large secondary deposit comprised largely of pottery sherds used to fill a deep cleft in the bedrock preparatory to laying the original surface paving of the Lower Western Road. This well-constructed and substantial ramped road led from a spring at the foot of the bedrock hill up the slope and through the Western Sector of the settlement (Fig. 9.6; Wilson 2013, Deposit AC: 391-2, 399–404 and fig.1). The road provided direct access both to what may have been the main and certainly closest freshwater source for the settlement as well as marking the main entrance to the site from the west. SF-227 is the smallest of the five figurine fragments found in EBII contexts, consisting of only a portion of the right leg. Its small size and inclusion with other miscellaneous stone, bone, and terracotta objects from the same deposit (Wilson 1999, Deposit AC: 168-70), most of which were equally fragmentary, might suggest that all these finds were simply part of a refuse deposit taken from elsewhere on the site and reused as road fill here. The relative position of SF-227 within this deep road fill was unfortunately not recorded during the excavation of this deposit in 1969, but based on the more detailed recorded evidence for the deposition of the remaining four figurines, a deliberate placement of SF-227 in the road construction fill cannot be ruled out.

Table 9.2 Context and date of Ayia Irini figurines SF-226–30 (early and late Period II = developed EBII; Period III = late EBII/Kastri-Lefkandi Group phase)

Publication no. (Wilson 1999)	Stratigraphic context	Phase in EBII Ayia Irini sequence
SF-227	Lower Western Road: beneath paving	early Period II
SF-226	House E room 3: in upper clay floor	late Period II
SF-228	House D room 2: bottom of fill below floor	late Period III

SF-230	House D room 2: beneath floor paving	late Period III
SF-229	House D corridor: beneath floor paving	late Period III

SF-226 is the most complete of the five figurines from EBII contexts, lacking only its head and neck (Fig. 9.1); it was found buried in the upper clay floor of room 3 in House E (Fig. 9.7). This house, consisting of a series of at least five rooms, was built in late Period II on a lower terrace in the Western Sector of the settlement, just southeast of the Western Road and facing the nearby spring further down the slope (Wilson 2013, 392–3, 404–5, fig. 1). The two largest preserved rooms of House E, 3 and 4, had two successive hard-packed yellow clay floors; the lower floor dates to the initial construction of the house, the upper, in which SF-226 was found buried, was laid down directly over this earlier floor not long afterwards. The clay layer making up this new floor was devoid of any finds except for SF-226, arguing that this figurine had not been casually discarded, but deliberately buried when the floor was being laid. The location of the figurine was in the western corner of room 3, about equidistant between the outside entrance to the house and the interior doorway to room 4, which contained a large stamped ceremonial hearth (Fig. 9.7) (Wilson 2013, 392–3); the location within room 3 chosen for burying this figurine may have been deliberate, and the possible significance of this will be explored further below.

Figure 9.2 SF-227. Scale 1:2.

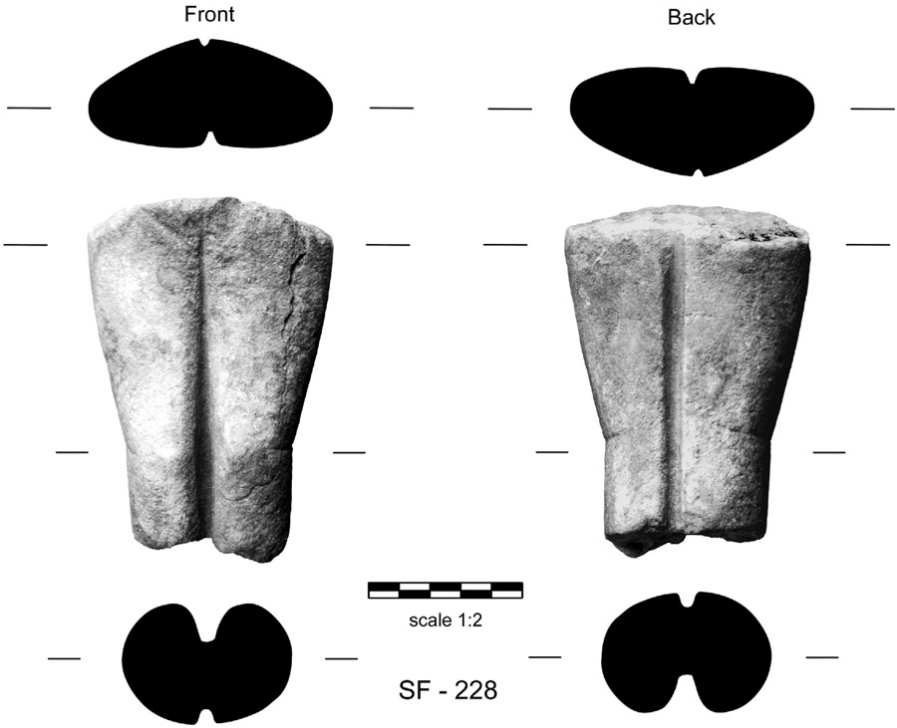

Figure 9.3 SF-228. Scale 1:2.

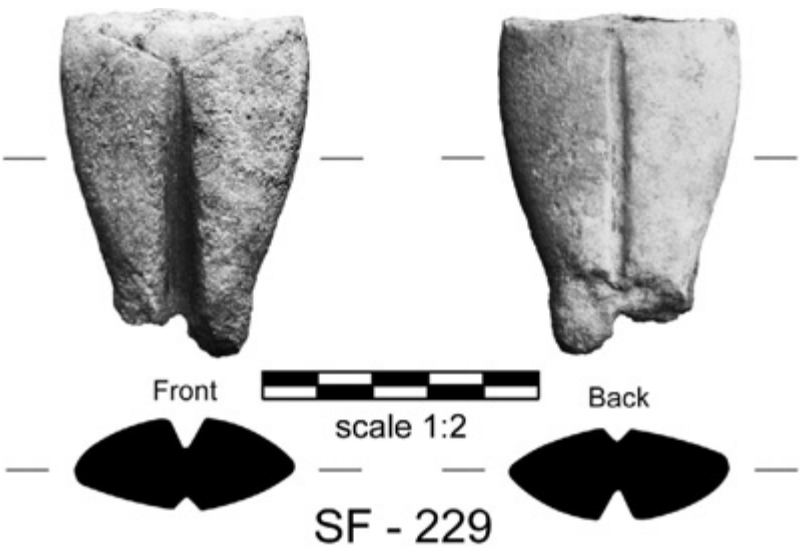

Fig. 9.4 SF-229. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 9.5 SF-230. Scale 1:2.

No figurines were discovered in any of the preserved early Period III contexts at Ayia Irini belonging to the initial building phase of the late EBII settlement that included the construction of House ED. Pottery from deposits of this period includes large numbers of Anatolianising tankards, bell-shaped cups and shallow bowls, shapes that continue into late Period III (Wilson 2013, 405–8).

The remaining three of the five figurine fragments (SF-228–30) are all associated with the construction of House D, which marks the final building phase of EBII Ayia Irini before the apparent abandonment of the settlement until the early MBA (Wilson 2013, 395–8 and fig. 5). These fragments come from three separate figurines, and were all from the lower torso. House D is the largest preserved EBII dwelling excavated at Ayia Irini, with a minimum length of over 18m and a width of *c*. 8m; while not much more than the foundation courses now survive due to later MBA and LBA building activity, this house once consisted of at least three rooms and a long flanking entrance corridor, all originally with stone paved floors. The floor paving of House D was laid directly on top of deep building fills of crushed schist stone and pottery sherds that had been dumped into the ground floor storerooms of the earlier Period III House ED in order to provide a solid foundation for the construction of House D above (Wilson 2013, fig. 2).

Two figurines, SF-228 and SF-230, were found associated with a

schist fill beneath the paved floor of House D room 2 (Fig. 9.8). SF-228 (Fig. 9.3) was placed at the very bottom of this fill dumped into the earlier House ED room 3, marking the start of preparations for the construction of House D above. The second figurine, SF-230 (Fig. 9.5), was placed on the top of this same schist fill, directly beneath a large round lid-like paving stone (*c.* 0.50m in diameter) in the southwest half of House D room 2. The circular form of the stone plaque that covered SF-230 would have stood out from the other more irregular-shaped paving stones in room 2, serving as a permanent visual marker of the figurine's location beneath the floor. The third and final figurine found in House D, SF-229 (Fig. 9.4), came from just beneath the floor paving in the corridor of the house immediately inside the entrance doorway at the northeast (Fig. 9.8).

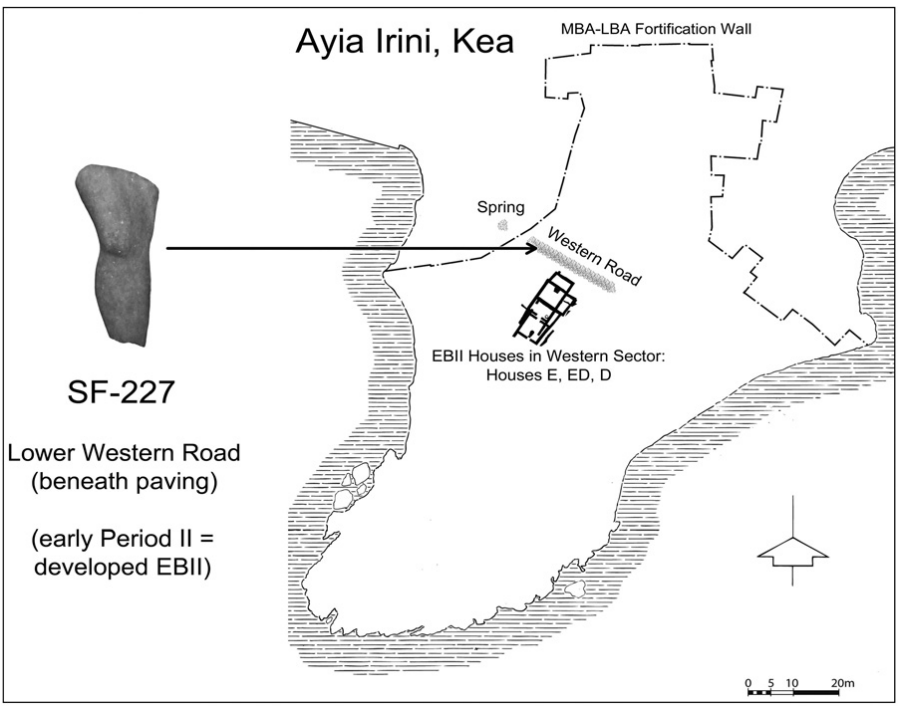

Fig. 9.6 Location of SF-227 beneath the early Period II Lower Western Road.

The contextual evidence of the four figurines found in Houses E and D strongly suggests that not only was their deposition deliberate, but also where they were specifically placed within or beneath these two buildings. In all four cases, the figurines were deposited either near exterior or interior doorways or beneath the floor of principal rooms within the dwelling. SF-226, buried in the corner of House E room 3, served double duty being strategically placed both near the exterior

entrance to the house as well as the interior doorway to the ceremonial hearth room 4 (Fig. 9.7). In a similar fashion, SF-229 was placed just inside the door of the House D entrance corridor (Fig. 9.8). What may have been the main dining or living room of House D, room 2, had not one but two figurines beneath its paved floor (SF-228 and SF-230), perhaps indicating the functional significance of this room (Fig. 9.8). Of particular note is SF-230, whose location beneath the floor of room 2 was specially marked by a large round paving stone. The symbolic meaning and function of these four figurines must have influenced where and how they were deposited.

Although only five figurines were found in secure EBII contexts at Ayia Irini, the number originally deposited in the EBII settlement was substantially larger if those figurines from MBA and LBA deposits are taken into consideration. It is probable that, with the possible exception of the half dozen or so Phylakopi I type schematic figurines (five?), the remainder of those from post-EBA contexts (32) were first used and deposited at some point during the life span of the EBII settlement (Hershenson and Overbeck, this volume, Chapter 28). This raises the question of what the original contexts and functional use(s) of these remaining figurines might have been in EBII before being re-deposited in MBA and LBA times. The EBII harbour settlement at Ayia Irini was extensive in size, comprised of dozens of freestanding dwellings on the terraced slopes and summit of the bedrock hill in both Periods II and III based on the widely distributed archaeological remains found across the site. In Period II alone, the indirect evidence of close to 50 ceremonial stamped hearths, each representing a separate household, suggests just how large the settlement may have been (Wilson 2015; here Fig. 9.7 for one example found *in situ* in House E room 4). While impossible now to prove, at least some of the 32 figurine fragments from post-EBA contexts at Ayia Irini could have originated in domestic foundation deposits of EBII date considering the large size of the settlement, and the number of individual households and dwellings. If this were the case, then the domestic use and ritual deposition of marble figurines at EBII Ayia Irini may have been relatively common.

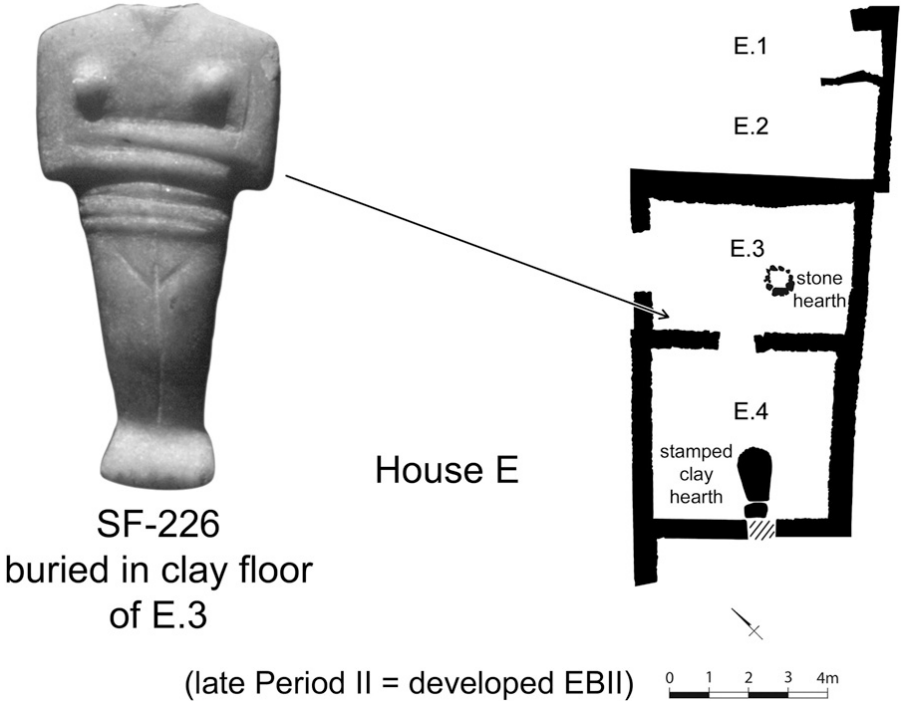

Fig. 9.7 Location of SF-226 in late Period II House E room 3.

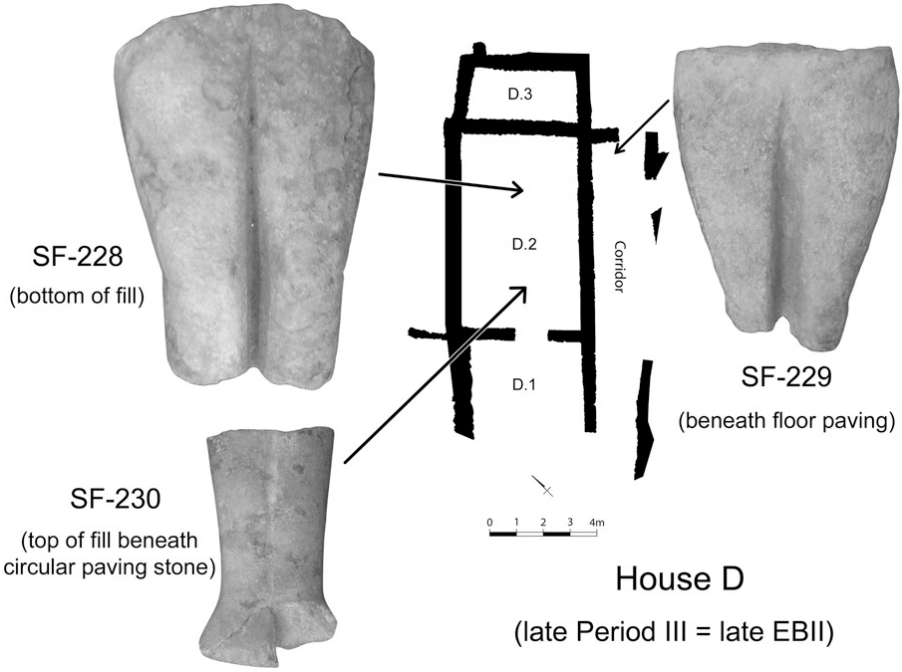

Fig. 9.8 Approximate locations of SF-228–SF-230 beneath the floors of late Period III House D.

Marble figurines in other ECII settlement contexts

Outside of Ayia Irini, marble figurines from secure ECII settlement contexts have been found at Phylakopi (Melos), Skarkos (Ios), Akrotiri (Thera), and Dhaskalio (Keros). At Phylakopi, two marble figurines came from developed EBII deposits: a head from a folded-arm figurine and a schematic figurine of Apeiranthos type (Renfrew & Boyd, this volume, Chapter 29; Cherry & Davis 2007, SF 631, SF 620, 420–3, fig. 10.8 and pl. 54 a–e); both, however, were found in what appear to be rubbish fills (Renfrew 2007, 420). A total of 36 schematic figurines of Apeiranthos type were found at Skarkos in the developed ECII floor or abandonment deposits from numerous houses within the settlement (Marthari, this volume, Chapter 12). At Akrotiri one figurine (of schematic type) was found associated with a possible floor deposit of ECII date in one of the rock-cut chambers (pillar pit 6; Sotirakopoulou 1998, no. 547, 152, pl. 9b). Finally, from the islet of Dhaskalio (Keros), ten schematic figurines came from various domestic contexts within the settlement, most from the final Phase C period of occupation (late Kastri phase; Renfrew 2013; this volume, Chapter 13). The study of the Akrotiri figurines and their contexts is not yet complete, so any conclusions regarding their use and functional context await final publication. What can be said now is that there were marble figurines in functional circulation at a number of island settlements in ECII, which provide evidence for the domestic use of figurines during the earlier stages of their life history prior to their being taken out of circulation through accidental or deliberate deposition.

Use life of the Ayia Irini figurines in EBII

The contexts of the figurines found at EBII Ayia Irini mark only the end point of what may have been a long history of use prior to their final deposition in various foundation deposits. If SF-227 is from a figurine of late EBI Plastiras type, it would have had considerable antiquity by the time it was finally taken out of circulation in developed EBII and deposited in construction fill beneath the Western Road. Whether still complete or fragmentary, SF-227 was already an heirloom when first brought to Kea, perhaps by one of the early settlers to Ayia Irini; that it had been archived for several centuries before even reaching the island suggests the social value and symbolism this figurine and others may have held. The remaining four

figurines, SF-226 and SF-228–30, all of EBII (Keros-Syros phase) folded-arm type, could have reached Ayia Irini at any point between the initial re-settlement phase in early Period II and the time of their final deposition in late Period II or late Period III. In the case of the three figurines SF-228–30 deposited beneath late Period III House D, a use life of several centuries or more within the settlement is possible. Unfortunately, unlike at Skarkos or Dhaskalio, there is no preserved evidence at Ayia Irini for how any of these figurines may have circulated and functioned either within the home or in more public spaces within the settlement before their deposition.

Where the initial breakage of the Ayia Irini figurines occurred and how is not known, but it may well have been deliberate rather than accidental. If at least some of the figurines found at Ayia Irini were still complete when they reached Kea, with breakage occurring at some point after their arrival, only portions of once whole figurines have ever been found at the site. All of the figurine fragments from both EBII and later contexts at Ayia Irini appear to have at least some wear at the breaks, suggesting that these fragments may have circulated and been used for some time prior to their deposition. If this indeed was the case, how can the remaining fragments of once whole figurines be accounted for? The cemetery associated with the EBII settlement at Ayia Irini has never been located, but would be one possible context in which at least some of the now missing fragments may have been deposited. Elsewhere in the Cyclades, most figurines from funerary contexts were found complete (Renfrew 2007, 421–2), but there are rare instances in which only a portion of the figurine was placed in the tomb (Voutsaki 2007, table 8.12 for summary list). These fragments clearly still had social value and possibly the same symbolic meaning as the complete examples of figurines from contemporary burial contexts. The very large number of figurine fragments from the sanctuary deposits at Kavos on Keros suggests a second possible context for the deposition of figurine fragments outside the settlement after their initial breakage. The unusual ECII deposits containing figurine fragments from the site of Potamia on Ano Kouphonisi provide yet another possible ritual context that does not appear to be either clearly domestic or funerary (Philaniotou, this volume, Chapter 14).

The evidence reviewed above raises the possibility that some figurines after their deliberate breakage took on multiple life histories, with their fragments archived, dispersed, and finally deposited in different functional contexts. The history/ies of a single figurine could potentially encompass a considerable span of both time and distance

between its initial crafting and final deposition. One scenario would have the use life of at least some figurines beginning in the settlement and still complete, prior to their breakage and final deposition in ritual foundation deposits as argued here for Ayia Irini, or the far more common practice as offerings in burial or sanctuary contexts (Renfrew 2013, 206–7). Wherever the final deposition of Early Cycladic figurines occurred (settlement, burial, sanctuary), and whether they were whole or fragmentary, it is probable that they all shared at least some symbolic meaning and function for both the living and the dead (Doumas 1977, 63; Barber 1984; Renfrew 1984; 2007, 420–2).

Evidence for the deliberate and arguably ritual deposition of marble figurines in EBII Aegean domestic contexts appears to exist for now only at Ayia Irini, but was this practice really unique to this site alone? The number of marble figurines found in Cycladic settlements continues to grow showing a far more common circulation and use of figurines in domestic contexts than had been previously thought, but did they have a similar use life at every site? There is no basis to assume that all figurines had the same value, symbolism and function regardless of their regional find spot within the Aegean. Indeed, the level of use and function of figurines even among settlements within the Cyclades may have differed significantly.

The Cyclades were not a unified cultural whole in the EBA anymore than the Helladic mainland or Minoan Crete was at this same time. The very broad geographical distribution of the Cyclades resulted in quite different local and inter-regional networks of contact and interaction, and for this reason it should not be surprising to see clear evidence for regional differentiation in various aspects of the material culture among these islands (Broodbank 2000, 197–207). Kea's strategic position as a 'gateway' island between the mainland and northern Cyclades is a case in point. The bulk of the pottery assemblage at Ayia Irini in EBII has its strongest stylistic links with contemporary settlement sites on the nearby east Attic coast, suggesting a Kea-East Attic ceramic zone in this period to which southern Euboea can now be added (Wilson 1987; Cullen *et al.* 2013, 74–5). It might be more relevant to look at the use and symbolism of the figurines found at EBII Ayia Irini within the local regional context of eastern Attica and southern Euboea than in the more distant islands of the central and southeastern Cyclades. In this regard, it is significant that most of the ECII figurines found on the EBII mainland to date come from Attica and Euboea, and many of these from

settlement contexts (Sotirakopoulou 2008, 78–9); further study and publication of these and future finds may provide comparable evidence for the context and use of the Ayia Irini figurines.

Conclusions

To sum up, the evidence reviewed above from Ayia Irini strongly suggests the deliberate and ritual deposition of marble figurines during the construction of two successive houses, E and D, found in the Western Sector of the EBII settlement. In both Houses E and D, the figurines may have served as foundation deposits, embodying both propitiatory and talismanic powers. Their strategic placement near key liminal doorways and in or directly beneath the floors of these houses would have maximized their powers to ensure not just an auspicious start for the dwelling, but the long term protection, well-being, and productivity of the family. The ritual deposition of these figurines would, therefore, have served a dual role, both as a dedicatory offering for a propitious beginning of the dwelling, as well as the long term perhaps apotropaic function of these figurines to guard the home and its family.

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10

A FRAGMENT OF AN EARLY CYCLADIC FIGURINE FROM THE PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT AT PLAKALONA ON SERIPHOS

Peggy Pantou

Archaeological information on the prehistory of Seriphos has been scant, until recently (Broodbank 2000, 52; Davis *et al.* 2001, 88), amounting to a few objects in collections in European museums (Blinkenberg & Friis Johansen 1924, 31, pl. 37.5; 1932, 46, pl. 64, 6). Among these are two Early Cycladic marble figurines (Thimme 1977, 463 no. 145 and 490 no. 244), whose precise circumstances of discovery with respect to place and associations is unknown, and whose origin in Seriphos is unconfirmed.

Archaeometallurgical investigations carried out on the island in recent years (in an interdisciplinary project between the 21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and the Demokritos National Centre for Scientific Research in Athens) have indicated that metallurgical activity on Seriphos began in the Early Bronze Age (Georgakopoulou 2005; Philaniotou *et al.* 2011), perhaps coinciding with the founding of an EBA settlement at Plakalona: the first settlement of that date yet to be discovered on Seriphos. These finds indicate human activity on the island from the 3rd millennium BC (Philaniotou 2004).

The site of Plakalona is located on the southwest, metalliferous side of the island (Fig. 10.1), on a hill which forms the spine of the Kountouro promontory, between the bays of Kountouro and Mega Livadi (Fig. 10.2). This is an area riddled with mine galleries above

the new settlement of Mega Livadi, which was founded towards the end of the 19th century and whose current administrative boundary extends as far as the ancient settlement, probably covering a large part of it. The location of the prehistoric settlement was conspicuous from all directions. Its size cannot at present be estimated, but indications, including building remains along with numerous other finds, are visible on the surface over a considerable area, with a greater concentration towards the summit of the hill and on the modern cultivation terraces on its west side.

The observations possible so far are based on surface finds and on those from small exploratory trenches, indicating that the remains of the settlement are preserved to a considerable depth (Fig. 10.3) and include destruction levels with rich and varied finds. The pottery consists of numerous sherds from a range of household vessels – bowls (two are preserved intact: Figs 10.4, 10.5), pithoi, cooking pots, braziers, pyxides, collared jars, spoons etc., most of them plain, while some bear incised or relief decoration, and a few of them impressed or painted. Several sherds are of the 'talc ware' fabric. There are also clay spindle whorls, stone mortars and pestles, a significantly large number of obsidian cores, blades, and flakes, as well as a substantial amount of copper slag, furnace fragments and crucibles (Fig. 10.6). The finds indicate the inhabitants' activities and connections with neighbouring islands (Pantou 2006; Pantou 2007; in press). The ceramic finds (from the surface and from excavation levels) are of types belonging mainly to the Early Cycladic II period during which the settlement apparently flourished. This, however, does not exclude an earlier foundation date.

An unexpected surface find on the almost flat top of the hill, among the visible traces of building remains and numerous potsherds, was a fragment of a canonical type Cycladic figurine (Seriphos Coll. no 66; Fig. 10.7). It is preserved at the neck and lower part of the head to a length of 51mm, with a width of 24 mm at the base of the neck. It is made of white marble with a yellowish-brown patina. The surface is well preserved with some incrustation in places. The neck is long and slender, narrowing towards the head, slightly convex in profile and elliptical at its base. The head is triangular with a pointed chin. Its features – convex neck profile and curved base contour – are traits of the Spedos variety; in combination with the elegance and slenderness of the tapering neck it may be considered an intermediate form between the Spedos and Dokathismata varieties.

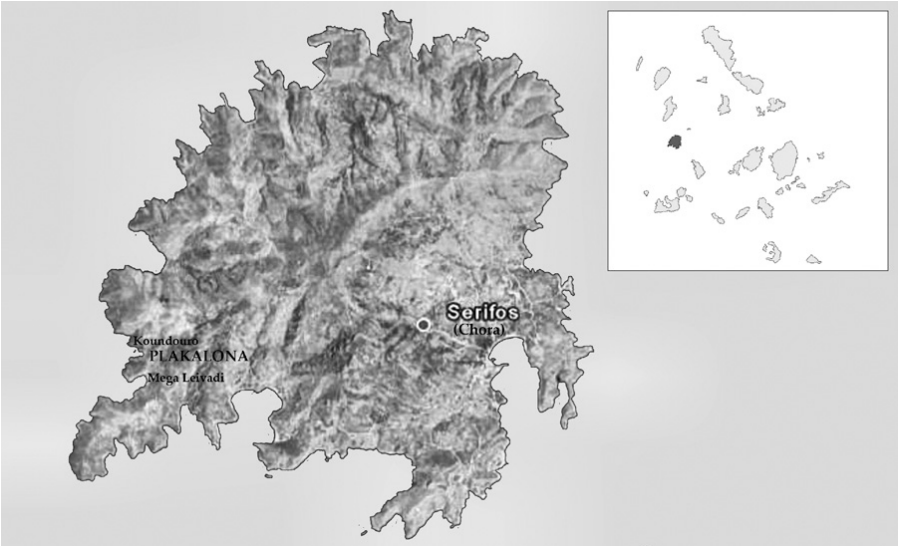

Fig. 10.1 Map of Seriphos.

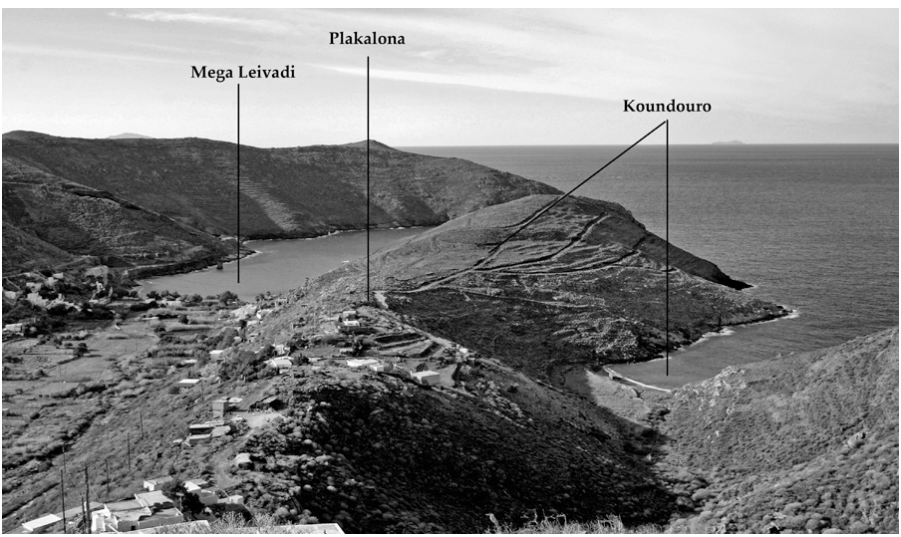

Fig. 10.2 Physical setting of Plakalona.

Fig. 10.3 Excavation trench at Plakalona.

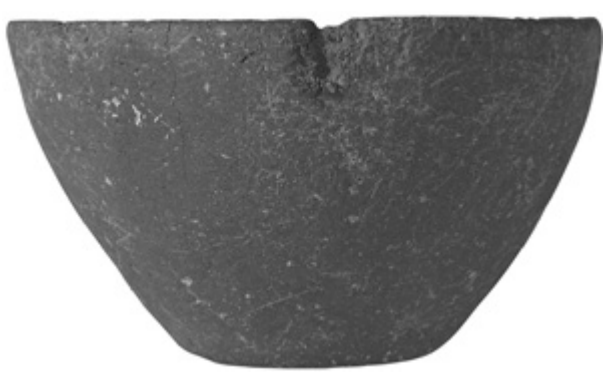

Fig. 10.4 Ceramic bowl from Plakalona.

Fig. 10.5 Ceramic bowl from Plakalona.

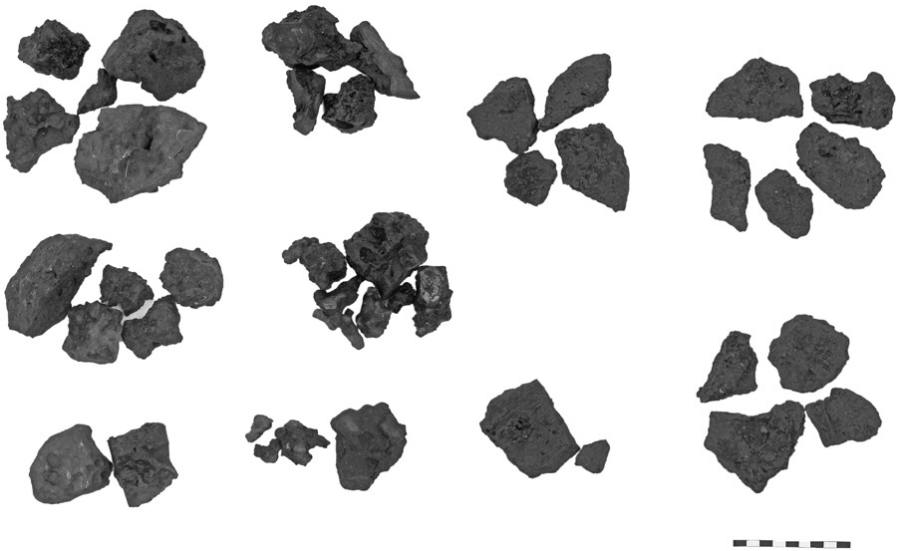

Fig. 10.6 Copper slags and furnace fragments from Plakalona

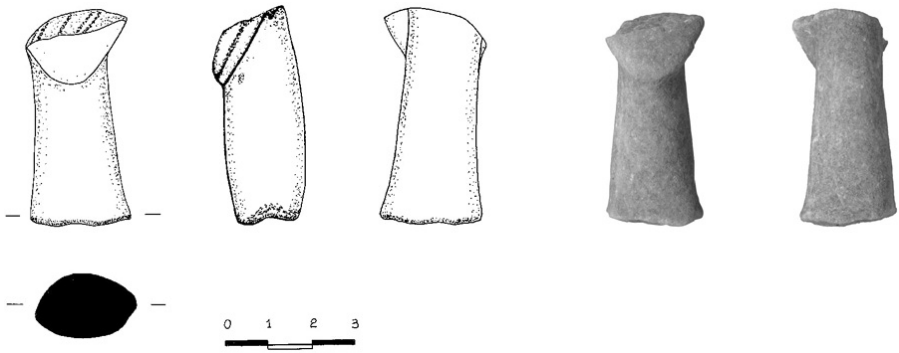

Fig. 10.7 Figurine fragment from Plakalona. Scale 1:2.

Although fragmentary, this find is of particular importance as the first figurine with a definite Seriphiot provenance. In addition, it is clearly associated with the Early Cycladic settlement of Plakalona, an apparently large and evidently promising site, whose detailed investigation will further our understanding of the prehistory of Seriphos, clarifying the position of the island within the Early Bronze Age Aegean.

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11

SCULPTURES FROM AKROTIRAKI, SIPHNOS AND ITS CEMETERY

Zozi D. Papadopoulou

The Akrotiraki cemetery and its figurines

At the end of the 19th century C. Tsountas (1899, 73–4) explored a number of graves at the site of Akrotiraki, first mentioned as a prehistoric cemetery a few years earlier by Pollak (1896, 210). According to Tsountas, most of the graves were plundered and only seven or eight new ones were excavated by him. Tsountas notes that the cemetery extended over an area of many square meters but with relatively few graves, clustered in small groups of three, four or five graves each; the tombs were single or double storeyed, with the sides built of small rough stones, with the exception of grave 142 which was a cist grave. The finds from the graves date to the Early Cycladic (EC) I and II periods including the Kastri phase (Tsountas 1899, 73–4, fig. 28, pls 8–10; see also Rambach 2000, 60–5, pl. 23–5; Renfrew 2005).

In 2001 a rescue excavation on the southwest slope of Akrotiraki, in the Kaprelis and Adrianopoulos plots at Lazarou Bay, added some information to the observations already made by Tsountas and actually confirmed the area as the location of the prehistoric cemetery. The spot, known as Lazarou, is found almost in the middle of the closed small bay, separated from Platy Yialos by Akrotiraki (Fig. 11.1). From this spot, Cape Pounta and part of the bay of Platy Yialos are visible as well as Pholegandros. It is worth noting that according to the testimony of the locals, the farmers ploughing their land in this area accidentally discovered many bones and the name 'Lazarou'

actually derives from a ‘standing Lazaros’, a skeleton found during ploughing. (The place was thought to bring bad luck – one owner lost two sons – and some fields changed hands several times within a few years).

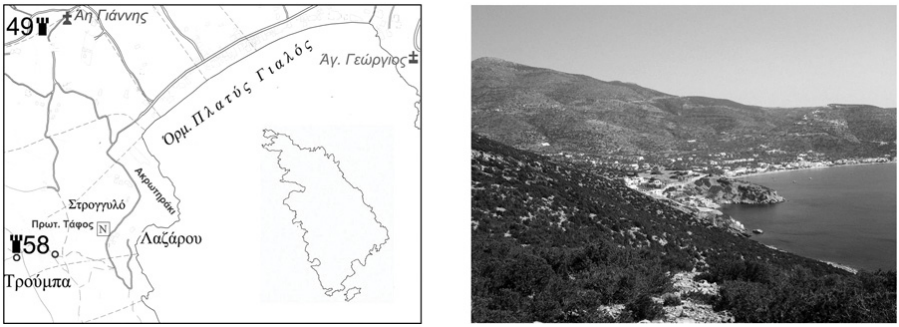

Fig. 11.1 Siphnos: Platy Yialos and Lazarou.

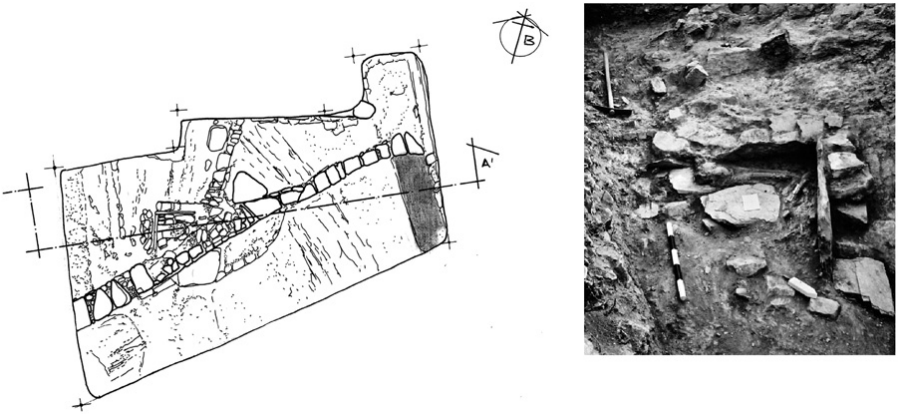

Fig. 11.2 Akrotiraki. Left, plan of graves 1 and 2, with the retaining wall. Right, grave 1 from the east.

Trial trenches were dug all over the field and, with the exception of one, produced no finds except for a few prehistoric sherds and other objects not related to specific graves. In one trench (D), almost in the middle of the field, 30m above sea level, and 100m away from the sea, two graves were found beside an ancient retaining wall (Fig. 11.2). Grave 1 was a cist two-storeyed grave dug into the rock, almost triangular in plan. The two sides of the tomb were lined with upright schist slabs: the north upright was supported from the outside with flat stones; the west upright, broken in two pieces, was arranged to lean inwards; its upper part was broken away. The entrance was blocked with rough drystone walling, not well distinguished from the

retaining wall (Fig. 11.2, left). The upper storey of T1 was disturbed and no capstone was found. The grave was 0.79m long; the upper storey was 0.67m wide, while the lower storey was 0.30m wide. The upper compartment was 0.23m deep, the lower varied from 0.08m to 0.15m deep. The area west of the grave was paved with small irregular stones, probably forming a type of individual platform (Doumas 1977, 36). The east side of the grave was also paved, though badly preserved.

Poorly preserved skeletal remains were revealed within the two storeys of the grave. Their analysis (Tsaliki 2005) showed that at least two individuals of unknown age and sex were buried at the upper level whilst one or probably two bodies were buried at the lower level of the grave. An interesting find at the lower level is a number of animal bones, maybe of pig. A few modest finds were made in the upper compartment, probably fallen accidentally into the grave. The disturbance of the upper level and the absence of characteristic finds from the grave do not allow its accurate chronological classification. In the disturbed soil above the grave level were found a schematic figurine (Fig. 11.3), the head of a figurine of Apeiranthos type (Fig. 11.5) and the lower leg of a figurine (Fig. 11.4, discussed below) along with a few sherds belonging to various periods.

To the east of grave T1, an almost triangular shallow pit cut in the soft rock filled with fine earth was uncovered, probably belonging to a second grave, but without any trace of bones (0.98 × 0.85 × 0.93m; depth 0.15–0.23m). Its southeast side is limited by the retaining wall. The pit was covered by an almost triangular stone. In the soil covering the grave, an Early Cycladic bronze fish-hook was found.

Surface survey of the surrounding area as well as the other trial trenches produced a few articles mainly of the EC period, mostly sherds, obsidian blades and flakes, an obsidian core, and a partly preserved flat object of uncertain function of chlorite schist (see below).

Figurines from the cemetery of Akrotiraki

Figurines found in the 2001 excavation

As mentioned above, the three figurines under consideration were found in trench D in the disturbed soil above grave 1. Since they do not come from a very clear context their chronological classification will be based on mainly typological criteria.

1.1 Schematic figurine of pebble type (Fig. 11.3).

Museum number: 488. Intact.
Natural translucent whitish sea-pebble with small yellowishbrownish and grey veins.
Height 30mm, maximum width 18mm, maximum thickness 5mm. Cf. Renfrew 1969, 5; Sotirakopoulou 1998 110–1; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 53.
FN-EC I

Flat, natural pebble of triangular shape. A pair of natural notches on the upper half could be considered as an indication of the head and neck. A notch at the base that also seems natural forms two small rudimentary and asymmetrical protrusions that could indicate legs.

The Akrotiraki pebble figurine resembles some schematic FN and EC I idols, especially from Saliagos (Evans & Renfrew 1968, 19 pl.43, 5 fig. 88, 4–5, p. 14, 66, 87; cf. Tsountas 1898 pl.11, 2; Rambach 2000, I, pl. 22, 47–9 – Zoumbaria).

1.2. Figurine probably of Louros or hybrid type (Fig. 11.4).
Museum number: 497. Lower leg of a figurine.
Whitish marble with yellowish-brownish patinated surface. Very compact, low translucence.
Height 68mm; maximum width 19.5mm, maximum thickness 18mm.
Transitional ECI–II

Preserved from a little above the knee. At this level the legs are carved separately. The knee-cap is modelled as a small protrusion. In profile, the front is slightly convex the back concave (on the calf). The knee is rendered lower at the back than in the front. The contours of the leg are straight at both sides. The upper thigh is rendered bulky on the back view. The leg ends in a small rudimentary downward-pointed foot. Based on the length of the lower leg, the total height of the figurine could be estimated to *c*. 270mm – thus considered as one of the largest examples of Louros type (Renfrew 1969, 8–9; Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 442; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 55.

1.3. Apeiranthos type (Fig. 11.5).
Museum number: 489. Head and part of the neck preserved.
Whitish marble, fine grained, medium to high translucence.
Preserved height: 27mm, maximum width 18mm, maximum thickness 9mm.
Cf. Renfrew 1969, 14; also Sotirakopoulou 2005, 54.
ECII?

Head and part of the neck of a figurine. The head is of asymmetrical outline, curved, and almost horseshoe shaped. One side of the head is more thick and straight compared to the other. This gives the impression that the figurine has been reworked from a broken piece of a marble artefact. The slanting formation on the forehead can be taken as an attempt to indicate the volume of the head. The back is almost flat.

An interesting parallel for the asymmetrical head of the figurine can be seen in a small unpublished idol of the Apeiranthos type of unknown provenance, much thinner than the example from Akrotiraki, exhibited in the Museum of Paros (PM209). For the profile of the head, cf. Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1983, 1; cf. also Katsarou-Tzeveleki & Schilardi 2008, 61, fig.8.5, 67.

Fig. 11.3 Pebble figurine 1.1. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 11.4 Possible Louros figurine 1.2. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 11.5 Head of Apeiranthos figurine 1.3. Scale 1:2.

Donated figurine

The owner of the field at the lower part of the slope at Lazarou bay, situated near the sea, in 2005 donated to the Museum of Siphnos a marble figurine thought to have been found in his field. Recently he showed me a construction there, probably a destroyed built grave, located, as he told me, near to the spot where he found the figurine.

1.4. Folded arm type (Figs 11.6 & 11.7).
Museum number: 434. Missing the head (old break) and the feet (recent break).
Whitish marble. Brown-black incrustation, as well as chipped in places.
Maximum height 38mm, width at shoulders 21mm, width at legs 11mm, thickness 6mm.

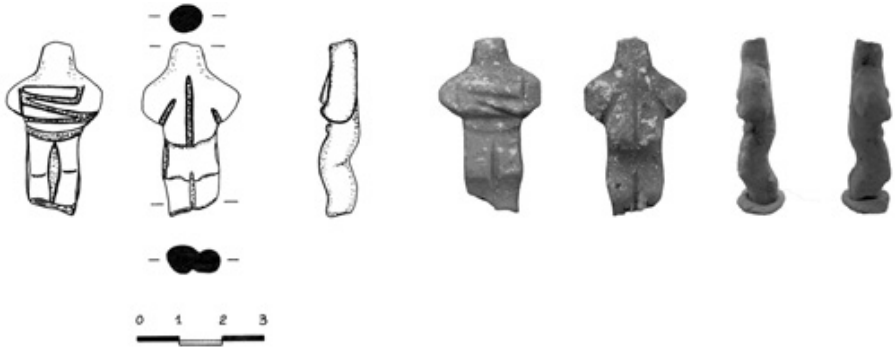

Fig. 11.6 Folded-arm figurine 1.4. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 11.7 Figurine 1.4. Not to scale.

The neck, of ellipsoid section, broadens at the base. It has sloping shoulders, the right placed somewhat higher than the left. The upper arms are distinguished from the chest by means of incisions on the front, and are indicated as protruding at the elbows. The right elbow and upper arm are not clearly distinguished. The arms project markedly from the rest. The forearms are folded against the waist, the left forearm over the right, separated by a diagonal incision and without any indication of fingers. The area of the breasts is differentiated from the forearms by grooves, and the breasts are rendered in low relief elongated, almost triangular in shape and slightly protruding in profile. The lower end of the belly is marked by a curved incision at hip-level. No sexual differentiation can be determined.

The outline of the lower part of the body is almost rectangular. The outer sides of the legs are almost straight. The legs, bent at the knees, are separated by a deep groove at the thighs that stops below the knees. The calves are concave on the front and convex on the rear. A protruding ridge indicates the knees which are shown lower at the back than in the front.

On the rear side, the arms are separated from the torso by slanting grooves whilst a deep vertical incision which stops below the buttocks and start again at the knees, indicates the spine and separates the legs. The outline of the lower part of the figurine is markedly curvaceous in profile.

The figurine belongs to the folded arm type but cannot be assigned to one of the standard varieties. It has an asymmetrical outline, especially at the arms. The figurine follows older traditions, combining the outline of the upper half of a violin type idol (for example the the upper part of the body of the violin-type figurine EAM4959 from Akrotiraki, see below), with an almost plank-like lower body. Its outline could also be compared with the 'male' schematic idol found by Bent in the poorer cemetery on Antiparos, dated to ECI (Thimme 1977, no. 52; Bent 1884, 49, fig. 1), with slimmer forms, more plastic details and curvaceous outline in profile. (Some similarities concerning the outline of the lower body can be recognized in a figurine published by Doumas: 1981, no. 121). These peculiarities indicate that we probably have a local adaptation of the folded arm type. With the triangular shape of the forearms (cf. Sotirakopoulou, 1998, 138) they point to an early date in the series of canonical idols, that is transitional EC I–II or early ECII. Renfrew (1991 92), however, does not accept the existence of a special class of 'precanonical figures' as transitional between the 'Grotta-Pelos' forms and the folded-arm type and regards them simply as different renderings of the five standard varieties of the folded-arm figures.

Figurines found in graves excavated by Tsountas

Two figurines were unearthed during Tsountas' excavation at Akrotiraki, now in the National Archaeological Museum, raising the number of early figurines found at the cemetery area of Akrotiraki to six.

1.5. Schematic, Violin-type. Grave 146 (Fig. 11.8).
EAM4958. Missing the upper part of the almost cylindrical prong indicating the head and neck. Heavily weathered and flaking in places.
White fine-grained marble.
Preserved height 42mm.
Tsountas 1899, 73–6, 77, Rambach 2000, 63–4, Taf. 25, 2, Taf. 166, 11. Cf. Renfrew 1969 5; Sotirakopoulou 2005 52–3.
EC I.

A flat, almost quadrilateral piece of marble shaped to give a vaguely anthropomorphic outline. Anthropomorphic details incised on the surface: V-shaped neckline, a pair of opposite notches at the sides joined by a horizontal incision indicating the waist. The right shoulder is rounded, the left more angular and placed somewhat lower than the left.

1.6. Schematic, violin-type, grave 147 (Fig. 11.9).
EAM4959. Broken and repaired in antiquity.
White, coarse-grained marble.
Height: 101mm.
Tsountas 1899, 73-76, 77, Rambach 2000, 63–4, Taf. 25, 3. Taf. 164,7.
EC I.

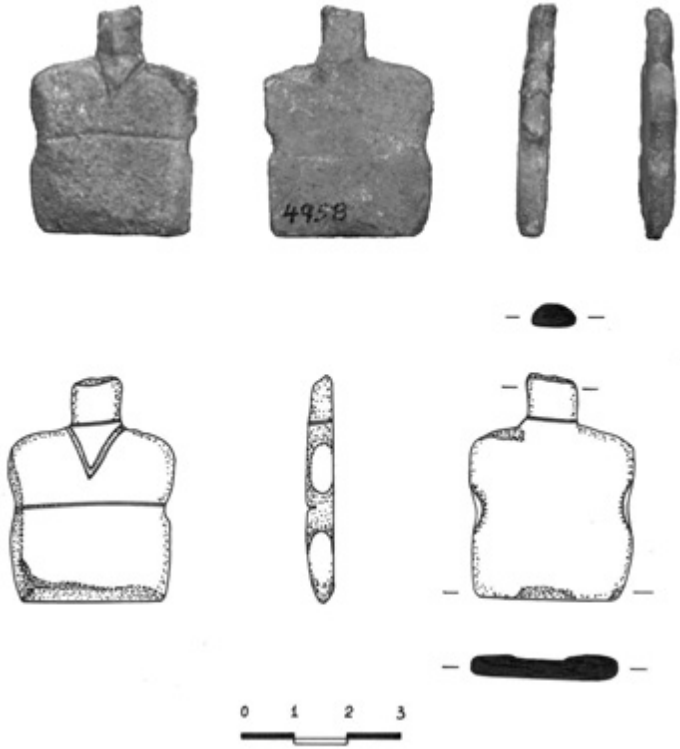

Fig. 11.8 Schematic, violin-type figurine 1.5. Scale 1:2.

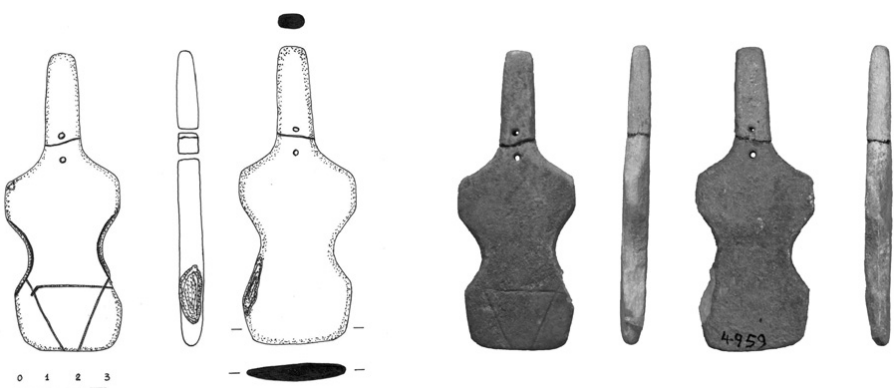

Fig. 11.9 Schematic, violin-type figurine 1.6. Scale 1:2.

Violin type figurine with figure-of-eight-shaped body. Asymmetrical outline. A tall prong indicates the head and neck. Two horizontal repair holes at the break of the head from the neck. Incised large pubic triangle. The upper part of the body is a little wider than the lower part. The left shoulder is placed slightly higher than the right.

Figurines mentioned by Pollak

Finally Pollak (1896), who first mentioned Akrotiraki as a prehistoric

site, refers to four marble figurines, 'of the well-known primitive style …', now lost, that he saw in the collection of the owner of the field at Akrotiraki where the graves were found. Pollak describes these figurines as follows: a) the first one, of 210mm height, has its hands below the breasts, the knees bent, and no indication of the vulva; b) an idol of similar type but smaller (125mm); c) another one, standing 95mm; and d) a fourth, 150mm, with legs separated by a groove. From the description it can be supposed that at least three of the figurines belong to the type with folded arms (Renfrew 2005, 43).

The settlement of Akrotiraki

Tsountas supposed that the settlement accompanying the cemetery was located at the summit of the promontory of Akrotiraki, as indicated by surface remains. This observation was further reinforced by later surveys (Renfrew 2005, 45) and confirmed by a recent rescue excavation at the norhtast part of the promontory, above Hotel Xenia, in a plot close to the sea (the Pittis plot) which showed that the boundaries of the settlement extended to the east and northeast slopes of the promontory. The excavation at Pittis plot provided excavated material from the settlement of Akrotiraki for the first time and produced important new evidence for EBA lead/silver and copper production (Papadopoulou 2011; 2013).

Beneath a surface stratum of about 0.30–0.50m containing pottery mainly of prehistoric times, a thick layer with stones was unearthed, mixed with abundant EC pottery, lithics as well as various metallurgical materials. In the deepest part of this layer, few structural remains were uncovered, comprising a semicircular hearth (trench I 4) and a fragmentarily preserved wall (trench K 5, Fig. 11.10). Fiedler was the first to mention metallurgical remains on the cliff west of Platy Yialos, obviously at the site now known as Akrotiraki: litharge, heavy slags and abundant obsidian were noted, but no traces of ancient mining nearby (Fiedler 1841, 134). His observations were also confirmed by the Max Plank Institute research team (Wagner *et al.* 1980, 72–3).

The excavation at the Pittis plot confirmed the exceptional duration of the site, as Renfrew notes (2005), from the FN to the Kastri phase. Moreover, it added important new evidence concerning metallurgy (fragments of litharge in the shape of shallow bowls, as seen in Figure 11.11, copper and lead slag, tools related to metallurgy etc.). The metallurgical finds prove that Akroriraki can be considered as the first known EC settlement where silver production was carried out using cupellation that left behind shallow bowl-type litharge. The study of

the litharge fragments suggested significant similarities with finds from of southeast Attica and Thasos dating to the EBA (Kakavogianni *et al.* 2006; Basiakos 2012), suggesting technological associations in the process of cupellation between these regions.

A very large amount of so-called talc-ware (Renfrew 2005; cf Broodbank 2000; Fig. 11.11) came from the excavation, also recognized at a number of sites in the Cyclades (Renfrew 2005, 46) and connected with local seatrade networks based on the exchange of metal (Vaughan & Wilson 1993, 182–3).

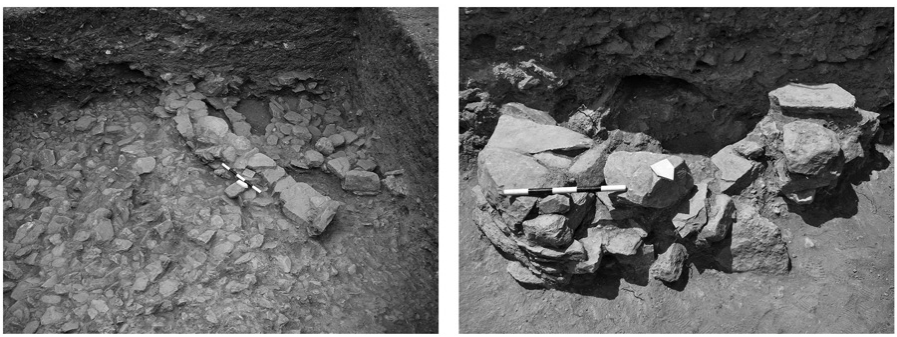

Fig. 11.10 Left, trench K 5. Right, trench I 4.

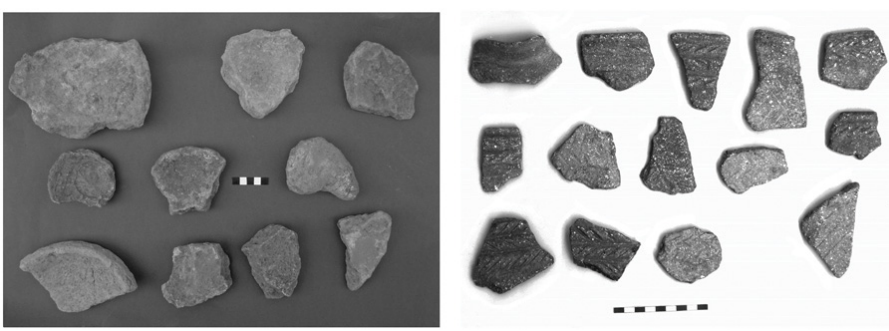

Fig. 11.11 Left: metallurgical finds from Akrotiraki. Right: Talc-ware pottery from Akrotiraki. Not to scale.

Surface surveys in an area extending 700m from Akrotiraki led to the identification of three contemporaneous smelting sites for copper production (Skali), and one smelting site for argentiferous ore (Kassela). Litharge fragments and slags were also found on the adjacent islet of Kitriani. This new evidence, in combination with the information for cupellation for silver extraction within the settlement of Akrotiraki, suggests that the southeast part of Siphnos constitutes a major metallurgical centre with a high level of specialization, possibly comparable with that of Aghios Sostis (Papadopoulou 2011; 2013;

Basiakos *et al.* 2013). A serious puzzle awaiting resolution is the source of the ores, still unknown. The occurrence of FN-ECI sherds suggests that metallurgical activity may have started even earlier and that it was not restricted to a single period.

In the mixed layers excavated at the Pittis plot a small number of fragmentary idols was found. Their associations cannot be determined with certainty since they come from mixed EC layers and the study of the related pottery is still in progress.

2.1. Schematic figurine of pebble type (Fig. 11.12).
Museum number: 499. Intact.
Whitish marble.
Trench I 5, stratum.
Height 49mm, maximum width 46mm, maximum thickness 9mm.
ECI?

An intact pebble-shaped marble object of triangular shape, probably to be identified as a figurine. It is flat on the front side, concave at the rear. Probably reworked from a broken piece of a marble artefact (a bowl?). It shows some resemblances to schematic FN and EC I idols, especially from Despotikon-Zoumbaria (Evans & Renfrew 1968, 19, 14, 66, 87; pl. 43, 5; fig. 88, 4–5. Cf. Tsountas 1898 pl.11, 2; Rambach 2000, I, pl. 22, 47–9, Zoumbaria). Possible paint ghosts can be noticed on the front side of the figurine: two horizontally placed black stripes and, close to one of the ends of the lower one, an additional short oblique stripe. We could interpret the two horizontal stripes as an attempt to give a tripartite design to the figurine. The figurine could be dated to the EC I though paint ghosts at that period are rare and are not attested on pebble type idols (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 146).

2.2. Head of a figurine, Louros type (Fig. 11.13).
Museum number: 490.
From the removal of the baulk between the trenches P6-P7
White marble with brownish patina, fine grained. Ancient break.
Height 39mm, maximum width 23mm, thickness 11mm.
EC I–II

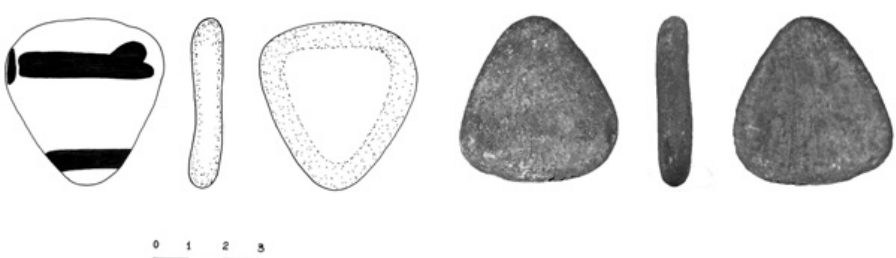

Fig. 11.12 Schematic figurine 2.1 of pebble type. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 11.13 Head of figurine 2.2 of Louros type. Scale 1:2.

Triangular head without facial features. The forehead tilts backward. The sides of the head are straight, the crown slightly arched. The outline of head and neck give no specific indication of a chin (cf Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, nos 80–93; Doumas 1981, no. 32).

2.3. Head and part of the neck of a figurine of Apeiranthos type (Fig. 11.14).
Museum number: 491.
Trench Π6.
Whitish marble with brownish patina. Ancient breaks. Chipped in places.
Height 43mm, maximum width 33mm, thickness 16mm.
ECII

Back flat, front with a roughly convex shape – an attempt to indicate the volume of the head. Asymmetrical outline, flat at crown.

2.4. Neck of a figurine of undetermined type (probably canonical) (Fig. 11.15).
Museum number: 492.
Trench N6.
Whitish marble with brownish patina, heavy brown incrustation on the front side. Old breaks
Height 62mm, maximum width 39mm, thickness 22mm.
ECII?

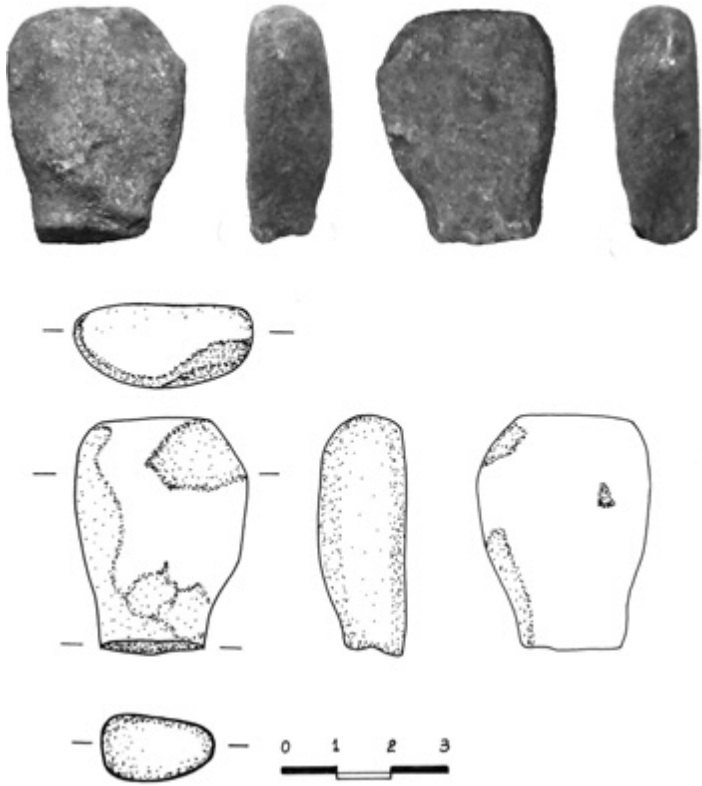

Fig. 11.14 Head of Apeiranthos type figurine 2.3. Scale 1:2.

Part of neck of conical shape, elliptical in section, slightly backward arching in profile. Remains of decoration in red pigment: a vertical row of dots on each side of the neck, a couple of horizontal bands at the base of the neck with the larger running across the narrow sides, and a group of at least three dotted lozenges at the upper part of the neck (cf. NM4182, Hendrix 2003, 421, fig. 6; and EAM6140.20, from Spedos, Naxos: Hendrix 2003, fig. 10 with n. 58).

2.5. Part of a figurine of undetermined type (Fig. 11.16).
Museum number: 498.
Trench I 5, stratum 1.
Whitish marble. Ancient breaks, modern chips on the surface.
Maximum height: 34mm, width 32mm, thickness 15mm.

The fragment is ellipsoid in section, and has straight sides. It probably belongs to the neck or the lower part of the torso of a figurine. On the one narrow side, remains of red paint have been noticed. Judging from the preserved height of the fragment, it could have been large when complete. Its type is undetermined, as is its date.

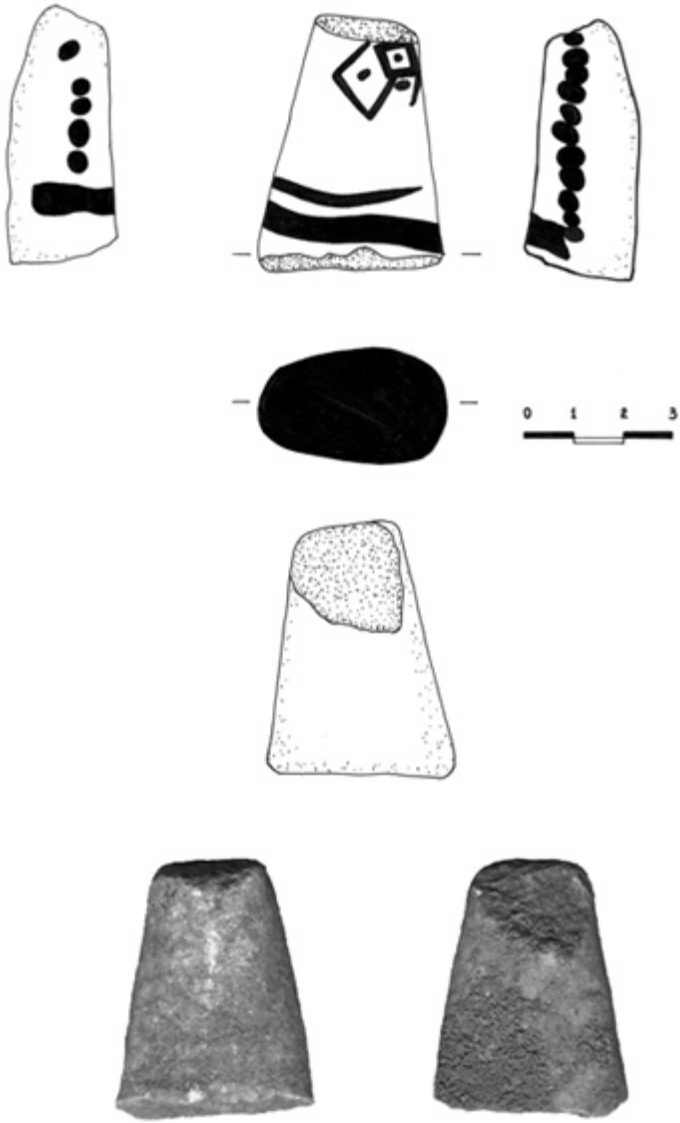

Fig. 11.15 Neck of figurine 2.4. Scale 1:2.

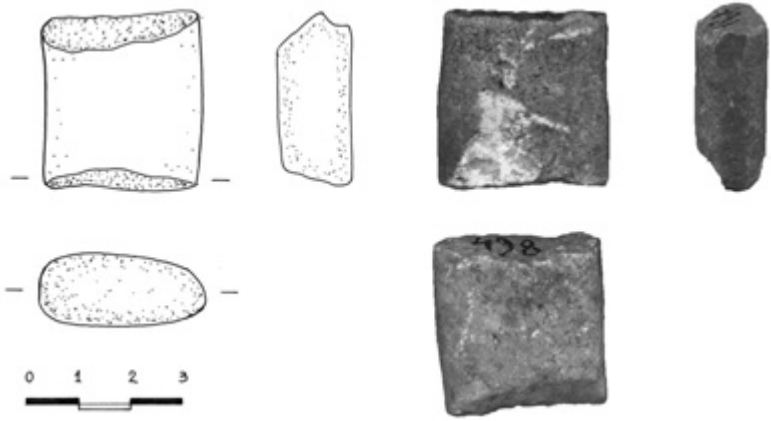

Fig. 11.16 Part of a figurine 2.5, of undetermined type. Scale 1:2.

Discussion

Despite the limited body of evidence, several significant points can be drawn from the study of the figurines of Akrotiraki when considered within their cultural and geographical context.

The figurines from Akrotiraki derive both from the area of the cemetery and the settlement. In the cemetery few other fine stone objects were found by Tsountas in his excavations other than three marble bowls, three stone birds and a stone palette in graves 142 and 143. During the rescue excavation undertaken in 2001 in the area of the cemetery a fragment of a miniature square object of chlorite schist was found of a hitherto unrecorded form, with a small protrusion on its one preserved corner and incisions on both surfaces.

From the area of the settlement, apart from the figurines, few fragments of fine marble objects mainly bowls as well as a spool or 'pestle' were unearthed.

The Akrotiraki figurines comprise both schematic and naturalistic types. The largest surviving class is that of the schematic form, represented by pebble, violin-type Louros and Apeiranthos types. The first two types derive from the well-known pebble type and violin shaped figurines from Saliagos. One of the violin type figurines presents traces of ancient mending, with holes at the prong, a point 'recognized as the most vulnerable' (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 145).

Typologically, the schematic violin type figurines show significant affinities to the material from Greater Paros (compare the figurines from Tsountas' graves 100 and 103 at Pyrgos, Paros; 129 and 135 on Despotiko; and especially 115 and 117 at Krassades, Antiparos).

Chronologically, the figurines are related to the Grotta Pelos culture (ECI) period, the transitional ECI-II and the early ECII period, covering

a large part of the long duration of life of the settlement (according to Renfrew: 2011, 145, Akrotiraki is a key site because of its long duration, which would be of the order of 850 years; cf Renfrew 2005, 50).

In the light of the available evidence, it cannot be proved whether these figurines were made in a Siphnian workshop. However, this could be a reasonable assumption, since Siphnos does not lack local marble. It is possible that the island had marble workshops and the marble objects found on Siphnos were made locally, or at least were made nearby, of marble transported from elsewhere. Some peculiarities observed in the Akrotiraki figurines (such as the unique case of a straight sided Louros-type head, seen in combination with features of a naturalistic figurine) could be interpreted as indications of the existence of a local workshop. Apart from the EC marble objects mentioned above, an impressive colossal collared jar (kandila) exhibited in the archaeological Museum of Siphnos (MS163), donated by V. Philippaki, is said to have been found on the island. This object is mentioned by Getz-Gentle (1996, 216–7, n. 79). According to Y. Karavis, former guard of the Museum, the kandila was given to Philippaki by an inhabitant of Kalamitsi who had found the object in his fields at that area, west Siphnos. The late K. Lemessis said that the object was found at the area of Tholos, north Siphnos, so there is no reliable provenance for the vase.

Figurines and inter-island connections: the metallurgical associations of Akrotiraki and beyond

Although the types found at Akrotiraki have a similar overall distribution, some particular affinities, especially with the schematic figurines of ECI, indicate inter-island associations in particular with Greater Paros and especially with its southwest area.

Looking east from Akrotiraki the constituent elements of Greater Paros are visible: Despotikon in the foreground, Ag. Georgios with Krassades and Vouni at the west coast of Antiparos, and Paros in the distance. Antiparos was linked with Paros by an isthmus (Evans & Renfrew 1968, 5 and appx I; cf. Draganits 2009). An isthmus linked Despotiko Tsimintiri and Antiparos until at least Hellenistic times. The possible relations of Akrotiraki with the western part of Greater Paros can be better explained by the proximity of the western sites, like

Krassades, to mineral resources. Traces of metal working have already been observed at the Neolithic site of Vouni on Antiparos (Fig. 11.17; Papadopoulou forthcoming) and for ECI Cheiromylos on Despotikon (Renfrew 1967, 4), while on Paros (Avyssos) Tsountas found five examples of copper slags (Tsountas 1989, 176). The ECI cemetery of Krassades excavated by Tsountas, obviously equivalent to the 'poorer graveyard' of T. Bent (1884, 48), has been recently relocated about 1km north of Ag. Georgios, on the south slope of the hill Protohanas-Mnimoria (Papadopoulou forthcoming), in a metallurgical area where galena was mined into the 19th and 20th centuries (Gale & Stos-Gale 1981; Renfrew 1967, 4; Bent 1884, 47). The cemetery of Krassades is located in close proximity to the entrance of metallurgical galleries which are of undetermined chronological horizon (Fig. 11.18; Gale & Stos-Gale 1981, 190–1, 195, 217). In that area, important deposits of lead ore are located. Modern mining has extracted some thousands of tons of galena while some remains of older mining are of unknown age. Analyses of samples of galena by Gale & Stos Gale collected from this mine, with high significant silver contents, show this to be a possible Bronze Age silver source (cf. Bent 1884, 47, fig. 20). The existence at the cemeteries of Krassades and Despotikon of richly furnished graves has already been related to the first steps of metallurgical activities in the Cyclades (Broodbank 2000, 222).

Fig. 11.17 Traces of metal-working at Vouni on Antiparos. Left: slag. Right: Rock-cut cavity, probably related to metallurgical activities.

Broodbank notes the important role of the western part of Greater Paros for EC I as a 'bottle neck area through which the south-east and south-west Cyclades were connected' (Broodbank 2000, 240–1).The distribution of these sculptured symbolic objects during the EBA I in this area could be considered symptomatic of exchanges at a microregional level, related to metallurgical activities such as the exchange of metals or metal expertise. This probably gives one more indirect indication that the cultural contacts established during EBI

‘were to provide the basis for the extensive and regular contacts of the EBII’ (Branigan 1971, 76; cf. Renfrew 1984, 51–3 for the transitional ECI–II).

The differentiation and strengthening of contacts observed during ECII can be recognised in the wide though uneven dispersion of the talc-ware pottery. Akrotiraki seems to have played a central role in the production and distribution of this fabric, associated with the intensification of metal production and circulation (Vaughan & Wilson 1993, 182–3; Broodbank 2000, 292 and *passim*; Renfrew 2005). I believe that the study of the new material from the settlement will significantly clarify this issue. A topic that calls for explanation is that Greater Paros is not reported, as far as I know, among the areas where talc ware pottery has been found. This absence could be examined in connection with the low funerary profile of Greater Paros in EB II, in remarkable contrast with the previous period (Broodbank 2000, 222).

Akrotiraki has been considered as an exceptional site on account of its long duration (Renfrew 2005). In comparison with the outstanding evidence for metallurgy, the sculptural material from the site might be thought of as poor. Nevertheless, these miniature forms testify to contacts and interchanges that contributed to the ‘most creative episode of Cycladic prehistory’ (Doumas 2010, 102). In combination with the systematic study of the rich pottery, lithic and metallurgical material from the settlement, they will contribute to the better understanding of the importance of this exceptional Early Cycladic site.

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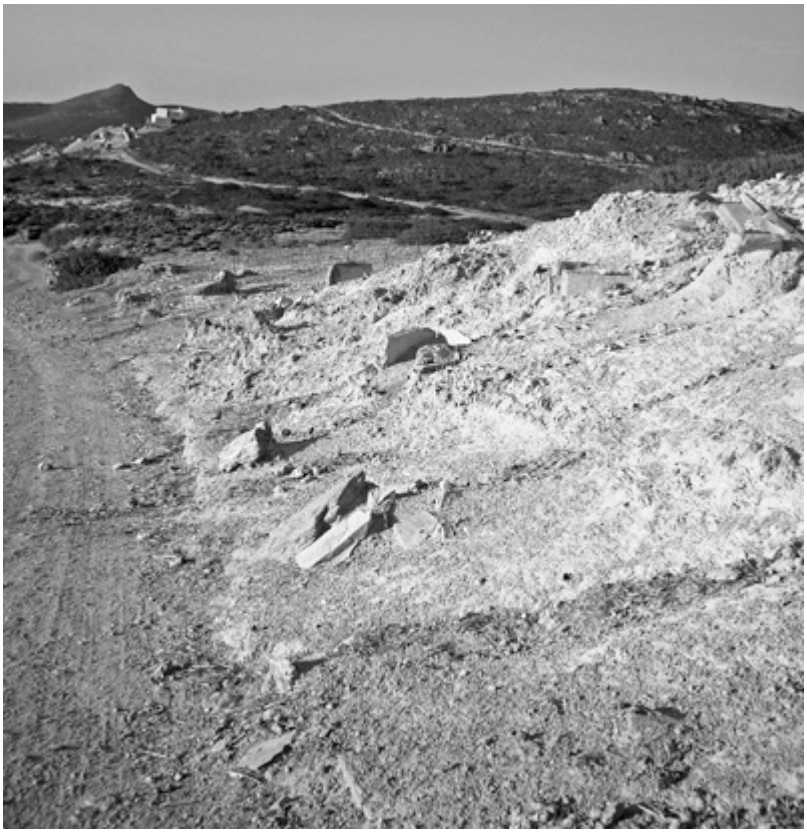
Fig. 11.18 Antiparos, Krassades. Below: remains of cist-graves. Above: entrances of metallurgical galleries of undetermined chronological horizon.



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12

CYCLADIC FIGURINES IN SETTLEMENTS: THE CASE OF THE MAJOR EC II SETTLEMENT AT SKARKOS ON IOS

Marisa Marthari

The site of Skarkos

Skarkos is an important Bronze Age Cycladic site situated on a low hill at the head of the large natural harbour of the island of Ios. The site, as shown mainly by excavations conducted there over the last decade (2006-9 and 2011–4), within the framework of European Union funded enhancement projects, now ranks among the notable multiperiod Cycladic sites, such as Akrotiri on Thera, Phylakopi on Melos and Ayia Irini on Keos.

The remains of an EBA settlement of the Keros-Syros culture surmount the hill of Skarkos. The buildings of this settlement cover the entire hill, as shown by excavations and surface investigations. More than one-third of this settlement has been brought to light by excavation (Fig. 12.1). The pottery (Fig. 12.7), marble vessels (Figs 12.8, 12.9) and other moveable finds (Figs 12.10, 12.12) leave no doubt that the main occupation period at Skarkos should be assigned to the early EBA II (EC II) and is contemporary with the Ayia Irini period II, Phylakopi phase A2, Markiani phase III and Dhaskalio phase A (Marthari 2008, 71–2).

Of great interest is the recent identification at Skarkos of a habitation period immediately earlier than the main one. Indeed there are a few buildings dated from this earlier period on the top of the

hill, in the middle of the east side, which must have been sealed for the most part during the main occupation period. The absence of substantial domestic contexts in the Cyclades earlier than the Keros-Syros culture period makes it difficult to date this earlier Skarkos phase exactly at this preliminary stage of research. However, it seems to overlap chronologically a late stage of EC I or the ECI–EC II transitional period. A marble rectangular palette with perforated corners with parallels in EC I burial contexts (Getz-Gentle 1996, 81–7, 264–7) was found inside a clay jar (Fig. 12.3) in a building of this phase, which I call *Skarkos I* to distinguish it from the next, the main phase of the EBA settlement, *Skarkos II*. This is the first time that such an early marble palette has been found at a domestic site indicating that possibly marble working took place at the Skarkos settlement from this early period.

Not a single example of the diagnostic Anatolian pottery types of the Kastri phase has been found on Skarkos hill. Few sherds of the Phylakopi I culture period and several of the Early MC period are included in the surface finds. The pottery indicates human presence on the hill during the above two periods, but so far has not been found in association with building remains.

The late MC and early LC period, namely the period of Minoan influence in the Cyclades, have a strong presence at Skarkos. To date, a cemetery of this period has been revealed to the northeast of the hill (Marthari 2009). Furthermore, a deposit of rather domestic character was excavated to the south. Both the cemetery and the deposit lie above the EC II settlement, but caused little disturbance to it. A few Mycenaean sherds are also included in the surface finds from Skarkos hill.

What is particularly important at Skarkos is the large early EBA II settlement, i.e. the Skarkos II settlement (Marthari 1997). This is uniquely well-preserved for a Cycladic domestic site of this period. The buildings are two-storeyed and most still stand to the height of the upper storey. The urban plan and the architecture can be followed over a large and continuous excavated area, and does not need to be deduced from building remains exposed in small trenches (Fig. 12.2, top). This enables us to understand the layout and aspect of settlements in the Cyclades during the period when the Early Cycladic world was enjoying its heyday. The abundant moveable finds of Skarkos II are also remarkably well preserved. Most of these were recovered from inside the buildings and the rooms in which they had been left when the settlement was abandoned. The figurines that will

be discussed below hold a special place among the moveable finds.

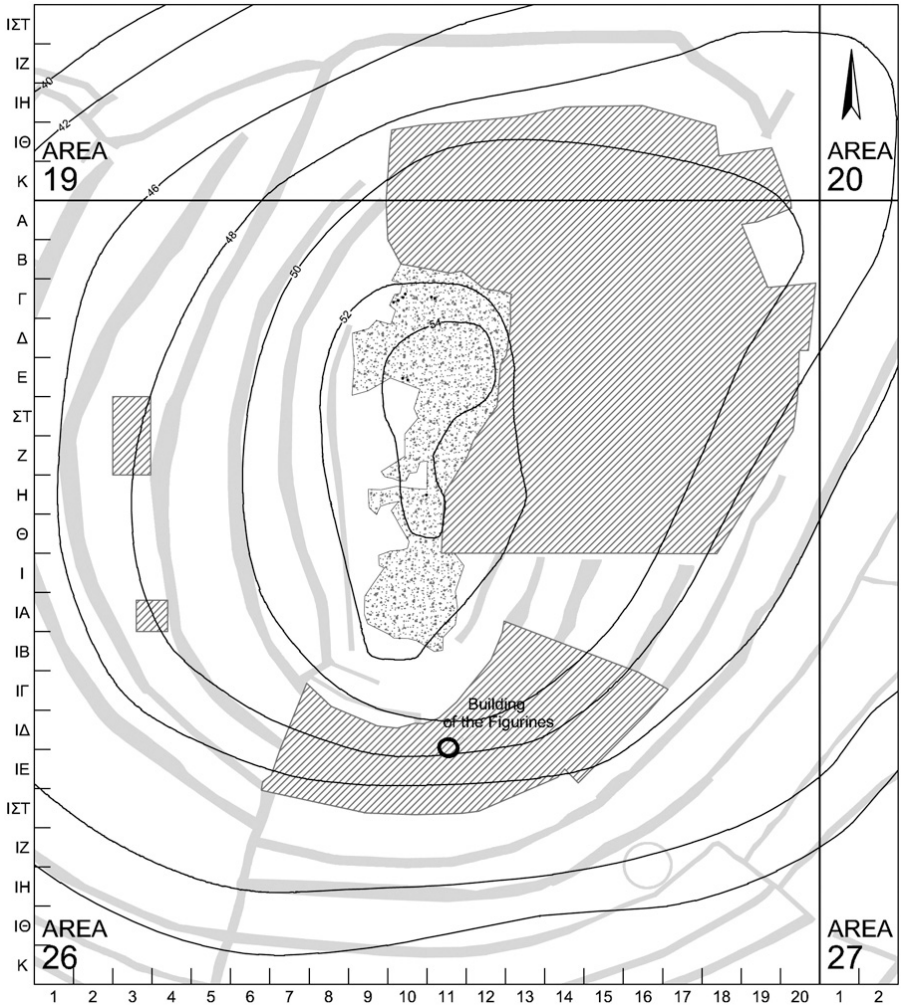

Fig. 12.1 Contour plan of Skarkos hill showing the excavated area of Skarkos Phase II settlement.

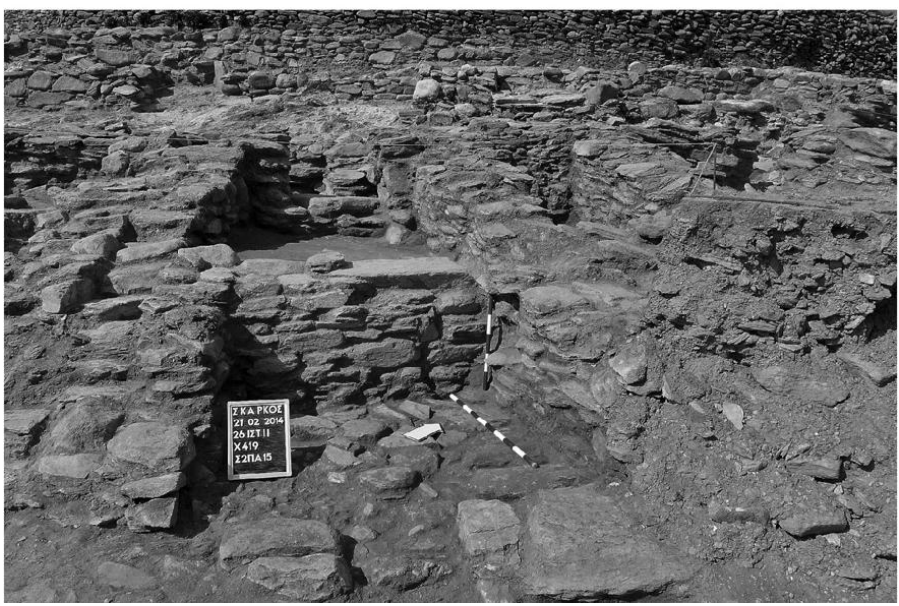

Fig. 12.2 Top: balloon photograph showing the northeastern part of Skarkos Phase II settlement. Bottom: the Building of the Figurines from the southeast.

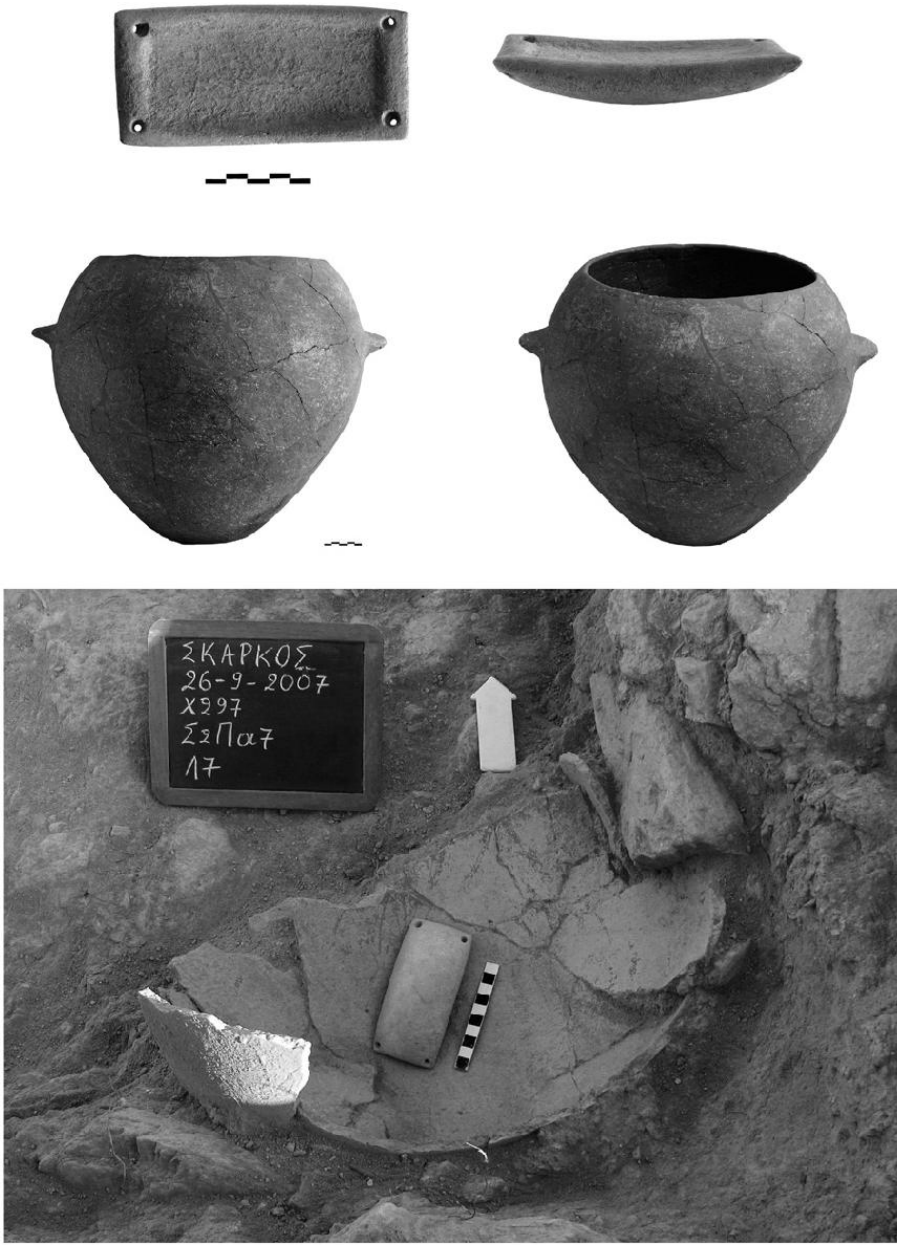

Fig. 12.3 Skarkos Phase I. Top: marble rectangular palette with perforated corners (3105). Middle: clay jar (3176). Not to scale. Bottom: palette and jar *in situ* in building Kappa Alpha, room 297.

Quantity and significance

A total of 52 figurines, 33 of which are complete, with eleven heads

and eight bodies, have been recovered from Skarkos (see Figs 12.13–12.25). Indeed, with few exceptions, they were found inside the buildings and the open spaces of Skarkos II, the early EBA II settlement. It should be stressed that this is the first time a notable number of figurines has been found in an EC settlement and indeed one that flourished during the heyday of the EC world. From this perspective, this is a find of major importance.

Cycladic figurines have been found mainly in cemeteries and in the special deposits on Keros, while the provenance of most is unknown, as they are the booty of clandestine excavations (see indicatively Renfrew 1969). Both naturalistic and schematic figurines have been found also in domestic sites. However, the majority are 'kick-ups' in later levels whereas very few were recovered from EC deposits. At Akrotiri on Thera some 60 figurines have come to light but very few of these were found in EC deposits (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 151–2; 2008, 128; Doumas, this volume, Chapter 31), at Phylakopi on Melos 14 figurines were found but only two of these are possibly from EC deposits (Atkinson *et al* 1904, 194–5, pl. 39.1-8; Renfrew 1969, 25–6; 1982, 37, pl. 4.1; Davis 1984, 16–7; Cherry & Davis 2007, 420–3, fig. 10.8, pl. 54; Renfrew & Boyd, this volume, Chapter 30) and at Ayia Irini on Keos, of the 42 figurines recorded only five are from EC deposits (Caskey 1971; 1974; Davis 1984, 16; Wilson 1999, nos SF226–SF230, 156, pls 98–9; Wilson, this volume, Chapter 9). Furthermore, the six EC figurines from the settlement at Koukounaries on Paros come from late deposits (Schilardi 1977, 370–1, pl. 188a; 1982, 242–3, pl. 151a; Katsarou-Tzeveleki & Schilardi 2008, 67, fig. 8.5, a–b; Katsarou-Tzeveleki & Schilardi, this volume, Chapter 28). The EC II settlement at Plakalona yielded one figurine, which was, however, a surface find (Pantou, this volume, Chapter 10). Three figurines were found in the EC levels at the Akrotiraki settlement on Siphnos (Papadopoulou, this volume, Chapter 11). The only settlement to yield a considerable number of figurines (12 in total) from secure EBA contexts apart from Skarkos, is that at Dhaskalio (Renfrew 2013; this volume, Chapter 13). Consequently, investigations at Skarkos have opened up a new phase in the documentation of figurines in EC settlements.

Typology

Only two of the 52 figurines found so far at the Skarkos settlement are 'naturalistic'. They are both folded-arm figurines of the Chalandriani variety, as defined by Renfrew (Renfrew 1969, 17–18). The remaining

50 figurines are schematic. Forty-nine of these are of the Apeiranthos type as defined by Renfrew in the 1960s (Renfrew 1969, 14–15) or of the Apeiranthos variety as renamed recently by him (Renfrew 2013, 483). Only one schematic figurine seems different from the Apeiranthos type figurines. Four individual forms of the Apeiranthos type figurines are distinguished at Skarkos. Each of them is represented by at least six examples. *Skarkos form 1* figurines have volume, cylindrical neck and a lyre-shaped head with rudimentary facial features. *Skarkos form 2* figurines are flat with a squarish head and a more or less rectangular body. *Skarkos form 3* figurines are flat and almost triangular in shape. *Skarkos form 4* figurines are flat and figure-of-eight shaped. Additionally there are various irregular forms that fall within the Apeiranthos type, each represented by one figurine.

Folded-arm figurines of the Chalandriani variety (Figs 12.14, 12.15)

The two Chalandriani variety figurines from Skarkos have only the triangular head and the thick neck preserved. One of them (3106, preserved height 52mm) is of white marble and the other (3935, preserved height 57mm) of blue marble. The head, longer in 3106 and shorter in 3935 tilts slightly backwards. The neck is almost straight-sided in 3106 and widens markedly downward in 3935. Both of them have well-polished surfaces: 3106 has indications of light red pigment on the face.

Schematic figurines of the Apeiranthos type

Skarkos form 1 (Fig. 12.15, 12.16)

Skarkos form 1 figurines are represented by two complete figurines (3945 and 1064), four heads preserving part of the neck (3979, 3978, 3684 and 3357) and an unfinished figurine or rather head of a figurine (3677). The complete figurines are small, only 48mm and 62mm high. The preserved height of the heads is 25–40mm.

These tiny sculptures have a fairly well formed head. The complete figurines also have volume to the body. The lyreshaped head of most of them tilts backwards, recalling the 'naturalistic' figurines mainly of the Spedos variety. Some facial features and especially the nose are rendered, albeit in an elementary manner. The neck is quite naturalistic in some and the shoulders in the complete figurines are quite well worked. Most have well-polished surfaces.

The incomplete figurine 3677 is essentially a rectangular piece of

marble, in which the volumes of the face and the concave back of the head may be attributed to a first stage of sculpting but the contours have not been worked further. Possibly the craftsman misjudged the dimensions of the sculpture and made a very large head, which meant that there was insufficient marble for carving the body. This may have been the reason why he left his creation unfinished.

Skarkos form 2 (Figs 12.17–12.19)

A considerable number of marble figurines are classified in form 2. Eight complete figurines (1063, 3860, 3767, 1065, 3780, 3857, 3933 and 3993), two heads (3859 and 3769) and four bodies (3858, 3854, 3856 and 3943), that is 14 figurines in total, fall into this category. The complete pieces are 29–116mm high. The heads and bodies seem to derive from figurines of a similar size. The thickness of these figurines on the body ranges from 3mm to 20mm.

The figurines of Skarkos form 2 resemble those of form 1 but differ in having a completely featureless head, excepting figurine 3860, which has a rudimentary fashioning of the nose. Furthermore, the neck is barely formed, just a narrowing between the head and the body. In profile, they are as a rule flat with a straight back. Nevertheless, in most cases there is a rudimentary differentiation of the head and body.

The head on these figurines is squarish or rectangular. Seen from the top it is rectangular, ellipsoidal or triangular. The body is roughly rectangular with a flat or rounded base. Both the head and the body are of the same or almost the same thickness. The forehead tilts very slightly backwards on most of them. As a rule, the surfaces are well-polished on the head and the upper part of the body on the front. The lower part of the body and the back are less carefully treated, having mostly smoothed surfaces. In some cases the lower part of the body has been left more or less rough. Figurine 3767 has light reddish to orange paint on the front of the head.

Skarkos form 3 (Fig. 12.20)

Six figurines are of Skarkos form 3 of the Apeiranthos type. They include four small complete examples (3766, 3855, 3108 and 3678), 37–53mm high and 6–9mm thick at the body. They also include two headless bodies: 3970 (preserved height: 50mm), the thickness of which is 13mm at the body since it has no polished surfaces and 3209, a somewhat larger figurine (preserved height 64mm, thickness at the body 16mm).

These figurines differ somewhat from those of the previous two forms. Nonetheless, they share some specific features, such as a

triangular body with a flat or curved base, which tapers markedly towards the head. The head is small and squarish on most of them. Almost all are flattish in profile.

The three complete figurines (3855, 3108 and 3678) have polished surfaces on both head and body. The complete figurine 3766 is polished, apart from the back of the body, which is smoothed. The headless body 3970 is only partly smoothed. Finally the other headless body (3209) has a coarse surface, indicating that it is rather roughly finished. Two of the figurines (3766 and 3209) have indications of red to orange paint, the former in the area of the head and the latter on the upper part of the body.

Skarkos form 4 (Figs 12.21, 12.22)

This class includes nine marble figurines, six complete examples (1062, 3107, 3946, 3680, 3770 and 3948), one head (3679) and one body (3852). It also includes one figurine made of a potsherd (1066). The figurine 3770 is not finished. The complete pieces are 32–80mm high. The head seems to belong to a figurine of similar dimensions. Their thickness ranges from 5mm to 14mm.

These almost figure-of-eight shaped figurines are divided into two parts, the upper smaller and the lower larger, indicating the head and the body respectively. The head is square, usually with rounded outlines, or round. The body varies from squarish with rounded corners to elliptical and circular. Most of the marble examples are flat. The head and body are of the same or almost the same thickness, apart from the unfinished one (3770) and another (3946), the lower part of which is curved on the back. The upper part of the head tilts very slightly backwards on most of them. Figurine 1066 is also flat but strongly curved in section because it is made of a potsherd.

Figurines 1062 and 3946, the head 3679 have polished surfaces. The body 3852 is also polished on the front surface. Figurine 3107 has also smoothed surfaces apart from the front of the head, which is polished. Figurine 3680 is polished on the front and smoothed on the back. Figurine 3948 has smoothed surfaces and some indications of light reddish paint on the central and lower part of the body on the front surface. The head and the upper part of body of unfinished figurine 3770 are smoothed, but the surfaces on the lower body are rough from the front, back and profile views.

The only figurine of this form found so far at a site other than Skarkos is from Akrotiri on the neighbouring island of Thera, but in this case comes from a secondary deposit (Volcanic Destruction Level, mature LC I period; Sotirakopoulou 1998, no. AKR6817, 119–20, fig.

5, pl. 10 *a–c*). The Akrotiri figurine is made of a fragment from the rim of a marble bowl. There is no marble on the volcanic island of Thera and therefore there are two possibilities: either a marble rimmed-bowl was imported to Akrotiri from another island and after the destruction of the bowl a fragment of it was used to fashion the figurine, or the figurine was imported to Akrotiri from another site, where it was made after the destruction of the bowl. This site might be Skarkos itself

Various irregular forms (Figs 12.23–12.25)

Thirteen figurines, each one of different form but still in the Apeiranthos type, have also been found at the early EBA II Skarkos settlement. Twelve of these figurines, ten complete examples (3853, 3934, 3781, 3947, 3771, 3682, 3681, 3944, 1061 and 3969), a body (3949) and a head (3851), are of marble. One figurine (1067) is fashioned from a triton shell.

The plump figurines 3853 and 3934 (89mm and 62mm in height) have ellipsoidal bodies with flat bases. The head of 3853 is rhomboid and 3934 square. In 3853 the body tapers to the base in profile. 3934 is convex on the front and concave on the back in profile. In both figurines the head is polished and the body smoothed.

A body of another plump figurine, 3949 (preserved height 77mm) is straight-sided with an unevenly rounded base. It is very thick in profile with convex surfaces (thickness: 33mm). The front surface is smoothed. The back surface is not visible due to extensive incrustation.

Figurine 3781 (66mm in height) widens from the flat top of the head to the curved base with an almost unindented outline. Seen from the front, however, a slight differentiation of the head from the body is distinguished. It is flat and thick (thickness 18mm) in profile, slightly convex at the front and slightly concave at the back. The surface is well-polished.

Figurine 3947 is very small, just 35mm high, with an almost unindented outline, and rounded top and base. The upper part, probably corresponding to the head, has been worked to be narrower than the lower part. In profile the front surface is convex and the back is very slightly concave. The surface is polished

Figurine 3771 is also small, 39mm high. This figurine is triangular with flat top and almost rounded base. Seen from above, the top is rectangular. In profile it is asymmetrical with a slender torso including in shorthand also the head and neck and a bulky gluteal region. The surface is smoothed at the front and coarse on the back. There are clear indications of light reddish to orange paint on the upper front

part of the figurine.

The trapezoidal figurine 3682, which is also 39mm in height, widens from the curved top to the curved base. In profile it is flat and straight with an almost imperceptible differentiation of an upper and a lower part. The upper part of the head tapers to the top in profile. The surfaces are polished.

Figurines 3681 and 3944, 43mm and 50mm in height, both have a square head widening gradually to form a triangular body with a rounded base, in a single outline with the head. In profile, the front is slightly convex and the back is slightly concave for both figurines. However, 3681 is flat and 3944 has volume. 3681 is polished on the front; on the back, the head is well-polished and the body coarse. 3944 has the front surface of the head smoothed and the front surface of the body coarse. The back surface is not visible due to incrustation.

Figurine 1061, 44mm high, is almost rectangular with a slight narrowing in the middle that somehow separates the head from the body. Four inclined planes, two triangular and two arched, meet in the middle of it stressing the distinction between the head and the body. It is flat in profile, straight at the back and curved at the front. The surfaces are well-polished.

Figurine 3969, 29mm high, is oblong with rounded top and base. There is an almost imperceptible differentiation of the upper and lower part. In profile, it is slightly convex on the front and straight on the back. The surfaces are polished.

The head 3851 (preserved height: 24mm), is conical with rounded top on the front and cylindrical with rounded top in profile. It does not resemble the head of any of the other Skarkos figurines. The surfaces are well-polished.

Finally, there is also figurine 1067 (height: 51mm), which is fashioned from a triton shell. The head of this figurine is ellipsoidal viewed from the front, and distinctly plump in profile, strongly reminiscent of the 'naturalistic' figurines of the Kapsala variety. The body is oblong, widening slightly towards the flat base. In profile, the almost parallel side outlines of the body are wavy, following the natural undulations of the triton shell which had not been completely smoothed. The surfaces are well-polished.

Other (Fig. 12.25)

This clumsy figurine 3683 (height: 114mm) is large, thick, and heavy. The head is rectangular and the likewise rectangular body is placed almost vertically to the head. The figure is flat in profile with the forehead tilting markedly backwards. The back surface is well-polished whereas the front surface is not visible because of the

incrustation.

Comment

The figurines of the Apeiranthos type, namely the main schematic figurines of the Keros-Syros culture period, are considerably less abundant than the figurines of the foldedarm type, which are the 'naturalistic' figurines of the same period. Prior to the discoveries at Skarkos (49 in total), the corpus of Apeiranthos type figurines was much more limited. These were found primarily in cemeteries and in the Special Deposits on Keros, as very few settlements of this period have been excavated. Indeed, only up to three specimens come from each excavated site, if we exclude the Chalandriani cemetery (nine in total), the settlement at Dhaskalio (12 in total) and the Special Deposits on Keros (42 in total; Table 12.1).

More specifically, finds of Apeiranthos type figurines are as follows: a number of them were found on Naxos. Three examples derive from the Spedos cemetery (EAM6140.1, EAM6140.2, EAM6140.4; Zervos 1957, 44 *b, c* and *a*; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 125, 55a; Marangou 1990, 88, nos 86–7). Two figurines were excavated at the Aplomata cemetery (NM5479, NM5480; Kontoleon 1971, 179, pls 212– 3; Marangou 1990, 105, nos 100, 101; Rambach 2000, 155). Fifteen schematic figurines, most of which of Apeiranthos type, are in the Museum of Apeiranthos, to which village on Naxos the type owes its name (Renfrew 1969, 14, vi.18 with fig. 1: vi). These figurines are donations. In the Museum catalogue the following provenances in the southeast Naxos are given for 13 of them (Panormos: AM314, 934, 957, 958, 959; Skado: AM306, 307, 308; Kleidos: AM476, 1004; Polychni: AM798; Kanaki: AM537; Moutsouna: AM66). No provenance is given for two (AM769, 1097).

Four figurines are from Paros. One was excavated by Tsountas at the Kamari cemetery (EAM4834, Rambach 2000, 39–40, pls 15.10, and 166). Three more are exhibited in the Paros Archaeological Museum, however the sites they come from are unknown (PM A209–A211, Renfrew 1969, 14, vi.15–vi.17).

Nine were found in the Chalandriani cemetery on Syros. Two of them came to light in the excavations of Tsountas (EAM5211, grave 468, Tsountas 1899, fig. 29; Zervos 1957, fig. 45 *a*; Rambach 2000, 138, pls 64.7, 166; EAM5186, grave 415, Tsountas 1899, fig. 30; Rambach 2000, 130–1, pls 60.2, 166; Marthari, this volume, Chapter 20), another six in the excavations of Klon Stephanos (EAM6169.2, Renfrew 1969, 14, vi.5; EAM6169.3, Renfrew 1969, 14, vi.6; EAM6169.4, Zervos 1957, fig. 45b; Renfrew 1969, vi.3, 14, pl. 7b;

EAM6169.5, Renfrew 1969, 14, vi.7; EAM6169.6, Zervos 1957, fig. 45c; Renfrew 1969, 14, vi.4, pl. 7a; EAM6169.7, Renfrew 1969, 14, vi.8; see in detail Papazoglou this volume, chapter 21, nos. 8-13) and one in a recent excavation by the author (SM1128, Marthari, this volume, Chapter 20).

Forty-two figurines come from the Keros Special Deposits (this volume, Chapters 23, 24 and 26). Some figurines are in private collections. They are either of unknown provenance or 'said to be' from Naxos or Keros (Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 434–5, nos 57–62; Getz-Gentle 1996, 267, pl. 43 *c*). They probably come from cemeteries and from the Keros Special Deposits.

Table 12.1 Schematic figurines of the Apeiranthos type in context.

Site	Type of site	No. of figurines	Material	Chronological context	Culture
Skarkos, Ios	settlement	49	47 of marble, 1 of shell & 1 of potsherd	early EBA II, EC II	Keros-Syros Culture
Akrotiraki Siphnos	settlement	3	marble	early EBA II, EC II	Keros-Syros Culture
Aplomata, Naxos	cemetery	2	shell	early EBA II, EC II	Keros-Syros Culture
Spedos, Naxos	cemetery	3	2 of shell & 1 of marble	early EBA II, EC II	Keros-Syros Culture
Kamari, Paros	cemetery	1	marble	early EBA II, EC II	Keros-Syros Culture
Chalandriani, Syros	cemetery	9	marble	early EBA II, EC II	Keros-Syros Culture
Kavos, Keros	Special Deposits	42	marble	early EBA II, EC II	Keros-Syros Culture
Dhaskalio	settlement	12	11 of marble & 1 of shell	late EBA II, EC II/III	Keros-Syros Culture, Kastri group
Phylakopi, Melos	settlement	1	marble	early EBA II, EC II	Keros-Syros Culture
Akrotiri, Thera,	settlement & cemetery	2	marble	early LBA or mature LC I (Volcanic Destruction Level)	
Agios Kosmas, Attika	cemetery	2	marble	EH II	
Manika, Euboea	settlement	1	marble	EH II	

Regarding the settlements, a figurine of the Apeiranthos type was excavated at Phylakopi on Melos and indeed in a layer of the Keros-Syros culture period (Cherry & Davis 2007, SF 631, 423, 427, fig. 10.8, pl. 54 *a–b*; Renfrew & Boyd this volume, Chapter 30), so it is contemporary with those at Skarkos. Three Apeiranthos type figurines found in EC II deposits at the Akrotiraki settlement on Siphnos (Papadopoulou, Chapter 11) also appear to be contemporary with the Skarkos figurines. More interesting are the finds from the settlement at Dhaskalio, where 12 schematic figurines were found, ten of which are of the Apeiranthos type. Nine of these are of the recently defined Dhaskalio sub-variety. However, none of the Dhaskalio figurines comes from a Phase A context, which is equivalent to the main phase of the Keros-Syros culture and consequently to the main phase of EBA Skarkos, Skarkos II Phase. The Dhaskalio figurines come from contexts of the later phases of the settlement, one from Phase B and the rest

from Phase C (Renfrew 2013; this volume, Chapter 13).

Finally, two figurines were revealed in excavations at the site of Akrotiri, but in the much later Volcanic Destruction Level of the LC I prehistoric city (mature LC I period; Sotirakopoulou 1998, no. AKR1265, 119, fig. 5, pl. 9 *d*; AKR6817, 119–20, fig. 5, pl. 10 *a–c*). Both an EC settlement and a cemetery pre-existed the later larger Middle and Late Cycladic city.

Figurines of the Apeiranthos type are also known from sites on the Greek Mainland. Two were found in the EC II cemetery excavated at Agios Kosmas in Attica (from grave T3, Mylonas 1959, 77–8, fig. 163.1; Renfrew 1969, 14, vi.13 and from grave T22, (Mylonas 1959, 100–1, fig. 163.9; Renfrew 1969, 14, vi.14) and one in the EH settlement at Manika in Euboea (Sampson 1988, 32, 70, fig. 87.168.5803).

In conclusion, the contribution of Skarkos to a better understanding of the schematic figurines of the EC II period is important because the finds from this site increase significantly the number of known schematic figurines of the period and are securely dated by settlement material.

Context

The stratigraphy at Skarkos is in general very clear. There are, as a rule, three levels (Fig. 12.5): *The Surface Level (Level 1)* is disturbed. Extending all over the Skarkos hill, it exceeds 0.20m in thickness and is rich in finds, since centuries of ploughing have stirred up of the uppermost layers of the EC settlement and the later burial and possible habitation areas. On this level the soil is brownish-yellow and loose with roots and small scattered stones.

Just below the Surface Level, walls of Skarkos period II buildings were uncovered during the excavations, along with the destruction level of the settlement. The *Destruction Level (Level 2)* is mostly undisturbed; however, at certain points immediately below the Surface Level, some late burials and other late deposits disturb its upper layers to a very small extent. The thickness of this level is determined by the height of the surviving buildings and varies from 0.60 m to 3m and 4 m. It also extends all over the Skarkos hill. In this level the standing walls of the buildings coexist with their fallen parts. The soil is brown and the stones many and large. The movable finds are numerous.

An *Ashy Layer (Level 3)*, 0.20–0.60m thick occurs on the floors of several rooms on the ground floor of the buildings and also on the

surface of a few open areas in the Skarkos II settlement. In some cases these ashy deposits also fill cavities in the natural bedrock. They contain smaller stones than the level above, ashes discarded from the hearths and perhaps disintegrated organic materials from fallen floors of the upper storeys and roofs, and are very rich in finds. In some cases they are also debris deposits. The ashy deposits at Skarkos need further analysis and research for a better understanding of their character. Even if they look similar to the naked eye, their formation might be different in some cases. Both level 2 and layer 3 deposits are, however, assigned to an early EBA II destruction horizon.

As mentioned above, 52 figurines were unearthed at Skarkos. Three of these, one folded-arm figurine (3106) and two schematic figurines (3677, 3679), are from the disturbed Surface Level (Level 1). The other 49 figurines were found in undisturbed deposits of Skarkos Phase II (namely in the Destruction Level and in the Ashy Layer) in the buildings and the open spaces of the settlement.

The figurines were dispersed all over the excavated area of the Skarkos II settlement. Seventeen figurines came from the northeast, 34 from the southeast part and one figurine from the west part of the settlement (Table 12.2). These large differences are mainly due to technical reasons. In the northeast part of the settlement most buildings survive to a great height, usually to the level of the upper storey (Figs 12.1 and 12.2, top). There are buildings 3m and 4m high. Despite persistent efforts, a way of permanently supporting the EBA walls, allowing the complete excavation of the buildings, has not yet been found. So most have been excavated to the first floor level and the contents of the ground-floor rooms are not known. On the other hand, the state of preservation of the Skarkos II architectural remains is less impressive in the southeast part of the settlement, where most buildings are usually preserved only to the ground-floor level (Figs 12.1 and 12.2, bottom). Therefore, the excavation in this section is easier, because there are no high walls to be supported, and many ground-floor rooms have been investigated. In several of these ground-floor rooms the floor is covered with an ashy layer which is very rich in finds, including also figurines. Finally, the west part of the settlement has not yet been excavated and only two small trenches have been opened there (Fig. 12.1).

Table 12.2 Findspots of Skarkos figurines.

IM cat. no.	Type	Part of settlement	Locational details	Stratigraphical details
3209	Apeiranthos type, Form 3	Northeast	Building Kappa Zeta, room 316	Destruction Level (2), Layer 13
3357	Apeiranthos type, Form 1	Northeast	Building Kappa Eta, room 318	Destruction Level (2), Layer 6
3678	Apeiranthos type, Form 3	Northeast	Building Iota Epsilon, Room 244	Ashy layer (3), Layer 22
1065	Apeiranthos type, Form 2	Northeast	Building Mu, room 35	Destruction Level (2), Layer 10
3677	Apeiranthos type, Form 1	Northeast	Building Mu, room 344	Surface Level (1), Layer 2
3679	Apeiranthos type, Form 4	Northeast	Area 14 outside the settlement	Surface Level (1), Layers 1–2
1061	Apeiranthos type, Irregular form	Northeast	Square 4	Ashy layer (3), Layer 25
1062	Apeiranthos type, Form 4	Northeast	Square 4	Ashy layer (3), Layer 25
1064	Apeiranthos type, Form 1	Northeast	Square 4	Ashy layer (3), Layer 8
1067	Apeiranthos type, Irregular form	Northeast	Square 4	Destruction Level (2), Layer 21
1063	Apeiranthos type, Form 2	Northeast	Building Beta, room 9	Ashy layer (3), Layer 18
3108	Apeiranthos type, Form 3	Northeast	Area of Building Sigma	Destruction Level (2), Layer 2
3979	Apeiranthos type, Form 1	Northeast	Building Iota Zeta/Sigma Tau/Ksi, room 269	Destruction Level (2), Layer 13
3680	Apeiranthos type, Form 4	Northeast	Area 9 outside the settlement	Destruction Level (2), Layer 12
3106	Folded-arm type, Chalandriani variety	Northeast	Area of Building Kappa Gamma, room 300 & Building Kappa Delta, room 299	Surface Level (1), Layer 1
3978	Apeiranthos type, Form 1	Northeast	Building Kappa Beta, room 273	Destruction Level (2), Layer 13
3107	Apeiranthos type, Form 4	Northeast	Building Kappa Delta & Square 11	Destruction Level (2), Layer 5
3681	Apeiranthos type, Irregular form	Southeast	Building Mu Alpha, rooms 364 and 377	Destruction Level (2), Layers 3–4
3682	Apeiranthos type, Irregular form	Southeast	Building Mu Alpha, room 361	Ashy layer (3), Layer 8
3683	Schematic figurine, other	Southeast	Building Mu Alpha, room 361	Ashy layer (3), Layer 8
3684	Apeiranthos type, Form 1	Southeast	Building Lambda Alpha, room 367	Destruction Level (2), Layer 5
3851	Apeiranthos type, Irregular form	Southeast	Building Lambda Epsilon , room 395	Ashy layer (3), Layer 10
3970	Apeiranthos type, Form 3	Southeast	Building Lambda Epsilon, room 353	Ashy Layer (3), Layer 4
3780	Apeiranthos type, Form 2	Southeast	Building Lambda Delta, room 352	Ashy layer (3), Layer 7
3781	Apeiranthos type, Irregular form	Southeast	Building Lambda Delta, room 352	Ashy layer (3), Layer 8
3949	Apeiranthos type, Irregular form	Southeast	Building Lambda Delta, room 352	Ashy Layer (3), Layer 8
3944	Apeiranthos type, Irregular form	Southeast	Building Lambda Delta, room 352	Ashy Layer (3), Layer 6
3945	Apeiranthos type, Form 1	Southeast	Building Lambda Delta, room 430	Destruction Level (2), Layer 4
3766	Apeiranthos type, Form 3	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 398	Ashy layer (3), Layer 5
3767	Apeiranthos type, Form 2	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 398	Ashy layer (3), Layer 5
3769	Apeiranthos type, Form 2	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 398	Ashy layer (3), Layer 5
3770	Apeiranthos type, Form 4	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 398	Ashy layer (3), Layer 6
3771	Apeiranthos type, Irregular form	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 398	Ashy Layer (3), Layer 6
3853	Apeiranthos type, Irregular form	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 399	Destruction Level (2), Layer 7
3854	Apeiranthos type, Form 2	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 399	Ashy layer (3), Layer 11
3855	Apeiranthos type, Form 3	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 399	Ashy layer (3), Layer 13
3859	Apeiranthos type, Form 2	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 399	Destruction Level (2), Layer 7
3860	Apeiranthos type, Form 2	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 399	Destruction Level (2), Layer 8
3993	Apeiranthos type, Form 2	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 399	Destruction Level (2), Layer 5

IM cat. no.	Type	Part of settlement	Locational details	Stratigraphical details
3935	Folded-arm type, Chalandriani variety	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 417	Ashy Layer (3), Layer 12, 13
3943	Apeiranthos type, Form 2	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 417	Ashy Layer (3), Layer 14
3933	Apeiranthos type, Form 2	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 417	Ashy Layer (3), Layer 12
3934	Apeiranthos type, Irregular form	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 417	Ashy Layer (3), Layer 13
3856	Apeiranthos type, Form 2	Southeast	Building of the Figurines, room 419	Destruction Level (2), Layer 15
3947	Apeiranthos type, Irregular form	Southeast	Building Mu Gamma, room 426	Destruction Level (2), Layer 6
3857	Apeiranthos type, Form 2	Southeast	Building Mu Beta, room 418	Destruction Level (2), Layer 8
3852	Apeiranthos type, form 4	Southeast	Square 19	Destruction Level (2), Layer 7
3858	Apeiranthos type, Form 2	Southeast	Square 18	Destruction Level (2), Layer 10
3946	Apeiranthos type, Form 4	Southeast	Building Lambda Gamma, room 407b	Destruction Level (2), Layer 9
3948	Apeiranthos type, Form 4	Southeast	-	-
3969	Apeiranthos type, Irregular form	Southeast	Building Lambda Beta, room 362	Destruction Level (2), Layer 10
1066	Apeiranthos type, Form 4	West	Building Omicron, room 60	Destruction Level (2), Layer 5

It appears, however, that in certain cases the differences in the number of figurines between the buildings are due to systematic factors which cannot at present be understood. For instance, only one figurine was found in the large twostorey Building Beta, the excavation of which has been completed. In addition, no figurine was found in Building Gamma, the excavation of which also ended. Both of these buildings are in the northeast part of the settlement. Buildings Mu Alpha and Lambda Delta in the southeast part of the settlement yielded three and five figurines although not yet completely excavated.

Of the 52 figurines, 42 (81% of the total) were uncovered inside buildings. Fourteen buildings each yielded one figurine. These figurines were found in the Destruction Level in twelve of these buildings (Kappa Eta, Kappa Zeta, Sigma, Kappa Delta and Iota Zeta/Sigma Tau/Ksi to the northeast, Lambda Alpha, Lambda Beta, Lambda Gamma, Mu Beta, Kappa Beta and Mu Gamma to the southeast, and Omicron to the west) and in the Ashy Layer in two buildings (Iota Epsilon and Beta to the northeast).

Two buildings, Mu to the northeast and Lambda Epsilon to the southeast each yielded two figurines. In Building Mu, the unfinished figurine 3677 was found high in room 344, in the Surface Level; figurine 1065 was found lower in room 35 in the Destruction Level. In Building Lambda Epsilon figurines 3851 and 3970 were unearthed in rooms 395 and 353, both in the Ashy Layer.

One building, Mu Alpha to the southeast, yielded three figurines. Figurine 3681 was found high on the surface of the surviving wall of the ground floor between rooms 364 and 377 in the Destruction Level and had probably dropped from the upper story. The other two 3682 and 3683 were uncovered in room 361, both in the Ashy layer.

Moreover in one building, Lambda Delta to the southeast, five figurines were excavated, four of them (3780, 3781, 3944, 3949) in room 352, in the Ashy Layer and one (3945) in room 430, in the Destruction Level.

It is of particular importance that 16 figurines, one folded-arm figurine of the Chalandriani variety and 15 schematic ones of Apeiranthos type, were found in one building, which I have therefore called the Building of the Figurines (Figs 12.1, 12.2 bottom and 12.4–12.6). This building is in the southeast part of the settlement and will be discussed further below. Five of the 16 figurines (3766, 3767, 3769, 3770 and 3771) were uncovered in Room 398, in the Ashy Layer. Six of them were found in the adjacent room 399, four (3853, 3859, 3860 and 3993) in the Destruction Level and two (3854 and

3855) in the Ashy Layer. Four more (3933, 3934, 3935 and 3943) were collected in Room 417, in the Ashy Layer. They included the folded-arm figurine 3935. One last (the 3856) was collected in Room 419, in the Destruction Level.

It is noticeable that certain buildings, such as, Mu Alpha, Lambda Delta and the Building of the Figurines yielded groups of two to five figurines, found in the same room and layer. This means that the figurines might have been placed together when the buildings were in use.

Eight figurines, 15% of the total, were found outside the buildings in the open areas of the settlement and outside of the settlement. Two squares, Squares 18 and 19, each yielded one figurine (3858, 3852). Both of them were in the Destruction Level. Furthermore, four figurines were revealed in one square, Square 4. Of these figurines one (1067) derived from the Destruction Level and three (1061, 1062, 1064) from the Ashy Layer, which is especially thick in this square. Furthermore, two figurines came to light in the excavation outside the site but close to its outermost buildings. One of them (3679) was found outside the northeast edge of the settlement in area 14, in the recess created between the buildings Alpha and Lambda, specifically within 5m of both in the Surface Level. The other (3680) was discovered off the east side of the settlement and almost in the middle of it, in area 9, that is the rectangular space among the Building Iota Zeta to the north, Building Eta to the west and Building Iota to the south, at a distance of 5.50m, 2.30m and 0.40m from each building respectively, in the Destruction Level. The figurines, which like other artefacts were found in open areas of the settlement or outside but very close to it, probably come from the neighbouring buildings after their partial collapse. This has been proven without doubt from the pottery, as often fragments of the same vessel are found dispersed between a building and the adjoining street or square.

Fig. 12.4 Plan of the Building of the Figurines showing the findspots of the figurines.

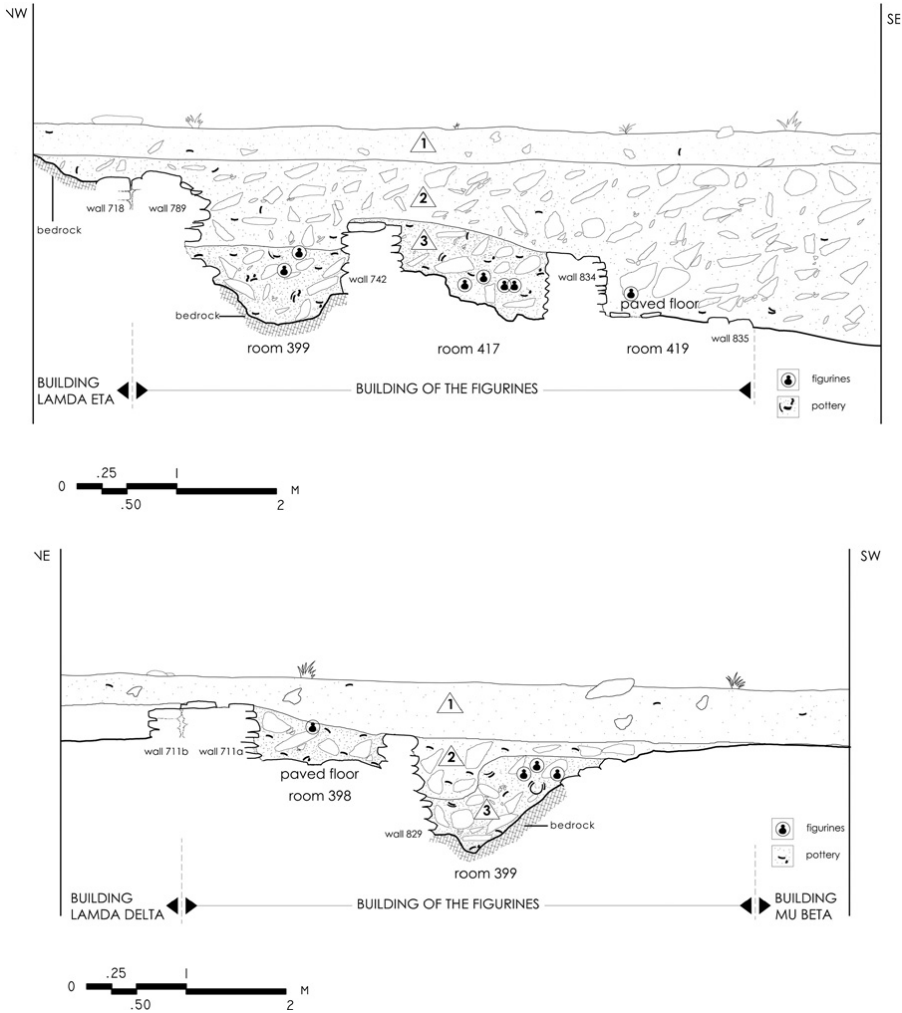

Fig. 12.5 Top: Section A-A' of the Building of the Figurines seen from the south showing the stratigraphy and findspots of the figurines. Bottom: Section B-B' of the Building of the Figurines seen from the West showing the stratigraphy and the findspots of the figurines.

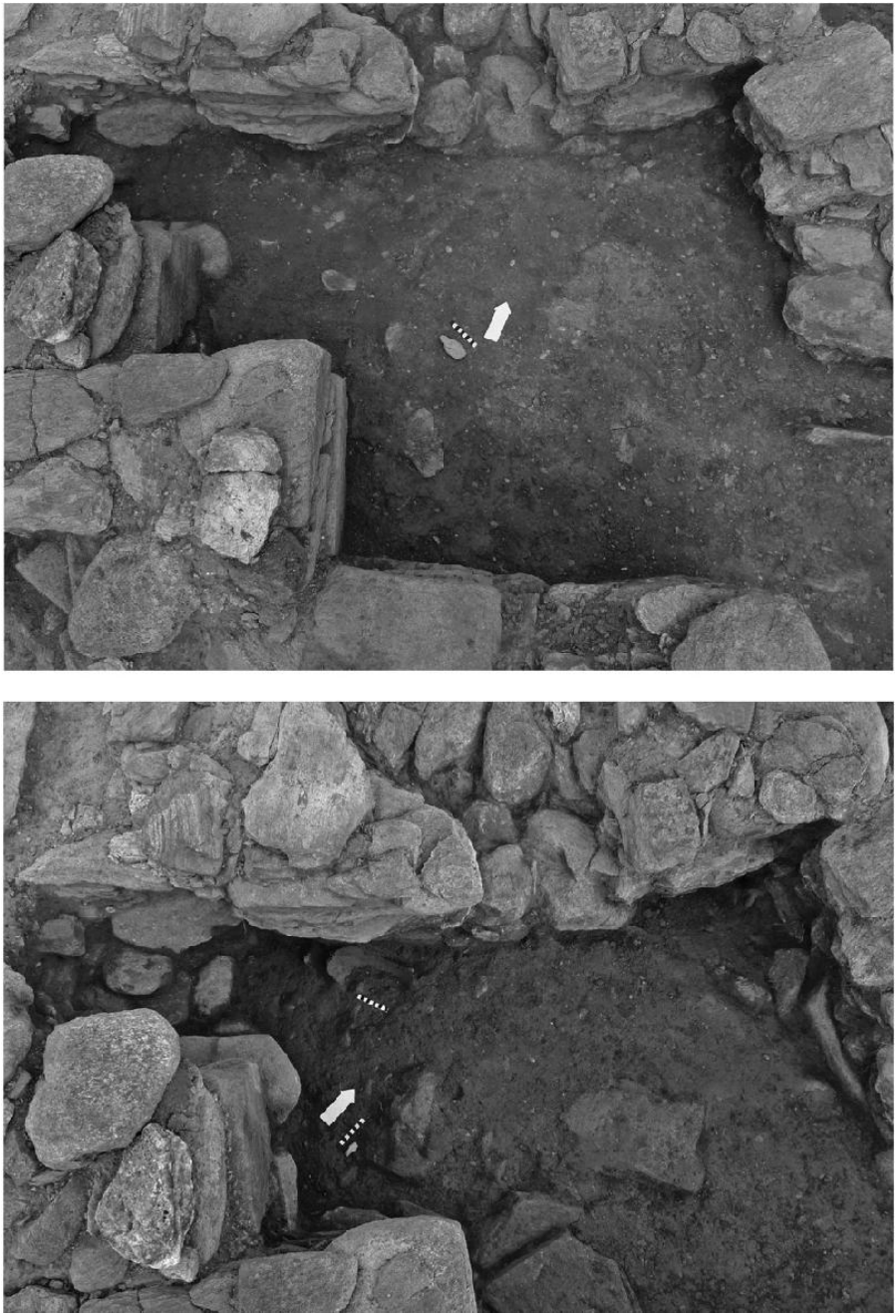

Fig. 12.6 Top: Building of the Figurines, room 399 from the southeast; Destruction Level (2), layer 7: figurine 3853 almost in the middle of the room. Bottom: Building of the Figurines, room 399, area b from the Southeast; Destruction Level (2), layer 8: figurine 3860 and rim of the bowl with a tubular spout 3932 (Fig. 12.7).

Finally, one figurine (the folded-arm figurine 3106) was revealed in the surface level, in an area above room 300 of Building Kappa

Gamma and room 299 of Building Kappa Delta. One more figurine was found during the sifting of debris from the southeast part of the settlement (4% of the total).

The Building of the Figurines

The Skarkos II buildings that yielded figurines seem to be houses. Their moveable finds usually comprise more or less the same range of pottery, and coarse stone vessels and tools. They also include obsidian artefacts, which are especially abundant, clay minor objects including numerous pierced oblong objects (Marthari 2004) and organic materials. Fine marble vessels, spools made of both stone and shell, and bone tubes are also well represented but are not common. Metal objects are actually rare.

The Building of the Figurines (Figs 12.2 bottom, 12.4 & 12.5) yielded exactly the same finds. However, certain special finds or concentrations of finds indicate that one or more craftsmen might have been working there (possibly on a variety of materials) and especially in the adjoining rear rooms 398 and 399, which yielded five and six figurines respectively. First of all, great concentrations of obsidian were collected in room 398 (Fig. 12.10). Such concentrations have also been found in some other buildings at Skarkos. Second, in addition to an unfinished figurine (3770, Fig. 12.22) found in room 398, an unfinished marble bowl was also recovered from room 398, together with marble flakes, which might be marble-processing waste. Fragments of marble fine vessels were found as well (Fig. 12.8). Third, all the kinds of tools suggested for the manufacture of the marble figurines (Oustinof 1984; 1987) were found in these two rooms. They are a tool of emery, tools and raw pieces of pumice and abundant obsidian blades (Fig. 12.10). Fourth, lumps of mineral red pigment were also uncovered in rooms 398 and 399 (Fig. 12.12). These lumps together with a bone tube from room 399 (Fig. 12.12) indicate involvement with pigments. It should be borne in mind that three out of the five Skarkos figurines with indications of red pigment (3767, 3766 and 3771, Fig. 12.13) were found together in room 398. Fifth and last, a so far unique find from this building is a stone axe, which may have been used for cutting and working wood (Fig. 12.11). Other not-so-common objects found in this building are the stone, *spondylus* and lead spools (Fig. 12.11).

Fig. 12.7 Building of the Figurines, rooms 398 and 399: Pottery: shallow bowl 3941; deep bowl with a ring base (saucer) 3939; urfirnis sauceboat 3938; cooking pot in the shape of a deep bowl 3931; large bowl with a tubular spout 3932. Not to scale.

In conclusion the finds and their contexts leave no doubt that activities related to marble working took place in the Building of the Figurines. It is the first time we have such a combination of evidence from an Early Cycladic site that leads us to assume the processing of marble in a specific space.

Materials and manufacture

The Skarkos figurines were made of marble (Figs 12.13, 12.14) except for two examples, one of triton shell (1067, Fig. 12.25) and the other a potsherd (1066, Fig. 12.22). The marble is white in most examples. In some cases, however, it is white with brown (1063, 3858, 3856, 3680, 3681), reddish (3681) or grey (1063, 1062) veins. Three figurines (3678, 3934, and 3935, Fig. 12.13, Pls 6 and 15) were made of blue marble. According to Yiannis Maniatis, who made a preliminary examination of the Skarkos figurines (see appendix), several of the marbles used for their manufacture are possibly local. Isotopic analyses of EC marble objects have proved that Ios was one of the marble sources in the EBA (Herz 1992, 189–90; Herz & Doumas 1991, 431–3; Tambakopoulos & Maniatis, this volume, Chapter 33).

Marble is abundant on Ios. There are three main sources, at Pelecania to the north, Paleokastro to the east and Maganari to the

south of the island. Quarries existed at the first two localities in later times. Apart from these three areas, marble in small formations can be seen in many places on Ios, including the wider area of Skarkos. So small pieces of marble suitable for making figurines, especially the small Skarkos schematic figurines, are easily found on Ios.

Stone-working appears to have been well developed at Skarkos. A variety of raw materials including marble were used. The evidence shows that Skarkos was an important marble-working centre. A great variety of marble objects was unearthed, comprising circular slabs used as lids for clay storage jars, various implements, a wide variety of coarse and fine vessels, and the figurines. More than 30 unfinished marble vessels have been revealed at Skarkos (Figs 12.8, bottom and 12.9 middle & bottom), indicating that these were made in the settlement or at some places very close to it. A considerable number of fine vessels, some of them complete, have come to light. Several shapes, such as the footed bowl (Getz-Gentle 1996, 160–2, 287–90) and the horizontal lug bowl (Getz-Gentle 1996, 105–7), occur for the first time at a settlement (Fig. 12.9, top). Marble vessels of known provenance from EC settlements are in any case few (Gavalas 2013, 515–6). As for the figurines, it should be noted that two of them (3677 and 3770, Figs 12.16 and 12. 22) are unfinished. This indicates that the carving of the figurines, or at least of the small schematic ones, took place in the settlement. The Building of the Figurines might be one of the places where figurines were carved, as argued above.

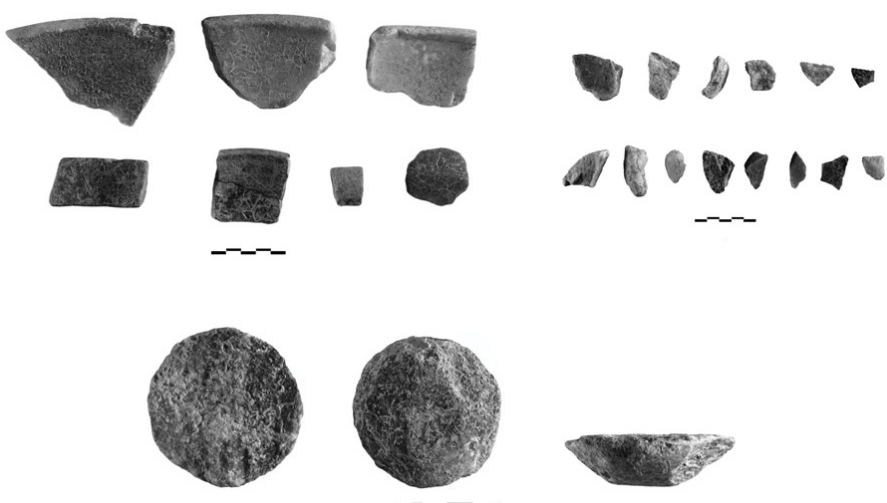

Fig. 12.8 Building of the Figurines, rooms 398 and 399. Top left: fragments of marble vessels. Top right: marble flakes. Bottom: unfinished marble bowl 3775. Not to scale.

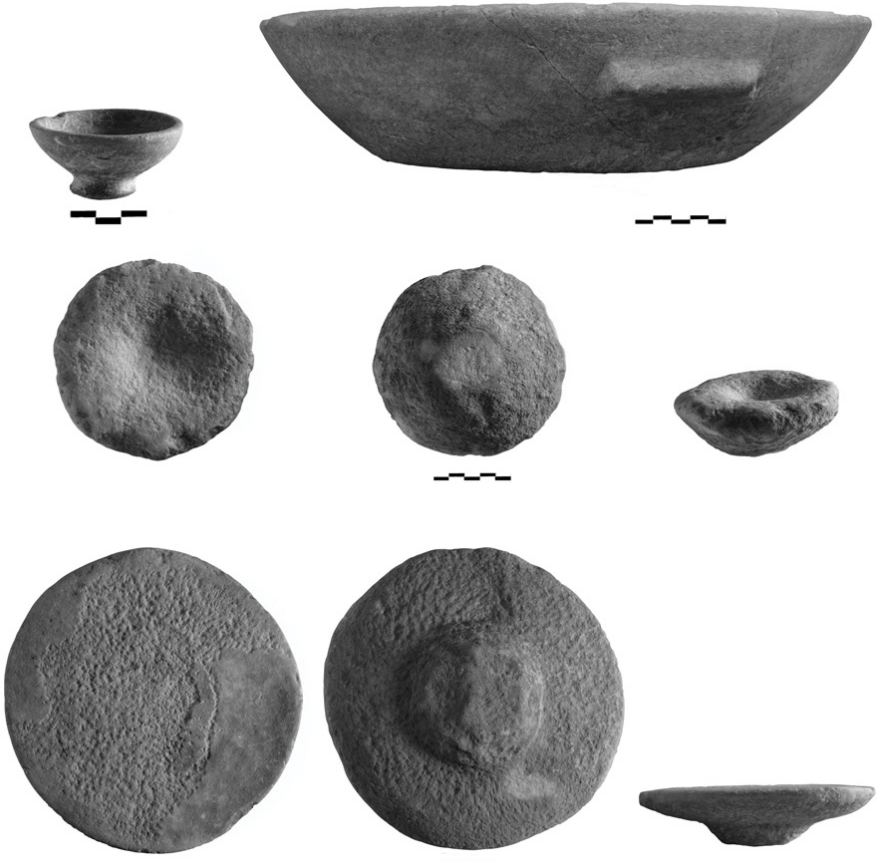

Fig. 12.9 Top: complete marble vessels from the settlement at Skarkos (2254); middle and bottom: unfinished marble vessels from the settlement at Skarkos (1090 and 212). Not to scale.

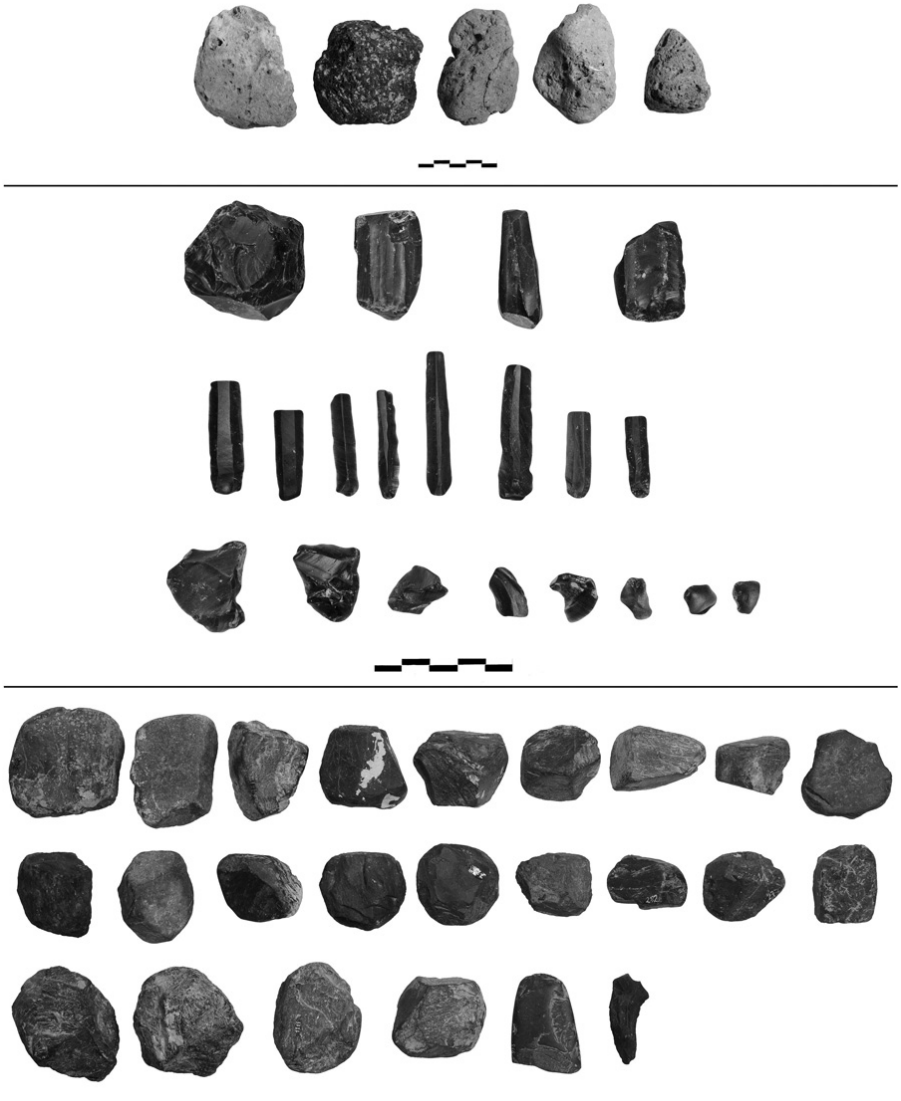

Fig. 12.10 Building of the Figurines, room 399. Top: tools and raw pieces of pumice; middle: obsidian cores, blades, flakes and débitage; bottom: a variety of emery tools from the Skarkos settlement (first on the right, top line, from the Building of the Figurines, room 399). Not to scale.

Fig. 12.11 Building of the Figurines. Left: spool 3871 of veined polychrome stone from room 403 and Spondylus spool 3778 from room 398; middle & right: stone axe 3873 from room 399. Not to scale (same scale in each image).

Fig. 12.12 Building of the Figurines. Top: bone tube 3872 from room 399, and lumps of mineral pigments from rooms 398 and 399; bottom: oblong pierced objects. Not to scale (same scale in each image).

It has been suggested that tools of emery, obsidian and pumice might have been used in the process of producing both marble figurines (Oustinof 1984; 1987) and marble vessels. It is significant that such tools were found at Skarkos. Furthermore, specimens of all these were excavated in the Building of the Figurines. Emery tools are numerous and of various forms (Fig. 12.10, bottom). Pieces of raw pumice and tools of pumice also occur at the settlement (Fig. 12.10, middle). The obsidian tools are abundant (Fig. 12.10, top).

Apart from the marble figurines Skarkos figurine 1067 of triton shell (Fig. 12.25) is especially important because of the rareness of shell figurines in Cycladic EBA II. The other securely dated schematic figurines of Apeiranthos type in the same material were found in cemeteries on Naxos. Specifically, these are the Spedos cemetery (EAM6140.2, EAM6140.1, Zervos, 44 c and a; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 125, 55α2, 55α3; Marangou 1990, 88, nos 86–7) and the Aplomata cemetery (NM5479, NM5480, Kontoleon 1971, 179, pls 212–3; Marangou 1990, 105, nos 100, 101). The shell figurine from Kapros D group, Amorgos (Ashmolean Museum AE 157), originally classified by Renfrew as the Apeiranthos type (Renfrew 1969, 14, vi.12), is now considered to be much earlier (Sherratt 2000, 35–6, no. 1.a.4., pls 8–9, and 11 with bibliography).

Fig. 12.13 Figurines from Skarkos settlement

In form the Skarkos figurine closely resembles the two figurines from grave XIII at Aplomata. All have been made from 'the pointed end of a seashell (triton), the undulations of the surface of which and the texture of the shell are clear', as Kontoleon eloquently describes the Aplomata specimens (Kontoleon 1971, 179). The craftsmen utilized precisely this part of the shell because its curvature enabled them to render the backwards tilt of the head which is distinctive trait of figurines of the Keros-Syros culture, both naturalistic and schematic. A curved potsherd was utilized in the same way to produce

figurine 1066 (Fig. 12.22).

It seems that the tendency to utilize to advantage the curvature of sea shells and fragments of marble and clay vessels for making schematic figurines in the Keros-Syros culture period was widely diffused in the Cyclades. In addition to the aforementioned shell and potsherd figurines, there is also an Apeiranthos type figurine made of a fragment from the rim of a marble bowl, found at Akrotiri (Sotirakopoulou 1998, AKR6817, 119-20, fig. 5, pl.10 *a–c*).

Paint

Six of the 52 Skarkos figurines bear indications of light red or light red to orange paint (Fig. 12.14, Pls 6 and 15). These are one of the two heads of the Chalandriani variety figurines (3106), and four complete figurines (3767, 3766, 3948 and 3771) and one body (3209) of the Apeiranthos type.

The head of the Chalandriani variety figurine (3106, Figs 12.14 and 12.15) has the indications of paint on the nose. Some of the complete figurines of Apeiranthos type have clear indications of paint on the head as follows: two of them (3767 and 3771, Figs 12.14, 12.17 and 12.24) have paint on the front of the head and one of them (3766, Fig. 12.20) on the front right side and the back left side of the head. Figurine 3948 has some indications of paint on the front of the body. Finally, the body 3209 (Fig. 12.20) bears traces of paint on the upper part of both profile views of the body.

It is most interesting that three of these figurines (3767, 3766 and 3771) were found together in the Building of the Figurines, in room 398, in the Ashy Layer (layers 5 to 6). This is only one piece of the evidence relating to the special activities taking place in this building (see above).

Red paint is the most usually used on the Cycladic figurines. Pigment analyses have shown it to be cinnabar, iron oxide and red ochre (Hendrix 2000, 122–3; 2003a, 428–9; 2003b, 139–40). Indications of paint and even painted patterns have been identified on a number of Chalandriani variety figurines (Hendrix 2000, 25, 93–4). However, only for one figurine of the Apeiranthos type, and this not in context, is there reference to traces of paint, namely red stripes on its front top half (Hendrix 2000, 23). The examples from Skarkos increase the number of EC II schematic figurines adorned with paint. They show a preference for the use of paint on the head, mainly on the front but also on the back. Consequently, it is possible that the craftsmen who made the schematic figurines at Skarkos tried

sometimes to render in shorthand details primarily of the face and hair in the same manner as has been observed in several 'naturalistic' figures of the Keros-Syros culture at a number of sites.

The Skarkos finds, coming from a settlement at the zenith of the early Cycladic world, show that the painting of the Cycladic marble figurines does not necessarily reflect burial rituals. It is rather related to the custom of the members or some members of EBA Cycladic societies to adorn themselves in the many different circumstances of the life of the society.

Fig. 12.14 Top: Schematic figurines of Apeiranthos type 3767 and 3771 with indications of light red to orange paint. Middle and bottom: Folded-arm figurines 3106 and 3935 of Chalandriani variety

Function

The settlement at Skarkos, about half of which has been excavated systematically, is of major importance. To date, at least 55 buildings have been brought to light. This settlement therefore offers a splendid opportunity to answer questions on many issues relating to EC sculptures, questions raised by their discovery primarily in cemeteries and in the Special Deposits of Keros, and indeed for the most part after illicit excavations.

Admittedly, most of the buildings at Skarkos have not been fully excavated, for reasons of stability, particularly those preserved to the height of the first floor. This means that some of the conclusions presented may be modified in the future. Even so, if we bear in mind that Skarkos, despite shortcomings in its excavation, is the only settlement to have been excavated extensively, horizontally and vertically, from the period of the EC world at its zenith, it has inevitably opened up new avenues of research, including that of sculpture.

What is striking is that the material from Skarkos includes only two heads of 'naturalistic' figurines, one of which (3106) comes from the disturbed Surface Level (level 1). The schematic figurines are all from secure contexts of the Keros-Syros period (Destruction Level and Ashy Layers, Levels 2 and 3) apart from two (3677, 3679) which derive from the disturbed Surface Level (Level 1).

Noteworthy too is the fact that the Skarkos figurines were found in normal buildings in the settlement, which seem to be houses. These buildings differ from each other in size, architectural form and the wealth of objects inside them. However, no building stands out as being of particular importance for the community as a whole: that is, no building can be linked with a more general community function, such as administration or cult.

The same applies to the schematic figurines from Troy and the other settlements of the Northeast Aegean. There too the figurines were found in ordinary houses and not in buildings of particular importance. One old interpretation is that these figurines were used in domestic or household cult (Demakopoulou 1990, 153). Certainly the excavation data do not support such an interpretation for the schematic figurines found at Skarkos. For example, they were not found in the rooms of buildings together with some other objects that could be considered cultic. Of course, this does not mean that such a use should be ruled out, but it does mean that other uses cannot be precluded.

Once again it is emphasised that the foregoing deliberations relate exclusively to the schematic figurines since, with two exceptions, only

schematic figurines have been found at Skarkos. The 'naturalistic' figurines from EC settlements may have had a different use or purpose from the schematic ones, but this cannot be detected at Skarkos. Wilson proposes a ritual deposition of the marble figurines or rather figurine fragments in the foundation deposits of the high-status Houses E and D at EB II Ayia Irini. He suggests the figurines, which are 'naturalistic' at Ayia Irini, embodied propitiatory and talismanic power (Wilson, this volume, Chapter 9). Such a deposition might be supposed also for some schematic figurines at Skarkos as well, though this was not the primary use of the figurines.

Without doubt it is significant that the 'naturalistic' and schematic figurines of the Keros-Syros culture are found together in some graves and coexist too in the Special Deposits on Keros. They also coexist in the Building of the Figurines at the Skarkos settlement. This situation could suggest a similar significance of the two types. However, the figurines of both types could have played different roles within a common ideological framework which at present eludes us, notwithstanding the remarkable increase in data from recent excavations. Nevertheless, the evidence so far from the systematic excavation of Skarkos shows that the schematic figurines were abundant in this settlement from the heyday of the EC world and had a habitual use, as they are found in many if not all the houses. In contrast, naturalistic figurines were rare and most probably had a special function for whose elucidation the evidence from Skarkos and other settlements is of little help, at least for the present.

Catalogue

Folded-arm figurines of the Chalandriani variety

Ios cat. no. 3106. Head and neck of a folded-arm figurine of the Chalandriani variety (Figs 12.14, 12.15).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/Θ11–26/Θ12; Area of building Kappa Gamma, room 300 and Building Kappa Delta, room 299.
Surface Level (1); layer 1.
Made of white marble.

The upper points of the head are broken, with the left more and the right less broken. It is chipped on the upper part of the face, on left side of the nose and chin. It has a yellowish to light-brown patinated surface with a localised black deposit on the upper right part of the face and the back of the neck and yellowish deposits in spaces on the front.

Preserved height: 52mm; width at widest preserved part of head: 34mm; width at neck: 18mm; thickness at upper forehead: 9mm; minimum thickness at neck: 19mm; maximum thickness at neck: 21mm.

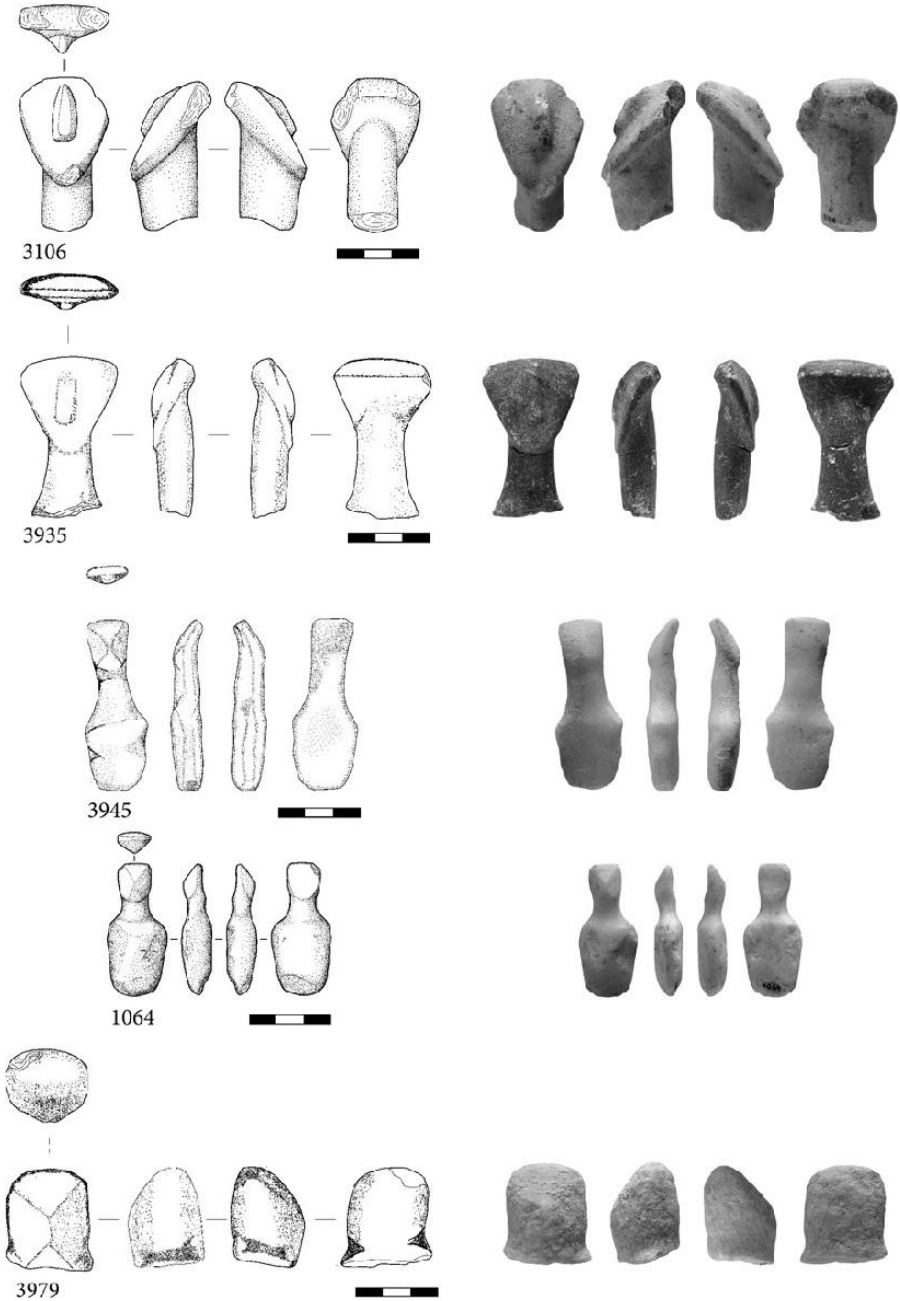

Fig. 12.15 Top: Heads of folded-arm figurines of Chalandriani variety. Middle and bottom: Schematic figurines of Apeiranthos type, form 1. Scale 1:2.

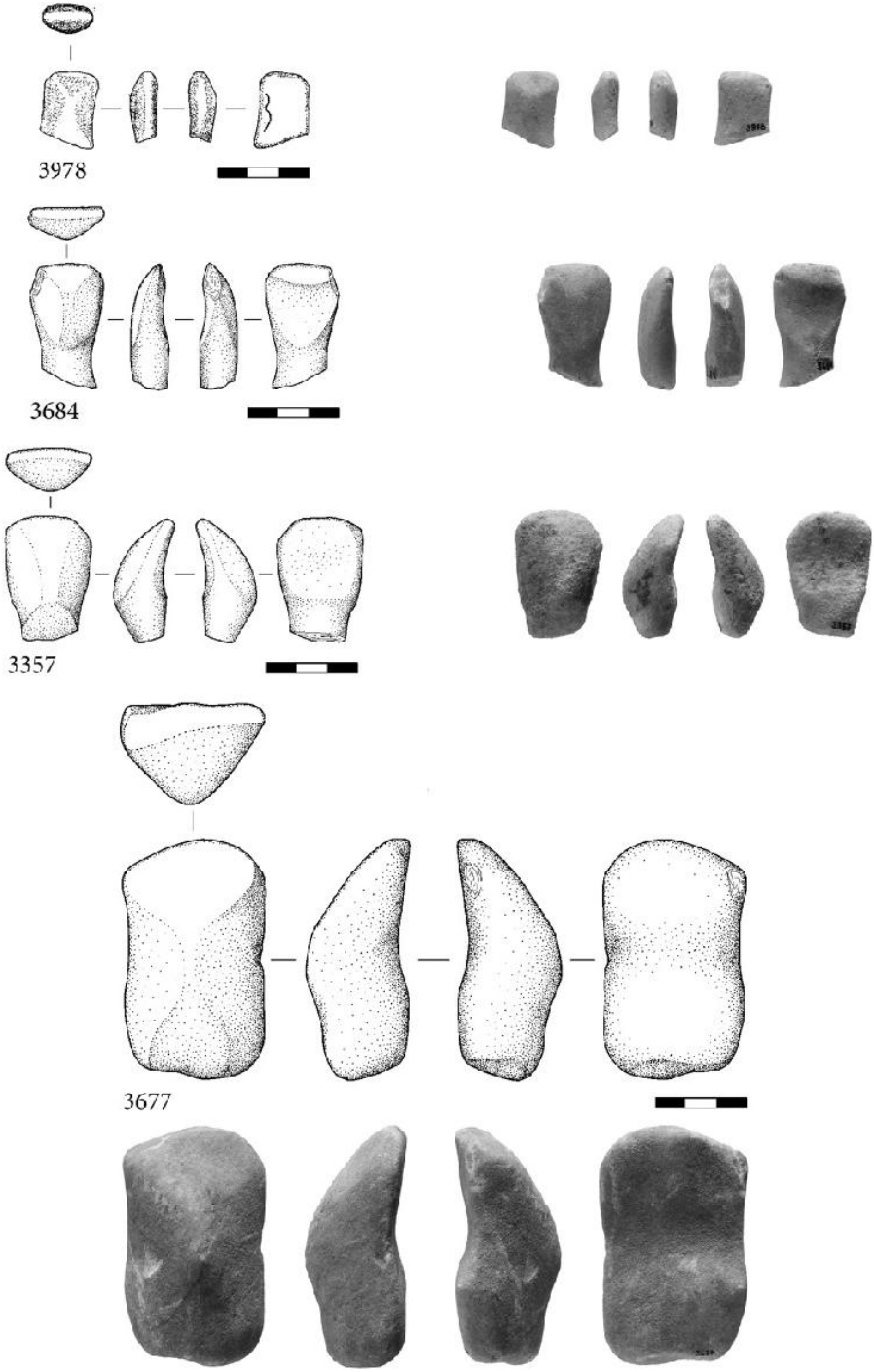

Fig. 12.16 Schematic figurines of Apeiranthos type, form 1. Scale 1:2.

The triangular face curves slightly backwards and bears a prominent, conical, hooked nose. The neck widens slightly downwards and is thick in profile (maximum thickness 21mm). The

surfaces are well-polished with indications of light red paint on the left side of the nose.

Ios cat. no. 3935. Head and neck of a folded-arm figurine of the Chalandriani variety (Figs 12.14, 12.15).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE11–26/IΣT11; Building of the Figurines, room 417.
Ashy layer (3); layer 12 (the neck) and layer 13 (the head).
Made of blue, local marble.

It was found broken into two pieces, the head and the neck. The upper points of the head are broken, with the right more and the left less broken. There are localised white deposits in places and a yellowish to light brown patina on the chin, the lower part of the nose and the top of the head.

Preserved height: 57mm; width at widest preserved part of head: 35mm; minimum width at neck: 16mm; width at widest preserved part of neck: 26mm; thickness at upper forehead: 10mm; thickness at neck: 14mm.

The face in the shape of an almost equilateral triangle curves slightly backwards; it bears an oblong nose, curved in profile. The crown protrudes evenly to the back of the head forming a small swelling along its upper outline. The neck widens markedly downwards. In profile the neck is straight at the front and slightly convex at the back. The surfaces are well-polished with no indications of paint.

Schematic figurines of the Apeiranthos type

FORM 1

Ios cat. no. 3945. Complete, schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 1 (Fig. 12.15).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IΣT13; Building Lambda Delta, room 430
Destruction Level (2); layer 4.
Made of white marble.

There is white incrustation with light brown to reddish deposits on the right side of the front surface and in places on the back surface.

Height: 62mm; maximum width at head: 16mm; minimum width at neck: 13.5mm; minimum thickness at head: 4mm; maximum thickness at head: 9mm; maximum thickness at neck: 10mm; maximum thickness at body: 12mm.

The lyre-shaped head tilts backwards. Three inclined planes corresponding to the forehead and the two cheeks meet in the middle of the face where a protuberance is formed for the nose and chin together. From the top the head is triangular. The crown protrudes at the back of the head forming a small swelling along its upper outline. The front surface of the head is convex and the back surface is concave. The neck is ellipsoidal in section and both its front and back surfaces are slightly convex. The body is short, shorter than the head and neck together with armstumps resembling the earlier Louros type figurines. It tapers towards the rounded base. In profile, the body is almost flat at both the front and the back. The surfaces are polished with no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 1064. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 1 (Fig. 12.15).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/A16; Square 4, area b.
Ashy layer (3); layer 8.
Made of white marble.

There are flakes at the upper right and left part of the body and the lower part of the body on the front and back. There is a small break at the upper right point of the head. Localised brown deposits are found on the front and back.

Height: 48mm; maximum width at head: 12mm; maximum width at neck: 10mm; maximum width at body: 22mm; minimum thickness at head: 3mm; maximum thickness at head: 7mm; thickness at neck: 7mm; thickness at body: 10mm.

The lyre-shaped head is slightly convex on the back. Seen frrom the top it is triangular. Four

inclined triangular planes roughly corresponding to the forehead, the two cheeks and the chin area meet in the middle of the face, where a protuberance is formed indicating the nose. The neck is cylindrical with concave outlines both in section and in profile. The body tapers markedly towards the curved base from the shoulders. It is quite bulky in profile, fairly curved at the front and flat at the back. The surfaces are fine polished and there are no indications of paint.

Parallels: EAM6140.4 from the cemetery at Spedos, Naxos, Zervos 1957, 44 b; Papathansopoulos 1962, 125, 55a1; EAM4834, from the cemetery at Kamari, Paros, Rambach 2000, 39–40, pl. 15.10, 166.

Ios cat. no. 3979. Head of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 1 (Fig. 12.15)
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/E20; Building Iota Zeta/Sigma Tau/Ksi, room 269
Destruction level (2); Layer 13.
Made of white marble.

There is localised incrustation in places on the upper part of both the front and back surface.

Preserved height: 36mm; maximum width at head: 30mm; width at the preserved part of the neck: 33mm; minimum thickness at head: 8mm; maximum thickness at head: 26mm; thickness at neck: 24 mm.

The head is squarish. Seen from the top, it is ellipsoidal. Four inclined planes meet in the middle of the face where a protuberance is formed indicating the nose. In profile, the front surface is convex and the back surface is straight. The surfaces are smoothed. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3978. Head and part of neck of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 1 (Fig. 12.16).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IH14, 26/Z14; Building Kappa Beta, room 273
Destruction level (2); Layer 13.
Made of white marble.

There is a small break at the upper right point of the back surface. There is localised incrustation in places on both the front and the back surface.

Preserved height: 25mm; maximum width at head: 17mm; maximum preserved width at neck: 18mm; minimum thickness at head: 4mm; maximum thickness at head: 10mm; thickness at neck: 9 mm.

The head is squarish with rather concave sides and a slightly curved top. Seen from the top, it is almost ellipsoidal. Three inclined planes meet in the middle of the face where a protuberance is formed indicating the nose. In profile the front surface is convex and the back is rather straight. The neck is ellipsoidal in section. The surfaces are polished. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3684. Head and neck of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 1 (Fig. 12.16).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IB15; Building Lambda Alpha, room 367.
Destruction Level (2); layer 5.
Made of white marble.

There is a break at the upper right end of the head. The figurine has a yellowish to light-brown patinated surface with localised light brown deposit on the front and back.

Preserved height: 40mm; maximum width at head: 24mm; maximum width at neck: 16mm; minimum thickness at head: 2mm, maximum thickness at head: 10mm; Thickness at neck: 12mm.

It has a lyre-shaped, slightly backward-titling, head. Seen from the top the head is triangular with a protuberance for the nose and chin together. The crown protrudes evenly to the back of the head forming a small swelling along its upper outline. The rest of the head is slightly

convex at the back in profile. The neck is cylindrical. In profile, there is a single curved outline on the front. The head is concave and the neck is flat at the back. The surfaces are well-polished with no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3357. Head and neck of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 1 (Fig. 12.16).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 19/IΘ10; Building Kappa Eta, room 318, southeast corner.
Destruction Level (2); layer 6.
Made of white marble.

There is localised white incrustation on the lower right part on the front, with yellowish to brown deposits in places on the front and back. There are signs of extended weathering. The left upper end of the head at the front is corroded.

Preserved height: 40mm; maximum width at head: 28mm; width at neck: 18mm; minimum thickness at head: 5mm; maximum thickness at head: 18mm; thickness at neck: 8mm.

It has a lyre-shaped head that slopes slightly backward toward the top and merges imperceptibly with the neck. Seen from the top the head is triangular with a protuberance for the nose and chin together. An inclined triangular plane helps in the formation of the neck at the front. In profile, there is a strongly angled single outline at the front, a concave head and a flat neck at the back. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3677. Unfinished schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 1 (Fig. 12.16).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/ IΘ15; Building Mu, room 344.
Surface Level (1); layer 2.
Made of white marble; possibly local.

It is broken on the upper right point at the back and in the middle of the left side. There is extended incrustation with light-brown deposits on both sides.

Height: 78mm; maximum width at upper head: 48mm; minimum width: 41mm; maximum thickness: 32mm; minimum thickness: 6mm.

This is an almost rectangular piece of marble, which had begun to be converted to a figurine or more precisely into the head of a figurine. Seen from the top this piece is triangular. Four inclined triangular planes meet in the middle of it, where a protuberance is formed possibly indicating the nose by analogy with figurines 3945, 1064, 3684 and 3357 described above. In profile there is a strongly angled single contour at the front and a concave head and flat neck at the back. The surfaces are polished.

FORM 2

Ios cat. no. 1063. Complete, schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 2 (Fig. 12.17).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/B16; Building Beta, room 9.
Ashy layer (3); layer 18.
Made of white marble with brownish veins parallel to the horizontal axis of the figurine. This low transparency marble is possibly local.

The figurine is in an excellent state of preservation. There is a small flake at the lower part of the body at the back. There are very localised brown deposits on the front and back.

Height: 34mm; maximum width at head: 9mm; maximum width at body: 18mm; thickness at the top of head: 3mm; maximum thickness at head: 5mm; thickness at body: 6mm.

The head is rectangular. The body is ellipsoidal with curved sides and base. The figurine is flat in profile with just a slight differentiation of the head (5mm thick) from the body (6mm thick at the base) in thickness. The upper part of the head tapers to the top of the head in profile making it slightly tilt backwards. The surfaces are fine polished with no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3860. Complete, schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 2 (Fig. 12.17).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE11; Building of the Figurines, room 399, area b.

Destruction Level (2); Layer 8.
Made of white marble.

There are shallow breaks at the lower part at the front and the left side at the back. There is a localised yellowish incrustation and yellowish deposits on the left side on the back.

Height: 43mm; width at head: 13mm; width at body: 20mm; thickness at the top of head: 2mm; maximum thickness at head: 10mm; thickness at body: 11mm.

The head is squarish with a rudimentary rendition of the nose. Seen from the top it is triangular. The body is straight-sided and narrows slightly to the flat base. The figurine is flat, straight and thick in profile (body thickness 11mm) with the upper part of the head tapering to the top of the head. The surfaces are fine polished and there are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3767. Complete, schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 2 (Fig. 12.14, 12.17).

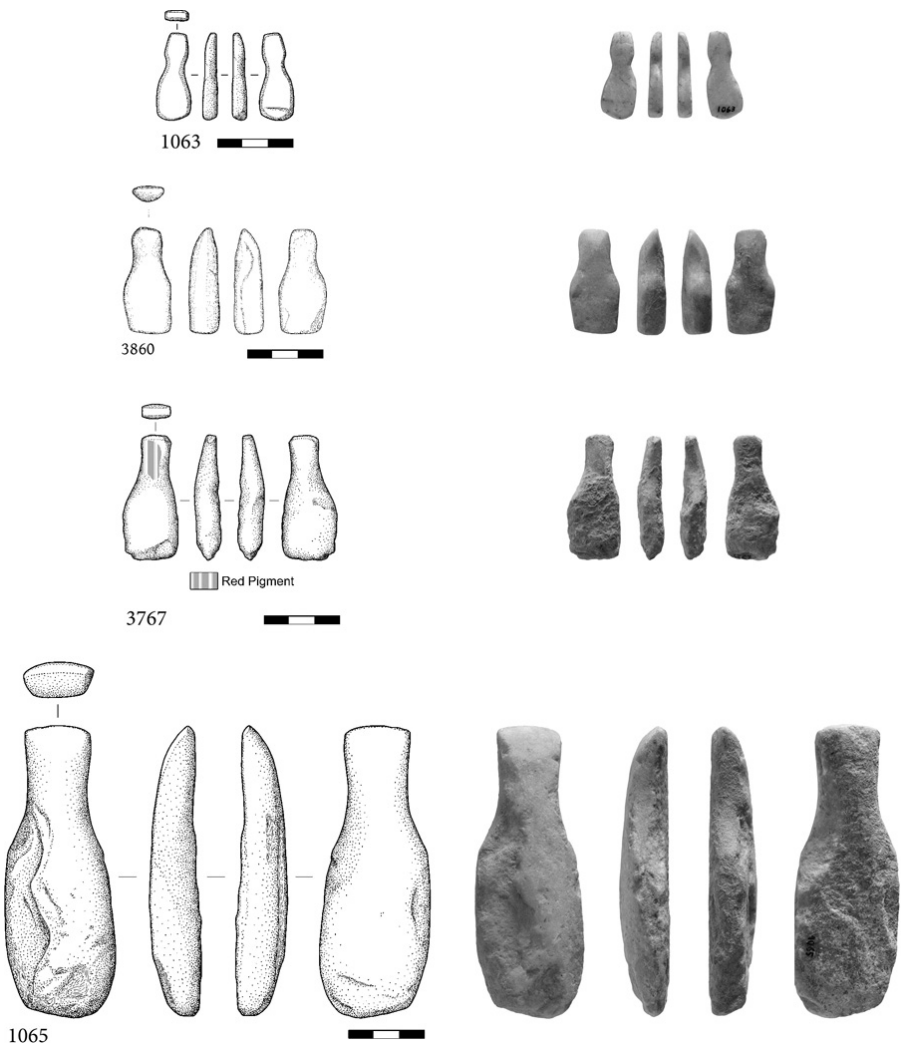

Fig. 12.17 Schematic figurines of Apeiranthos type, form 2. Scale 1:2.

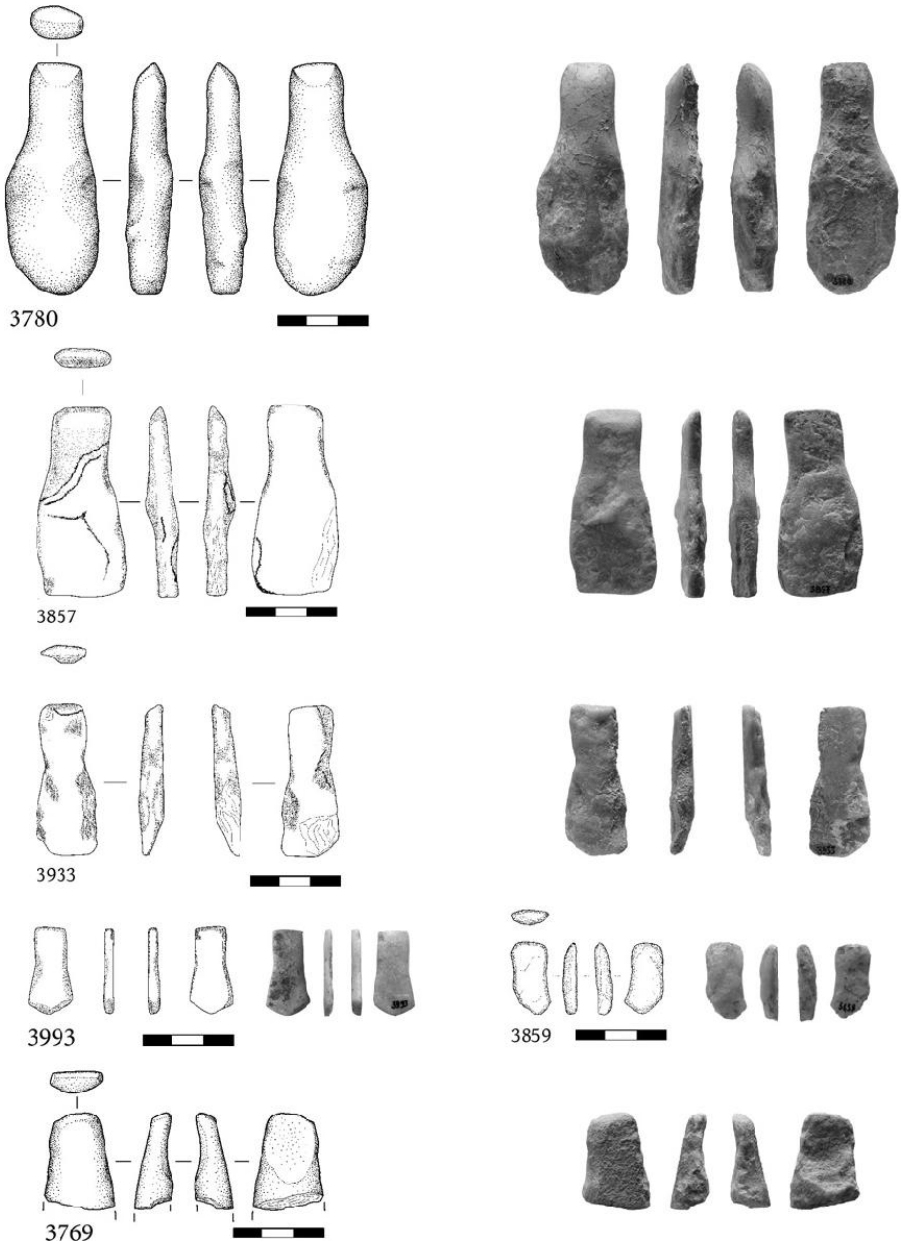

Fig. 12.18 Schematic figurines of Apeiranthos type, form 2. Scale 1:2.

Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE11; Building of the Figurines, room 398.
Ashy layer (3); layer 5.
Made of white marble.

It is chipped at the lower part on the front and at the right upper part of the body at the back. There is an extended incrustation and off-white to light grey deposits on the front and back.

Height: 49mm; width at head: 11mm; width at body: 21mm; thickness at head: 6mm; thickness at body: 9mm.

The head is squarish. The body is oblong tapering to the head. The sides of the body are more or less rounded and the base is flat. The figurine is flat, slightly convex at the front and slightly concave at the back in profile, mainly at the head. This creates the impression that the head tilts slightly backwards. The base is triangular in the profile views. The front of the head is wellpolished with clear indications of light reddish to orange paint. The surface of the rest of the figurine is not visible because of the deposits.

Ios cat. no. 1065. Complete, schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 2 (Fig. 12.17).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/A14, 26/A15; Building Mu, room 35.
Destruction Level (2); Layer 10.

Made of whitish marble with a strong grey vein extending over the back, parallel to the horizontal axis of the figurine. The marble is possibly local.

There are flakes from the right side and near the base on the front and at both sides of the body at the back. There is incrustation and light reddish deposits on the right side on the front and back. Height: 116mm; width at head: 26mm; width at body: 42mm; thickness at the top of head: 6mm; maximum thickness at head: 17mm; thickness at body: 20mm.

The head is almost square. The body is oblong tapering to the head. The sides of the body are more or less rounded and the base is flat. The figurine is flat, slightly convex on the front and slightly concave at the back in profile. The crown tilts slightly backwards. The figurine has a polished front and smoothed back. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3780. Complete, schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 2 (Fig. 12.18).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IΔ12, 26/IE12; Building Lambda Delta, room 352.
Ashy layer (3); layer 7.
Made of white marble.

There are some flakes from the front, back and profile views of the body. There is extended incrustation and grey deposits on the front and back, particularly on the back.

Height: 76mm; width at head: 18mm; width at body: 30mm; thickness at the upper part of the head: 2mm; thickness at head: 11mm; thickness at body: 19mm.

This figurine has a rectangular head and an oblong body with the right side rounded and the left side almost straight. The base is very rounded. The figurine is flat and straight with irregular outlines of body in profile. The upper part of the head tapers at the top. The front of the head is well-polished whereas the back looks smoothed even though it is not visible due to extended incrustation. The body is rough on all sides and probably was never smoothed. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3857. Complete, schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 2 (Fig. 12.18).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE11, 26/IΣT11; Building Mu Beta, room 418.
Destruction Level (2); layer 8.
Made of white marble..

The figurine is complete. There is a small break at the lower right point of the body. There is a flake at the lower right and left side of the body at the back.

Height: 62mm; maximum width at head: 19mm; maximum width at body: 29mm; Thickness at head: 6mm; minimum thickness at body: 6mm; maximum thickness at body: 10mm.

The head is squarish and the body rectangular tapering to the head and with a flat base. In profile, the head is differentiated from the body because it is thinner (6mm thick) than the upper part of the body (10mm thick). The back is flat whereas the crown tilts backwards. The figurine is partly polished on the face and partly smoothed on the back of both the head and the body. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3933. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 2 (Fig. 12.18).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE11, 26/IΣT11; Building of the Figurines, room 417.

Ashy layer (3); Layer 12.
Made of light grey marble.

There is white incrustation on the left side both at the front and back surface, with light grey deposits in places. There are flakes from the upper part of the head and at both sides of the body at both the front and back surface, and a larger flake from the lower right part of the body at the back surface.

Height: 49mm; maximum width at head: 16mm; width at neck: 13mm; maximum width at body: 20mm; thickness at head: 6mm; thickness at neck: 7mm; maximum thickness at body: 8mm.

The head is rectangular. The body is almost rectangular, widening slightly towards the unevenly straight base. Both the front and back surfaces are flat. The base is triangular in the profile views. The front surface is rather coarse, slightly smoothed in places and the back surface is polished except for the lower left part which is rather coarse. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3993. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 2 (Fig. 12.18).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE11; Building of the Figurines, room 399.
Destruction Level (2); Layer 5.
Made of white marble.

There is off-white incrustation on the upper right side at the front surface with light brown deposits in places. There is a small flake from the middle of the right side on the front surface and at the upper left tip of the head on the back surface.

Height: 29mm; width at head: 10mm; width at neck: 10mm; maximum width at body: 19mm; thickness at head: 3mm; thickness at neck: 3mm; thickness at body: 3mm.

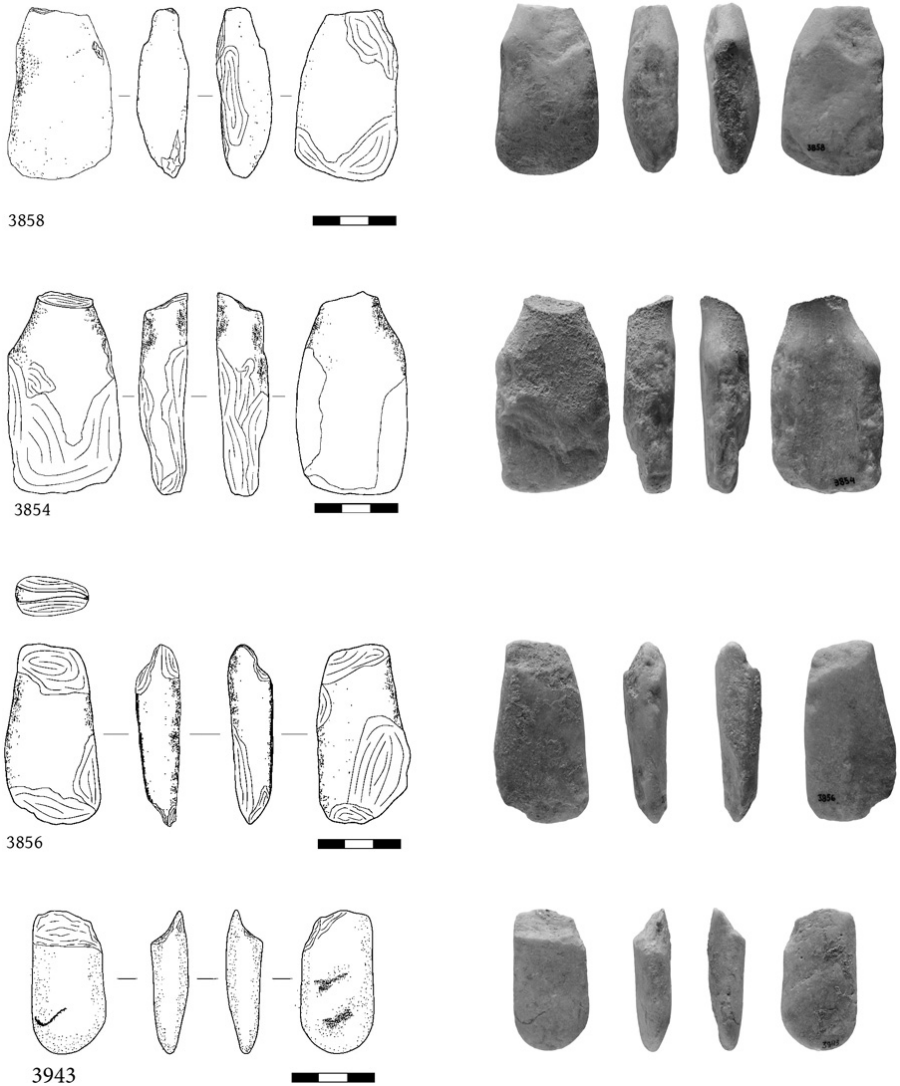

Fig. 12.19 Schematic figurines of Apeiranthos type, form 2. Scale 1:2.

The head is rectangular. The body widens slightly towards the triangular base. In profile, it is flat with a rudimentary differentiation of the head and body. Both the front and back surfaces are polished. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3859. Head and neck of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 2 (Fig. 12.18).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE11; Building of the Figurines, room 399, area b.
Destruction Level (2); layer 7.
Made of white marble.

There are flakes from both front and back and profile views. There is localised incrustation and grey deposits in parts on both sides and particularly on the top of the head.

Preserved height: 24mm; width at head: 12mm; width at neck: 11mm; thickness at head: 5mm.

The rectangular head widens to the body. The crown tilts slightly backwards. Flat in profile. The surfaces are smoothed. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3769. Head and neck of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 2 (Fig. 12.18).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE1; Building of the Figurines, room 398.
Ashy layer (3); layer 5.
Made of white marble.

There is a small flake from the upper right side on the front and at the upper left tip at the back. There is extended incrustation and grey deposits on the front and back.

Preserved height: 33mm; minimum width: 16mm; maximum width: 23mm; thickness at head: 3mm; thickness at shoulder: 12mm

The rectangular head widens to the body. The crown tilts slightly backwards. In profile, the head is straight at the front and concave at the back. The surfaces are smoothed. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3858. Body and lower part of the neck of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 2 (Fig. 12.19).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE8; Square 18.
Destruction Level (2); layer 10.
Made of white marble with light-brown veins on the front and profile views.

There is a flake from the upper left side of the body at the front and the upper right side and lower part of the body at the back. There is a whitish incrustation on the front, particularly on the lower part and localised orange deposits on the back.

Preserved height: 66mm; width at the base of neck: 26mm; width at body: 38mm; thickness at the base of neck: 10mm; thickness at body: 16mm.

The body is oblong, widening from the shoulders to the curved base. The sides are straight. The upper part tapers to the head. It is flat, slightly convex at the front and straight at the back in profile. The upper surface on both the front and back is polished. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3854. Body and lower part of the neck of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 2 (Fig. 12.19).
Trench 26/IE11; Building of the Figurines, room 399, area d.
Ashy layer (3); layer 11.
Made of white marble.

There are flakes from the lower and upper right part of the body at the front. There are also flakes from both sides and profile views at the back. There is extensive incrustation and grey deposition at the front and particularly on the upper part of the body and neck.

Preserved height: 73mm; width at the base of neck: 22mm; width at body: 42mm; thickness at the base of neck: 16mm; thickness at body: 18mm.

The body is rectangular with the upper part tapering strongly to the head. It is parallel-sided, and curved at the base. It is flat, narrowing to the base in profile with the front curved and the back almost straight. The body was smoothed at the front but left coarse in spaces. At the back it is finely polished at both the neck and upper part of the body. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3856. Body of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 2 (Fig. 12.19).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE11; Building of the Figurines, room 419.
Destruction Level (2); layer 15.
Made of whitish marble with brown veins particularly at the front and profile views.

There are breaks at both the upper and lower part of the body oat both the front and back. There is whitish to yellowish incrustation and localised light-grey deposits, particularly on the front right side.

Preserved height: 73mm; width at the base of neck: 22mm; width at body: 34mm; thickness at the base of neck: 16mm; thickness at body near the base: 12mm.

The body is oblong, widening from the shoulders to the curved base. The sides are straight. The upper part tapers slightly to the head. It is flat narrowing to the base in profile. The surfaces are well-polished at the front and back with no indications of paint. Insert fig 12.19

Ios cat. no. 3943. Body of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 2 (Fig. 19).
Skarkos, Ios; Trenches 26/IE11 and 26/IΣT11; Building of the Figurines, room 417.
Ashy layer (3); Layer 14.
Made of white marble.

There is localised white incrustation with light grey deposits in places on both surfaces and particularly on the back.

Preserved height: 51mm; maximum width at body: 27mm; minimum width at body: 26mm; maximum thickness at body: 14mm.

The body is oblong with a rounded base. It narrows to the base in profile with the front slightly convex and the back curved. Both the front and back surfaces are smoothed with no indications of paint.

FORM 3

Ios cat. no. 3766. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 3 (Fig. 12.20).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE11; Building of the Figurines, room 398.
Ashy layer (3); layer 5.
Made of white marble.

The figurine is complete. There are flakes from the lower part of the body at the front and very small flakes from the left side of the head. There is a white incrustation and grey deposit on both sides and particularly on the left side of the head at the front. There is slight weathering of the body at the front.

Height: 53mm; width at head: 12mm; width at neck: 14mm; maximum width at body: 24mm; thickness at head: 9mm; thickness at the body: 7mm.

The body is parallel-sided with a curved base. It tapers at the top towards the head. The head is little more than a prong. There are flat wide surfaces on the front and back. It is almost flat in profile with the uppermost part of the head flattish and sharply titling backwards. The head is well-polished. The body is polished on the front and smoothed on the back. There are localised indications of light reddish to orange paint on the front right side and the back left side of the head.

Ios cat. no. 3855. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 3 (Fig. 12.20).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE11; Building of the Figurines, room 399, area d.
Ashy layer (3); layer 13.
Made of white marble.

The figurine is complete. It is chipped at the lower part on the front and back, at the head and body, partly at the back, and in both profile views. There is a white incrustation and grey deposits on the front and back and particularly on the right profile view.

Height: 37mm; Width at head: 8mm; maximum; width at body: 18mm; thickness at head: 3mm; Thickness at body: 6mm.

The body is almost triangular with a square head. The base is curved. In profile, the distinction of the body and the head is quite strong. The surfaces are polished and there are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3108. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 3 (Fig. 12.20).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/Δ13; area of Building Sigma.
Destruction Level (2); layer 2.

Made of white marble.

The figurine is complete. There are flakes from the lower right at the front, at the lower left point and at the upper left side of the body at the back. There is a white incrustation with localised grey deposits at the front and back and particularly on the lower left part and profile view.

Height: 52mm; Width at head: 1mm; maximum width at body: 27mm; thickness at head: 4mm; Thickness at body: 7mm.

The body is triangular with a square head. The base is almost straight. In profile, the surface is flat and tapers slightly toward the head. The uppermost part of the head tilts gently backwards. The surfaces are polished and there are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3970. Body and neck of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 3 (Fig. 12.20).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/ΙΣΤ13; Building Lambda Epsilon, room 353
Ashy layer (3); Layer 4.
Made of white marble.

There is localised white incrustation and light grey deposit in places at the back and extensive incrustation with dark brown to grey deposits on the left side at the front. There is a large flake from the lower right at the front and smaller ones from the lower part, from the left side and from the upper right side at the back.

Preserved height: 50mm; width at neck: 9mm; maximum width at body: 27mm; thickness at neck: 7mm; maximum thickness at body: 13mm.

The body is squarish tapering to the neck. The sides are straight. The preserved part of the neck is quite long. The front surface of the body is slightly convex in profile and the back surface is rather flat. In profile, the preserved part of the neck is slightly differentiated from the body due to its convex outline at the back surface. The surfaces are smoothed. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3678. Possible complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 3 (Fig. 12.20).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/A11. Building Iota Epsilon, room 244.
Ashy layer (3); layer 22.
Made of blue, local marble.

The surface is excellently preserved. It has localised, whitish incrustation at the back, particularly on the lower part.

Height: 44mm; width at head: 12mm; maximum width at body: 25mm; thickness at head: 5mm; maximum thickness at body: 9mm.

This figurine has an uninterrupted outline, triangular in shape with a rounded top and straight, slanting base. In profile, it is asymmetrical with clear differentiation of the upper from the lower part. It has well-polished surfaces. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3209. Body of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 3 (Fig. 12.20).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 19/K11; Building Kappa Zeta, room 316.
Destruction Level (2); layer 13.
Made of white marble.

It is flaked from both sides at the front and back and profile views. There is an off-white incrustation and light grey deposit on the front and back and particularly on the right profile view. There are yellowish deposits on parts of the front and back.

Preserved height: 64mm; minimum width: 24mm; maximum width: 40mm; Thickness at body: 16mm.

The body is almost ellipsoidal, tapering towards the head. The front is slightly curved and the back is flat when seen in profile. The surfaces are coarse. There are localised indications of light reddish to orange paint on the upper part of both profile views.

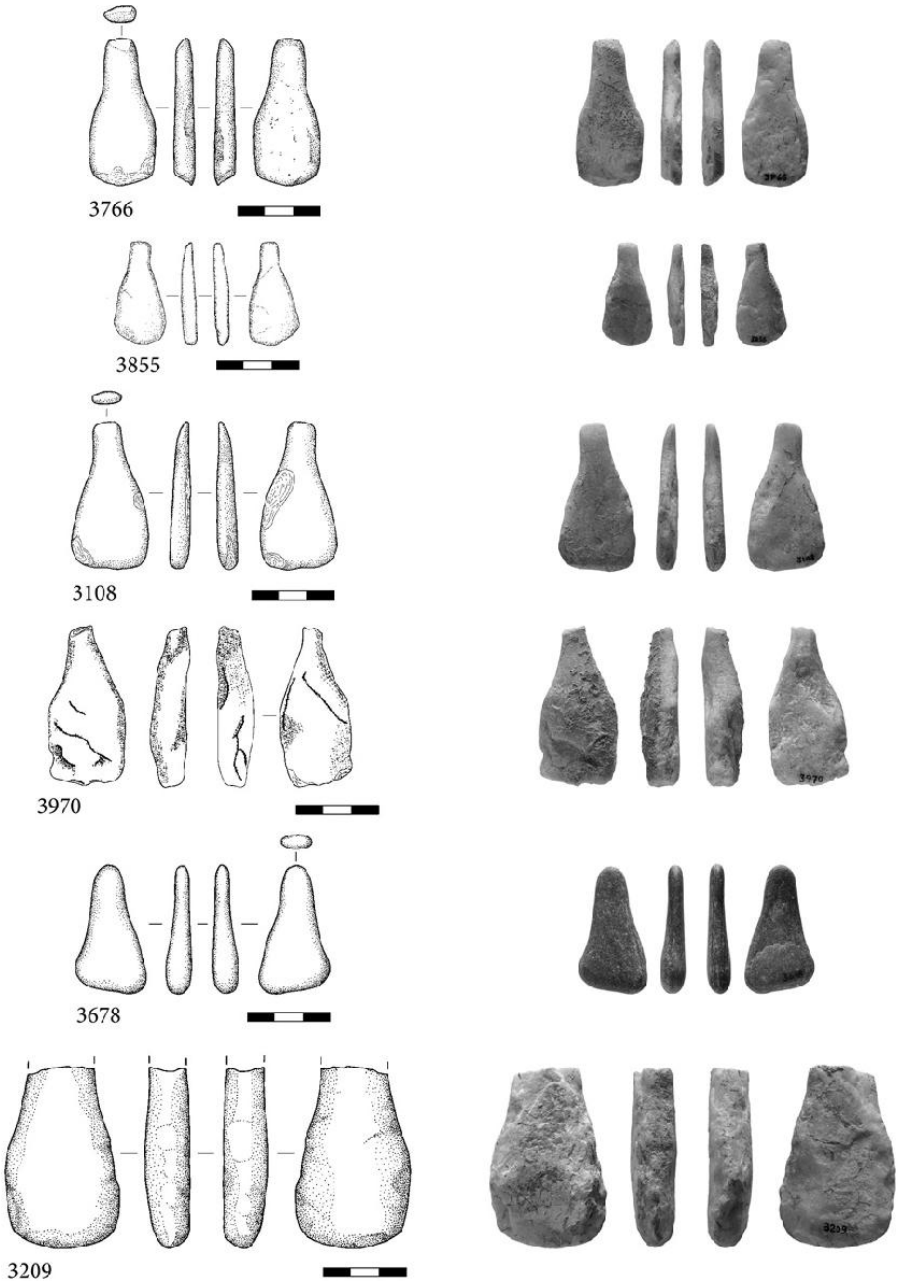

Fig. 12.20 Schematic figurines of Apeiranthos type, form 3. Scale 1:2.

FORM 4

Ios cat. no. 1062. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 4 (Fig. 12.21). Skarkos settlement, Ios; Trench 19/K16, 26/A16; Square 4, area a.

Ashy layer (3); layer 25.
Made of marble. The marble is white on the front and grey on the back, obviously veined with thin, parallel, alternating white and grey veins. It is possibly local.

There are small flakes from both sides of the body at both the front and back, on the left side of the head at the front and at the right side of the head on the back.

Height: 45mm; width at head: 17mm; width at body 27mm; thickness at both head and body: 5mm.

The head is square with a rounded top. The body is squat, parallel sided and flat at the base. At the shoulders the body tapers to the head. It is almost flat in section with the uppermost part of the head very slightly tilting backwards. The polished surfaces are flat with no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3107. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 4 (Fig. 12.21).
Skarkos settlement, Ios; Trench 26/Θ13; Building Kappa Delta and Square 11.
Destruction Level (2); layer 5.
Made of white marble, which is possibly local.

There is a break at the lower right point of the body and a shallow break at the upper left point of the head at the front. Flakes from both sides at both the front and back. It has a yellowish to light-reddish patinated surface with localised light brown deposits in places.

Height: 48mm; width at head: 20mm; width at neck: 11mm; width at body: 29mm; thickness at both head and body: 9mm.

With a round head and almost parallel-sided body, flat at the base. At the shoulders the body tapers to the head. The figurine is flat in section but tapers slightly towards the uppermost part of the head. The head is well polished at the front and smoothed at the back. The body is smoothed at both the front and back. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3679. Head and neck of schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 4 (Fig. 12.21).
Skarkos settlement, Ios; Trench 19/IΘ19; Area 14 outside the settlement.
Surface Level (1); layers 1-2.
Made of white marble, which is possibly local.

It is chipped in places on both the front and back. It has a yellowish to light-brown patinated surface with localised light brown deposits also on both the front and back.

Preserved height: 30mm; width at head: 21mm; width at neck: 16mm; width at the lowest preserved part: 21mm; thickness at both head and neck: 10mm.

The head is rounded. In section, the figurine is flat and tapers towards the uppermost part of the head. The surfaces are wellpolished with no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3946. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 4 (Fig. 12.21).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IΔ14; Building Lambda Gamma, room 407b
Destruction Level (2); layer 9.
Made of local off-white to grey marble with brown veins.

There is localised whitish incrustation in places at the front and on the lower right part at the back.

Height: 32mm; maximum width at head: 13mm; maximum width at body: 21mm; thickness at head: 4mm; maximum thickness at body: 6mm.

The head is squarish with rounded top and the body is trapezoidal with a flat base. There is almost no neck. In profile, the head is flat and the body markedly curved at the back. This seems to correspond to the bulky gluteal region. The surfaces are polished with no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3852. Body and the lower part of the neck of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, irregular form 4 (Fig. 12.21).

Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE8; square 19, area at the east of the road 3, part d.
Destruction Level (2); layer 7.
Made of white marble.

There is a flake from the lower left part on the back. It has a yellowish to light-reddish patinated surface with a light brown deposit in places at the front. There is extended incrustation on the back.

Preserved height: 40mm; width at the upper preserved part: 19mm; maximum width at body: 35mm; maximum thickness: 9mm.

The body is circular, tapering to the neck or head. It is flat in profile. The surface is well-polished at the front. The back is not visible because of the incrustation. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3680. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 4 (Fig. 12.22).
Skarkos settlement, Ios; Trench 26/Z17, 26/Z18; Area 9 outside the settlement.
Destruction Level (2); layer 12.
Made of white marble with brown vertical veins, particularly on the back. The marble is possibly local.

There is a break at the lower right point of the body and it is chipped at the lower part of the body at the back. There is extensive whitish to yellowish incrustation on the front and back, and profile views.

Height: 74mm; width at head: 33mm; width at neck: 26mm; maximum width at body: 43mm; thickness at head: 10mm; thickness at body: 9mm.

The head is rounded with an ellipsoidal body, which is flat at the base. It is almost flat in section with the uppermost part of the head slightly tilting backwards. The surface is polished on the front with a smoothed surface at the back. There are no indications of paint.

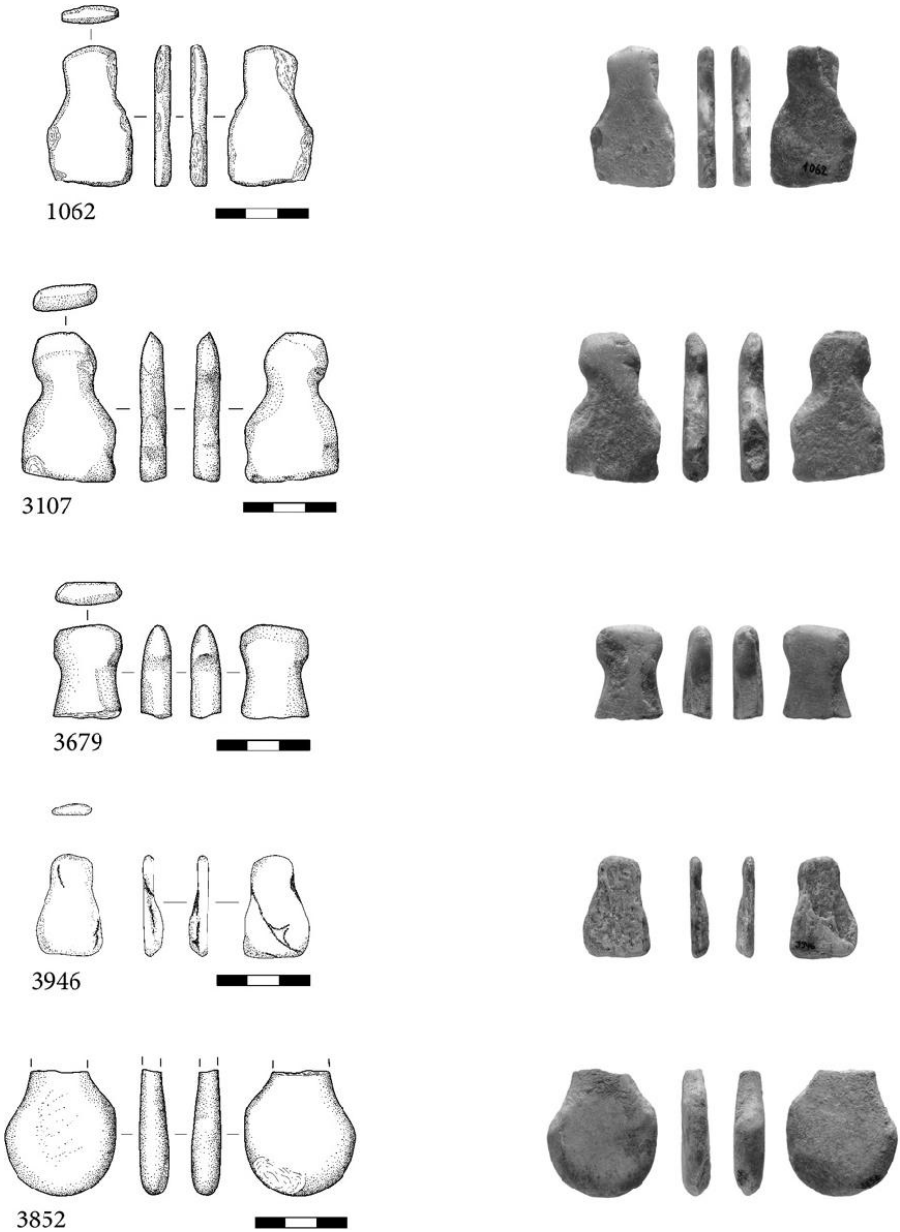

Fig. 12.21 Schematic figurines of Apeiranthos type, form 4. Scale 1:2.

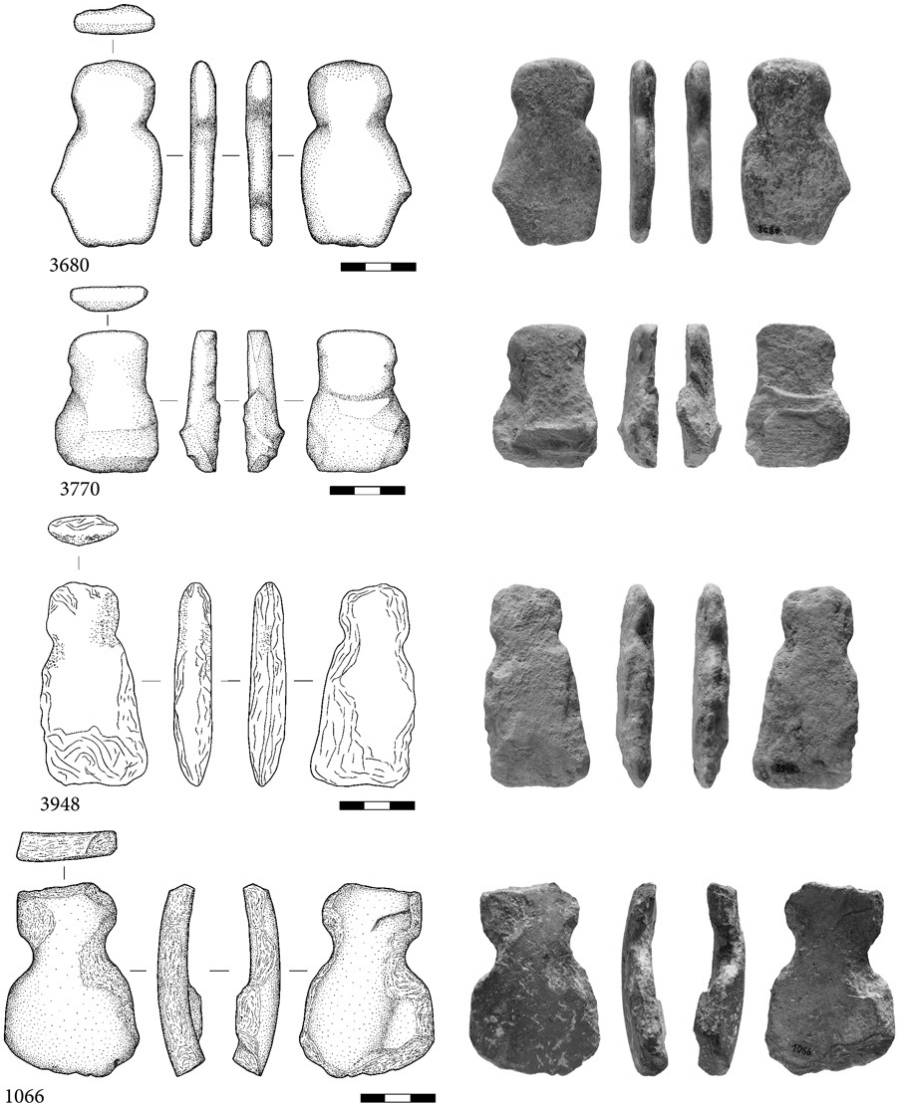

Fig. 12.22 Schematic figurines of Apeiranthos type, form 4. Scale 1:2.

Ios cat. no. 3770. Complete, unfinished schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 4 (Fig. 12.22).
Skarkos settlement, Ios; Trench 26/IE11; Buildung of the Figurines, room 398.
Ashy layer (3); layer 6.
Made of white marble.

There are flakes at the front, back and profile views. Extensive incrustation and light grey deposits cover both the front and back surface of the figurine.

Height: 56mm; width at head: 31mm; width at body: 41mm; thickness at head: 10mm; thickness at body: 14mm.

The almost square head and rectangular body both have rounded edges. The base is slightly curved and only partly worked. The head and the upper part of body have flat but smoothed

surfaces. There are rough surfaces on the lower body seen in the front, back and profile views. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3948. Complete figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 4 (Fig. 12.22).
Skarkos, southeast part of the settlement
Made of white marble.

There is incrustation with light grey deposits in places on both surfaces.

Height: 80mm; width at head: 28mm; maximum width at body: 39mm; thickness at head: 12mm; maximum thickness at body: 14mm.

The head is square with rounded edges and the body is oblong with a straight base. It is almost flat in section. The front surface is slightly convex and the back is flat. The surfaces are rather smoothed. There are localised indications of light reddish paint on the central and lower part of the body on the front surface.

Ios cat. no. 1066. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, form 4 (Fig. 12.22).
Skarkos settlement, Ios; Trench 26/K4 and 26/K5, Building Omicron, room 60.
Destruction Level (2); layer 5.
Made of a potsherd.

The break at the upper right tip of the head, the flakes from the sides, at both the front and back, and a protrusion seen in the profile views probably occurred during manufacture. There is localised white incrustation on the front.

Height: 78mm; width at head: 40mm; width at neck: 29mm; width at body: 52mm; thickness at head: 10mm; thickness at body near the base: 13mm.

The figurine is divided into two almost circular parts indicating the head and body. The head is flat on top, smaller and slightly thinner than the body. The figurine is convex at the front and concave at the back. It is flat in section. The surfaces are smoothed with no indications of paint.

Various irregular forms
Ios cat. No. 3853. Complete, schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, irregular form (Fig. 12.23).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE11; Building of the Figurines, room 399, area b.
Destruction Level (2); layer 7.
Made of white marble.

There are flakes in places from the front and back. It has incrustation and grey deposit on the front and back and particularly on the right side at the front.

Height: 89mm; maximum width at head: 22mm; maximum width at body: 44mm; maximum thickness at head: 13mm; thickness at body near the base: 7mm.

The head is rhomboid. The body is ellipsoidal with a flat base. At the back the head continues to the body in a flat uninterrupted plane. In profile, the figurine has a simple outline without differentiation of the head from the body and tapers to the base; the upper part of the head tapers to the top. The head is polished and the body smoothed on the front and back. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. No. 3934. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, irregular form (Fig. 12.23).
Skarkos, Ios; Trenches 26/IE11 and 26/ΙΣΤ11; Building of the Figurines, room 417.
Ashy layer (3); Layer 13.
Made of blue, local marble.

There are small flakes in places from the front and back. It has localised white incrustation and yellowish deposit in places at the front and back.

Height: 62mm; maximum 36mm; maximum thickness 14mm.

The head is squarish with a slightly curved top. The body is ellipsoidal with a flat base. In

profile, the figurine is convex at the front and concave at the back. The head is slightly polished and the body smoothed. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. No. 3949. Body and the lower part of the neck of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, irregular form (Fig. 12.23).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE12; Building Lambda Delta, room 352
Ashy layer (3); Layer 8
Made of blue, local marble.

There is extended whitish incrustation with dark brown to grey deposit on the surface of the back. The sides have small and shallow breaks.

Preserved height: 77mm; width at the upper preserved part of neck: 21mm; width at body: 50mm; thickness at the upper preserved part of neck: 20mm; thickness at body: 33mm.

This plump figurine widens from the rather cylindrical preserved part of the neck to the almost straight-sided body. The base is unevenly rounded. The figurine is thick in profile with convex surfaces and a slight differentiation of the preserved lower part of the neck from the body. The front surface is smoothed. The back surface is not visible due to extended incrustation. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3781. Schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, irregular form (Fig. 12.23).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IΔ12, 26/IE12. Building Lambda Delta, room 352.
Ashy layer (3); layer 8.
Made of white marble.

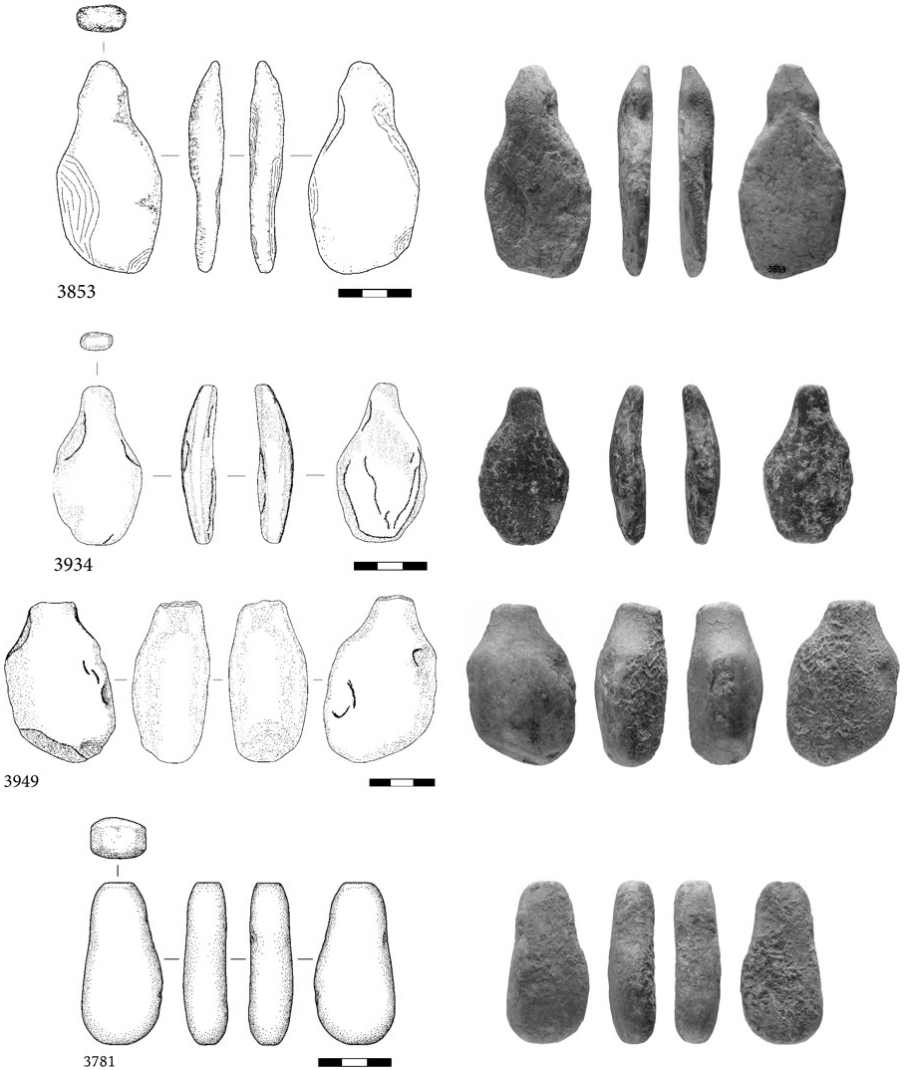

Fig. 12.23 Schematic figurines of the Apeiranthos type, irregular forms. Scale 1:2.

There are no breaks. There is extensive incrustation and grey deposit at the front and back, particularly on the back.

Height: 66mm; width at the top of the head: 14mm; maximum width at body: 33mm; thickness at head: 17mm; thickness at body: 18mm.

This plump figurine widens from the flat top of the head to the curved base with an almost unindented outline. There is only a very slight differentiation of the head and body. The right side of the body is almost straight while the left side is rounded. The figurine is flat and thick in profile, slightly convex at the front and slightly concave at the back. The surface is well-polished with no indications of paint.

Ios cat. No. 3947. Complete figurine of the Apeiranthos type, irregular form (Fig. 12.24).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IZ12; Building Mu Gamma, room 426.
Destruction level (2); Layer 6.
Made of white marble.

There is extended incrustation on both the front and the back with light brown to reddish deposits.

Height: 35mm; maximum width at head: 16mm; maximum width at body: 20mm; minimum thickness at head: 6mm; maximum thickness at head: 8 mm; maximum thickness at body: 9mm.

This figurine, with an almost unindented outline has a rounded top and base. The upper part probably corresponding to the head has been worked so as to be narrower than the lower part. In profile, the front surface is convex and the back is slightly concave. The surface is polished with no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3771. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, irregular form (Figs 12.14, 12.24).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IE11; Building of the Figurines, room 398.
Ashy layer (3); layer 6.
Made of white marble.

There are flakes in places from the lower part and the sides at the front and back. The figurine has extensive white to whitish incrustation and light grey deposit at the front and back.

Height: 39mm; minimum width: 8mm; maximum width: 27mm; thickness at the top of the head: 5mm; maximum thickness at the body: 11mm.

This plump figurine with unindented outline is triangular with a flat top and an almost rounded base. It is asymmetrical in profile with clear differentiation of the upper from the lower part. The upper part is a slender torso with schematic head and neck. The lower part seems to represent the bulky gluteal region. Seen from above the top is rectangular. The surface is smoothed at the front and coarse on the back. There are clear indications of light reddish to orange paint on the upper part of the figurine at the front.

Ios cat. no. 3682. Complete, schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, irregular form (Fig. 12.24).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IΓ12; Building Mu Alpha; room 361.
Ashy layer (3); layer 8.
Made of white marble.

There are breaks on the upper right side at the front and the upper right, and the upper left side on the back. There are also flakes in places from the front and mainly from the upper left side. The figurine has a yellowish to light-brown patinated surface on the back. It also has white incrustation at the front and the lower part at the back, and light grey deposits on the front and back.

Height: 39mm; minimum width: 11mm; maximum width near the base: 23mm; thickness near the top: 4mm; maximum thickness near the base: 9mm.

This figurine is trapezoidal with rounded top and base. An upper part probably corresponding to the head has been worked to be narrower than the lower part, however it is in just the first stage of production. The figurine is almost flat and straight in profile with an almost imperceptible differentiation of the upper from the lower part. The upper part of the head tapers to the top when seen in profile. The surfaces are polished. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3681. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, irregular form (Fig. 12.24).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IΔ11. Building Mu Alpha, on the wall 689 between the rooms 364 and 377.
Destruction Level (2); layers 3–4.
Made of white marble, slightly reddish, which is presumably local.

There are flakes from the lower left side at the front and on the lower part of the body at the back. There are also small flakes from both sides of the head. It has a yellowish to light-reddish patinated surface with a localised light reddish deposit and incrustation on the front

and back.

Height: 43mm; width at head: 13mm; maximum width at body: 28mm; thickness at the top of head: 6mm; maximum thickness: 7mm.

The square head widens gradually to form a triangular body with a rounded base maaking an uninterrupted outline with the head. The triangular top tilts slightly backwards. It is flat in profile, with the front slightly convex and the back slightly concave. The figurine is polished at the front. On the back, the head is wellpolished and the body is coarse. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. No. 3944. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, irregular form (Fig. 12.24).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IΔ12; Building Lambda Delta, room 352
Ashy layer (3); Layer 6.
Made of white marble.

There is localised white incrustation with light grey deposits in places at the front and extended white incrustation with grey deposit at the back of the body and neck. There are small breaks in places on both surfaces.

Height: 50mm; maximum width at head: 15mm; width at neck: 15mm; maximum width at body: 31mm; minimum thickness at head: 4mm; maximum thickness at head: 11mm; thickness at neck: 10mm; maximum thickness at body: 14mm.

The squarish head widens gradually to form a triangular body with a slightly rounded base making an uninterrupted outline with the head. In profile, the head is concave at the front and slightly convex at the back, and it tilts slightly backwards. The body is convex at the front and concave at the back. The front surface of the head is smoothed whereas the front surface of the body is coarse. The back surface is not visible due to incrustation. There are no indications of paint.

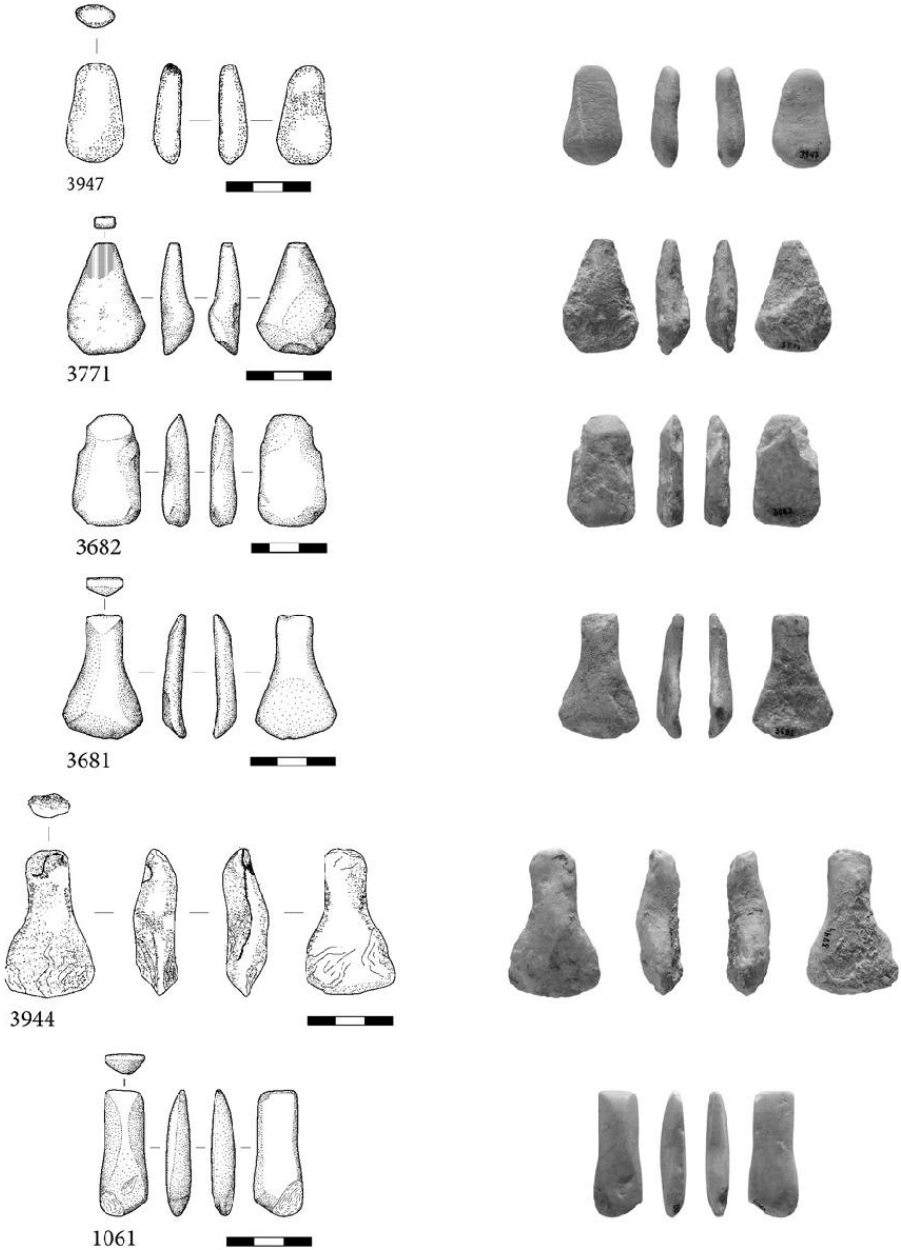

Fig. 12.24 Schematic figurines of the Apeiranthos type, irregular forms. Scale 1:2.

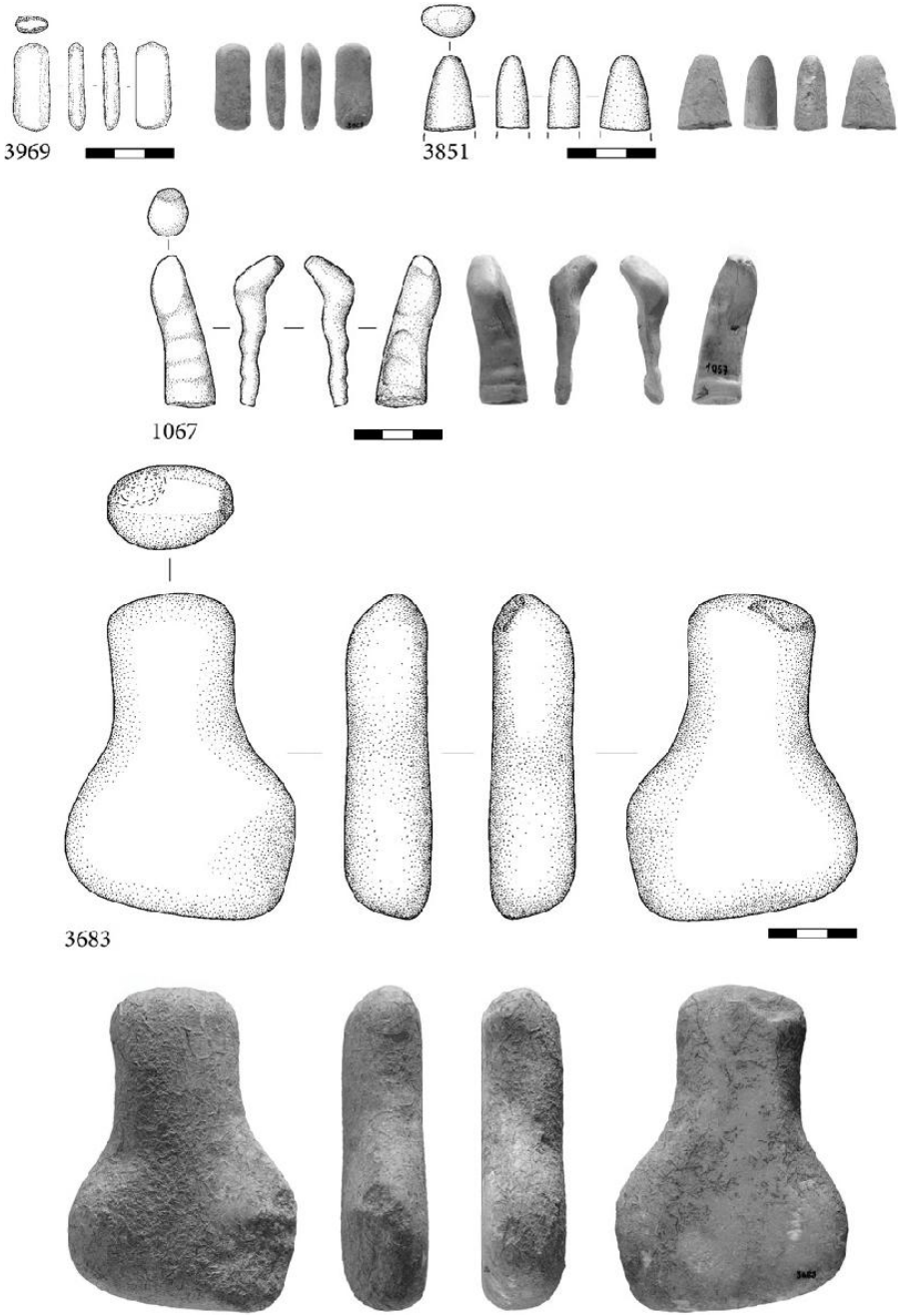

Fig. 12.25 Schematic figurines. Top: Apeiranthos type, irregular forms. Bottom: other. Scale 1:2.

Ios cat. no. 1061. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, irregular form (Fig. 12.24).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/A14; Square 4, area a.

Ashy layer (3); layer 25.
Made of white to whitish marble. A piece of schist is visible in contact with the marble at the lower, broken end of the figurine. The marble is possibly local.

There are flakes from the lower part at the front and the lower part at the back.

Height: 44mm; width at the top of head: 14mm; maximum width at body: 17mm; maximum thickness of the figurine: 9mm.

This is an almost rectangular figurine with a very slight differentiation of the head from the body at the front and back. The top of the head is flat and the base is unevenly rounded. Four inclined planes, two triangular and two curving, meet in the middle of emphasising the distinction between the head and the body The figurine is flat in profile, straight at the back and curved at the front. The surfaces are well-polished without indications of paint.

Ios cat. No. 3969. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, irregular form (Fig. 12.25).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IΔ15; Building Lamda Beta, room 362.
Destruction Level (2); layer 10.
Made of white marble.

There is localised whitish incrustation with yellowish to light brown deposit in places on the front surface.

Height: 29mm; width at the upper part: 11mm; width at lower part: 12mm; thickness at the upper part: 6mm; thickness at the lower part: 6mm.

This figurine, has a rectangular unindented outline with rounded top and base. There is an almost imperceptible differentiation of the upper from the lower part. In profile it is slightly convex at the front and straight at the back. The surfaces are polished. There are no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 3851. Head of a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, irregular form (Fig. 12.25).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/IΔ12, 26/IΔ13; Building Lambda Epsilon, room 395.
Ashy layer (3); layer 10.
Made of white marble.

There are small flakes from the upper part at the front and the upper right part at the back. Incrustation and light grey deposit occur on both the front and back.

Preserved height: 24mm; maximum width: 18mm; thickness at the top: 4mm; maximum thickness: 11mm.

The head is conical with rounded top at the front and cylindrical again with rounded top in profile Seen from the top, it is triangular. The surfaces are well-polished with no indications of paint.

Ios cat. no. 1067. Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type, irregular form (Fig. 12.25).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 19/K16, 26/A16; Square 4, area a.
Destruction Level (2); layer 21.

Fashioned from the pointed tip of a triton shell.

Height: 51mm; width at head: 14mm; maximum width at body: 16mm; minimum thickness at head: 7mm; maximum thickness at head: 11mm; minimum thickness at body: 5mm; maximum thickness at body: 8mm.

The head is ellipsoidal leaning to the right and tilting strongly backwards. The body is oblong, widening slightly to the flat base. The head and body have a single, uninterrupted outline. In profile, the distinctly plump head is convex at the front and concave at the back. In profile, the almost parallel side outlines of the body are wavy following the natural undulations of the triton shell which has not been smoothed. The surfaces are well-polished with no indications of paint.

Parallels: EAM5479, EAM5480 from Aplomata cemetery, Naxos, grave XIII, Kontoleon 1971, 179, pls 212–3; Marangou 1990, 105, nos 100, 101.

Other

Ios cat. no. 3683. Complete schematic figurine (Fig. 12.25).
Skarkos, Ios; Trench 26/ΙΓ12; Building Mu Alpha, room 361.
Ashy layer (3); Layer 8.
White marble, possibly local.

The figurine has a small break on the lower left part of the back. There are flakes from the lower left part at the front and the upper right tip of the head at the back. It has extensive incrustation and grey deposit at the front and back, particularly at the front.

Height: 114mm; width at head: 45mm; width at body: 81mm; thickness at head: 28mm; thickness at body: 30mm.

This is a clumsy figurine. It is large, thick, and heavy. The head is rectangular, slightly widening to the body. The body is also rectangular but in this figurine it is placed almost vertically below the head. The figure is flat in profile with the forehead titling markedly backwards. The uppermost part of the head at the back also tilts towards the top. The back surface is wellpolished whereas the front surface is not visible because of the incrustation. There are no indications of paint.

Appendix: non-invasive examination of marble figurines from Skarkos on Ios

Y. Maniatis

Seventeen Cycladic figurines found at Skarkos on Ios were examined in the summer of 2006 and 2013. The procedure involved optical examination of the objects with a special light source and the use of magnifying glass or microscope, and the measurement of the maximum grain size (MGS).

Folded-arm figurine of the Chalandriani variety
1. Ios cat. no. 3106
Colour of marble: White.
Other marble features: No veins, no inclusions.
Translucency: High, 2 cm?
MGS: 1.2mm
Possible provenance: Marble similar to many figurines found at the Special Deposit South on Keros whose provenance has been determined as Central-east Naxos but some having an equal probability as being instead from North Ios.

Schematic figurines of the Apeiranthos variety
FORM 1
2. Ios cat. no. 3684
Colour of marble: Whitish/Light grey
Other marble features: No veins, no inclusions.
Translucency: Medium
MGS: 0.7–0.8mm
Sampling: Yes, at the break
Possible provenance: Local Ios marble?

3. Ios cat. no. 3357
Colour of marble: Very white
Other marble features: No veins, no inclusions.
Translucency: Very high
MGS: 0.5–1.0mm
Possible provenance: No suggestions

4. Ios cat. no. 3677
Colour of marble: Greyish
Other marble features: Not visible because of surface deposition.
Translucency: Low
MGS: 0.5mm?
Possible provenance: No suggestions

FORM 2
5. Ios cat. no. 1063
Colour of marble: White
Other marble features: Beige veins parallel to the horizontal axis of the figurine.
Translucency: Low
MGS: 0.6mm?
Possible provenance: Most likely local Ios marble

6. Ios cat. no. 1065
Colour of marble: White/Grey
Other marble features: Banded with intense grey vein at the back parallel to the horizontal axis of the figurine. Typical of the abundant layered and banded marble of Ios.
Translucency: Low
MGS: 0.7mm?
Sampling: Perhaps in lower back
Possible provenance: Local Ios marble

FORM 3
7. Ios cat. No. 3108
Colour of marble: White
Other marble features: Contact with schist layer on one side.
Translucency: Medium–high
MGS: 0.5mm?
Possible provenance: Local Ios marble?

8. Ios cat. no. 3678
Colour of marble: Dark Grey-blue
Other marble features: Contact with schist layer on one side.
Translucency: None
MGS: 0.5mm?
Sampling: Difficult
Possible provenance: Local Ios marble

9. Ios cat. No. 3209
Colour of marble: White, very light grey
Other marble features: White calcitic encrustation on one side with elongated crystals. Contact with schist?
Translucency: High
MGS: 0.6mm?
Possible provenance: Local Ios marble?

FORM 4
10. Ios cat. no. 1062
Colour of marble: Front face white, back face grey
Other marble features: Banded with white and grey veins parallel to the horizontal axis of the figurine; typical of the abundant layered marble of Ios.
Translucency: Low
MGS: 0.5mm
Possible provenance: Local Ios marble

11. Ios cat. no. 3107
Colour of marble: White, slightly grey
Other marble features: No veins or inclusions
Translucency: Medium
MGS: 0.6–0.7mm
Sampling: Yes
Possible provenance: Local Ios marble?

12. Ios cat. no. 3679
Colour of marble: White, slightly grey?
Other marble features: No veins or inclusions
Translucency: Medium-low
MGS: 0.8–1.0mm
Possible provenance: Local Ios marble or unknown?

13. Ios cat. no. 3680
Colour of marble: White/greyish on one side, schist on the other Other marble features: In contact with schist layer
Translucency: None due to schist layer
MGS: 1.0mm
Sampling: Not necessary
Possible provenance: Local Ios marble

VARIOUS IRREGULAR FORMS
14. Ios cat. no. 3682
Colour of marble: Light grey
Other marble features: No veins or inclusions
Translucency: Low
MGS: 0.6–0.7mm
Possible provenance: Local Ios marble?

15. Ios cat. no. 3681
Colour of marble: White, yellowish?
Other marble features: No veins or inclusions
Translucency: Medium
MGS: 1.0mm
Possible provenance: No suggestions

16. Ios cat. no. 1061
Colour of marble: White, sub-white
Other marble features: In contact with schist in the lower broken part
Translucency: Low
MGS: 0.5mm
Possible provenance: Local Ios marble?

17. Ios cat. no. 1067
Sea shell

OTHER
18. Ios cat. no. 3683
Colour of marble: White
Other marble features: no veins or inclusions
Translucency: High, about 2 cm
MGS: 0.5–0.6mm
Possible provenance: Local Ios marble?

Summary

The non-invasive optical examination of 17 marble figurines from Skarkos showed that eight of the 17 figurines were made of a fine grained, layered-banded white-grey or dark grey marble, or sometimes white marble in contact with schist veins. These marble varieties are typical of the Ios marbles and can be found abundantly in many marble bearing locations on the island, including the areas around Skarkos.

Five more figurines are made in a whitish or pale-grey uniform and fine-grained marble. This kind of marble is also abundant on the island so these figurines have a high probability also to be of marble from Ios. However this marble may also be found in southeast Naxos

and elsewhere and hence a provenance from another island cannot be entirely excluded.

The folded-arms figurine of the Chalandriani variety made of white marble and having MGS around 1.2mm has all the typical marble characteristics detected in a large number of figurines found in Renfrew's 2006–2008 excavations in the Special Deposit South at Kavos on Keros. The full physicochemical analysis of these showed a provenance for the majority from central-east Naxos and for a minority from either central-east Naxos or Ios, as discussed earlier.

Finally, three figurines appear to have been made of a white marble with high translucency and a MGS around 1.0mm. This marble may again be found on Ios, though infrequently, and also in central-east Naxos and perhaps on Paros. For this reason we would not like to suggest a provenance for these three figurines at this stage without further analysis.

The Ios provenance for a large number of the schematic figurines is clear despite the lack of physicochemical analysis. The abundant typical grey-white layered marble which being naturally fragmented is easily extracted and split, seems to be most often used. Some figurines are made with a better quality marble which is also available on Ios at some locations on the island, e.g. on the Pano Kambos and on the hill above Agia Theodoti. Nevertheless other islands, such as central-east or southeast Naxos or even Paros, cannot be excluded as possible places of origin for this particular marble. One should mention here that a full physicochemical analysis performed on a marble basin or mortar from Skarkos proved that it was made of Parian marble.

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12.4 and 12.5 were drawn by I. Bitis.

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13

THE FIGURINES FROM THE SETTLEMENT AT DHASKALIO

Colin Renfrew

Introduction

In the course of the excavations conducted at Dhaskalio in the years 2007 to 2008 a series of figurines was found. Every one of these was of schematic form. Most were of the socalled Apeiranthos type or variety (Renfrew 1969, 14–15). It is particularly notable that not a single fragment was discovered of a figurine of the folded arm type, a form so abundantly found (although nearly always in fragmentary condition) in the Special Deposit South and the Special Deposit North at Kavos on Keros, only some 90m to the east (Renfrew 2007a; this volume, Chapters 23 and 26). The figurines from Dhaskalio were recently published in full (Renfrew 2013).For that reason only a brief account of them is given here, with emphasis upon their contexts (Fig. 13.1).

The finds and their contexts

Nine complete or fragmentary schematic figurines of marble were found in the excavations of 2007–2008 on Dhaskalio, together with an uncertain piece (5385) which is very fragmentary and may not be from a figurine at all. These are illustrated in Figure 13.3 and 13.4. A piece of worked shell which can also be interpreted as a figurine was also found (Fig. 13.2, 11815). In addition it is important to note that a schematic figurine of Apeiranthos type was recovered in the excavations of Christos Doumas at Dhaskalio in 1963 (Fig. 13.2, DF

11; Renfrew 2013, fig. 24.5).

First it is significant to note that six of the marble figurines are substantially complete. Two (including the Doumas piece DF 11) are bodies lacking the head, and there is one head (11430). Since these schematic figurines break easily, most readily at the neck, it is possible that these breakages are accidental. Here a marked contrast must be drawn with the schematic figurines found in the Special Deposits at Kavos, where the breakages, like those of the folded arm figurines, are interpreted as deliberate rather than accidental (Renfrew 2007b).

The locations where the figurines are found are seen in the plan, Figure 13.1. Eleven of the 12 figurines from Dhaskalio came from contexts of Phase C on the site, with one item, 10413, from a Phase B context in Trench IV. Phase C at Dhaskalio, the last phase, may be equated with the developed Kastri phase of the Cycladic early bronze age, whereas Phase B at Dhaskalio is assigned to the early Kastri phase. Both are later than Phase A at Dhaskalio, the period of the earlier Keros-Syros culture. It was during Dhaskalio Phase A that the sanctuary at Kavos (including the two Special Deposits) was at its most active, although its use continued into Dhaskalio Phase B.

The figurines recovered were fairly widely dispersed among the rooms excavated, mainly in the buildings of Phase C near the summit if the site. It is not yet clear whether these rooms at the top had simply a domestic use or if they had some more specialised public function. To answer that question, more extensive excavations would be required at the site than have been undertaken until now.

Specific forms: the Dhaskalio sub-variety

All the figurines from Dhaskalio are schematic figurines of the so-called Apeiranthos type. These were initially named (Renfrew 1969) after examples in the Apeiranthos museum, thought to derive from the Apeiranthos region of Naxos, although it is now realised that many of these may have come from Keros (i.e. from Kavos or from Dhaskalio). Whereas most schematic figurines from the Cyclades are associated with the Grotta-Pelos culture, it is accepted that those of the Apeiranthos type are later, and are associated with finds of the Keros-Syros culture and particularly of the Kastri Group.

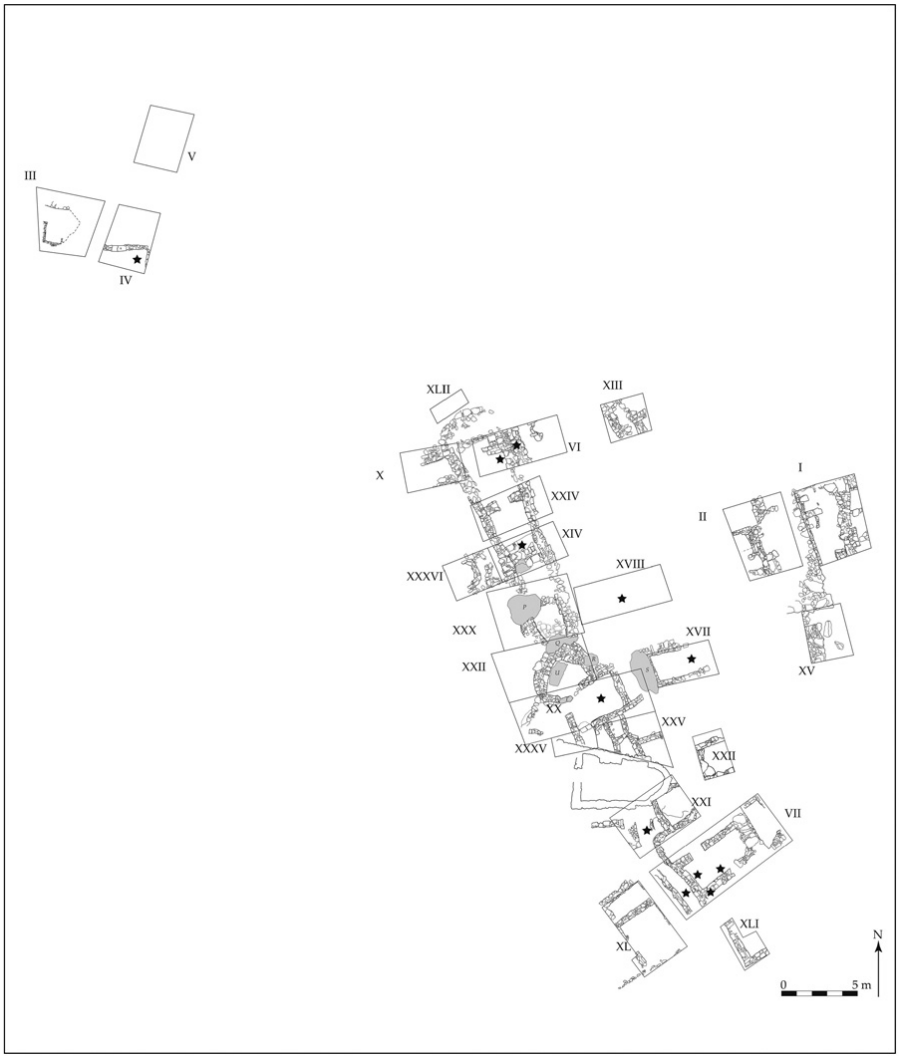

Fig. 13.1 Plan of the settlement at Dhaskalio, showing findspots of schematic figurines.

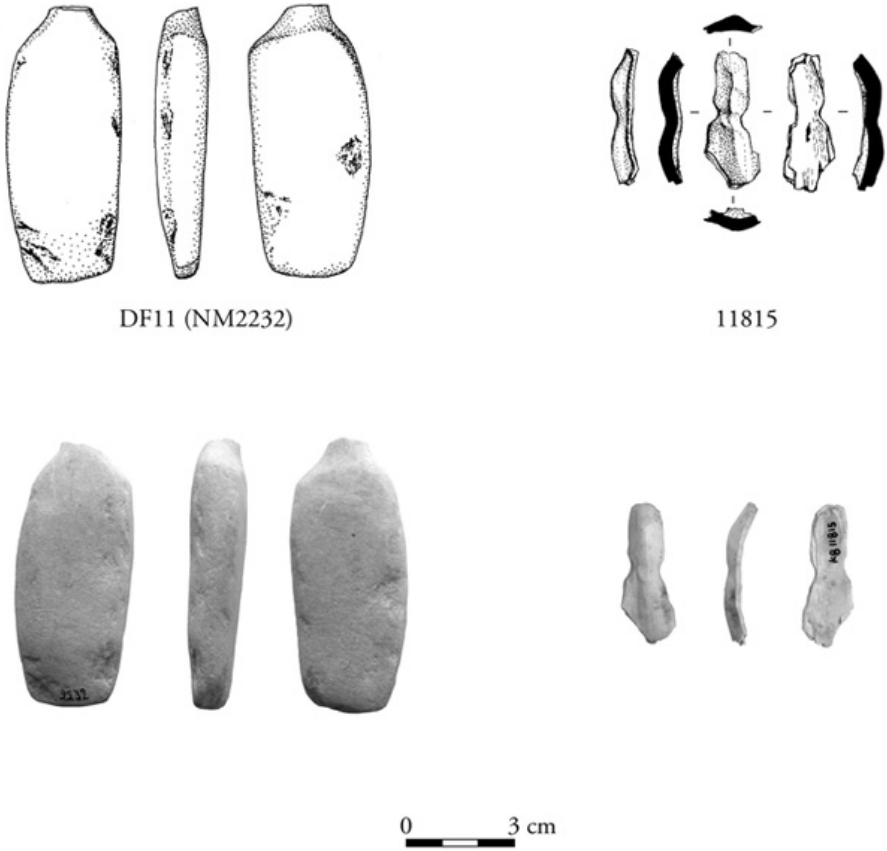

Fig. 13.2 Schematic figurines from Dhaskalio. Left: of marble, found in 1963. Right: of shell. Scale 1:2.

In the light of the finds from Dhaskalio and Kavos it was possible to define a specific sub-variety of the Apeiranthos variety of schematic figurine. This has been termed the Dhaskalio sub-variety. These are generally small, between 50–100mm in length. The body, although roughly rectangular is somewhat rounded at the corners and is not markedly thin, nor strictly parallel sided. Considering the body only, below the shoulders, the ratio of length to width exceeds 1.5, and most examples are narrower than this. The most notable feature is the head, which is a narrower protrusion of the body, sometimes distinctly thicker than the body, and narrowing to the front. This gives it a prismatic shape when seen from above, with a narrow ridge at the front indicating the nose. The Dhaskalio subvariety is particularly well represented in the settlement at Dhaskalio, and is found along with other forms of the Apeiranthos variety in both the Special Deposit South and the Special Deposit North at Kavos on Keros.

Figurines of the Apeiranthos variety are well attested at the settlement at Skarkos on Ios (Marthari, this volume, Chapter 12), and

are known from graves in cemeteries at Chalandriani on Syros, and in Naxos. How many of these can be assigned to the Dhaskalio sub-variety is a matter for further study.

Acknowledgements

Drawings are by Jenny Doole and Aspasia Drigopoulou.

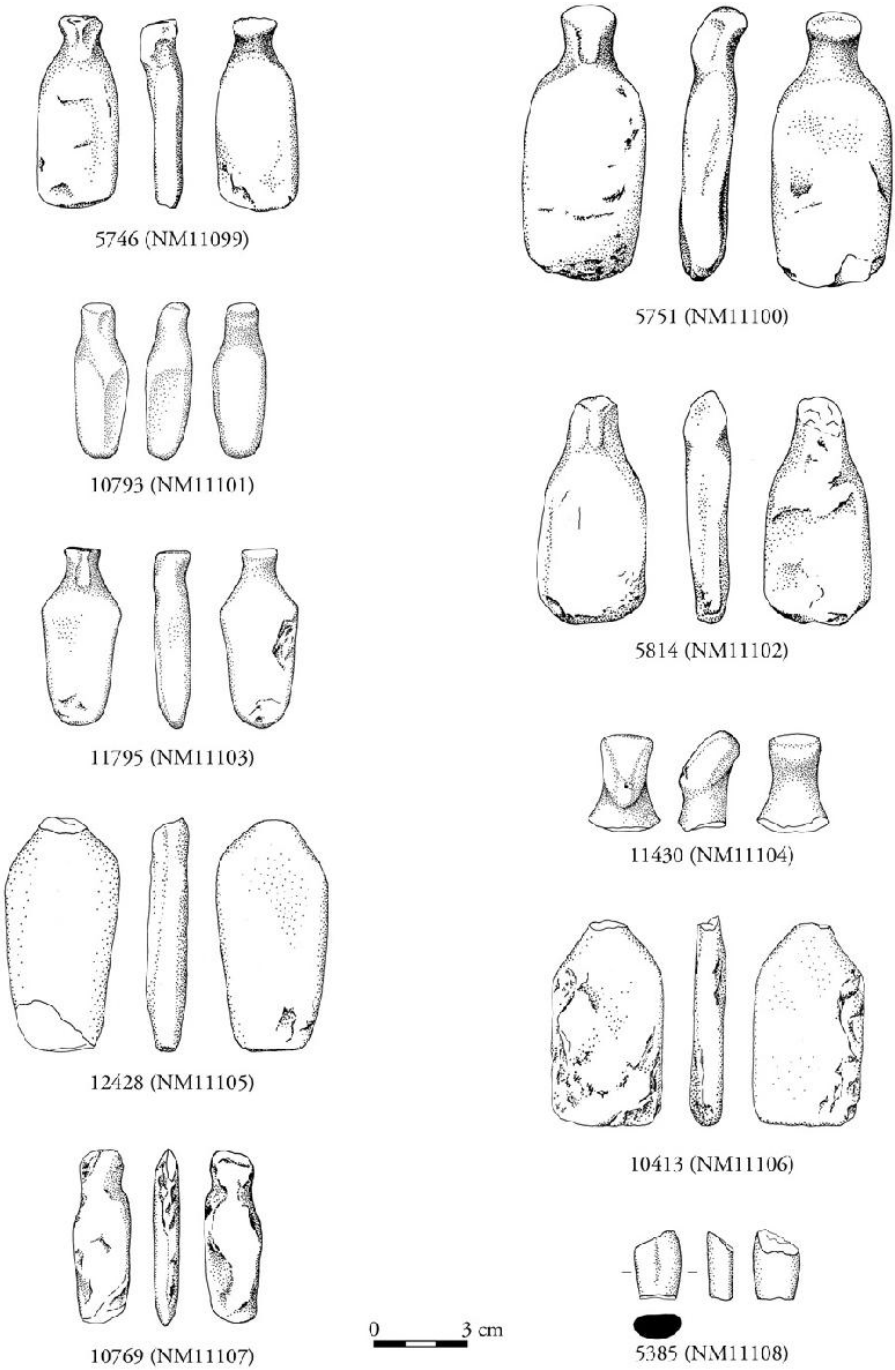

Fig. 13.3 Schematic figurines from Dhaskalio. Scale 1:2.

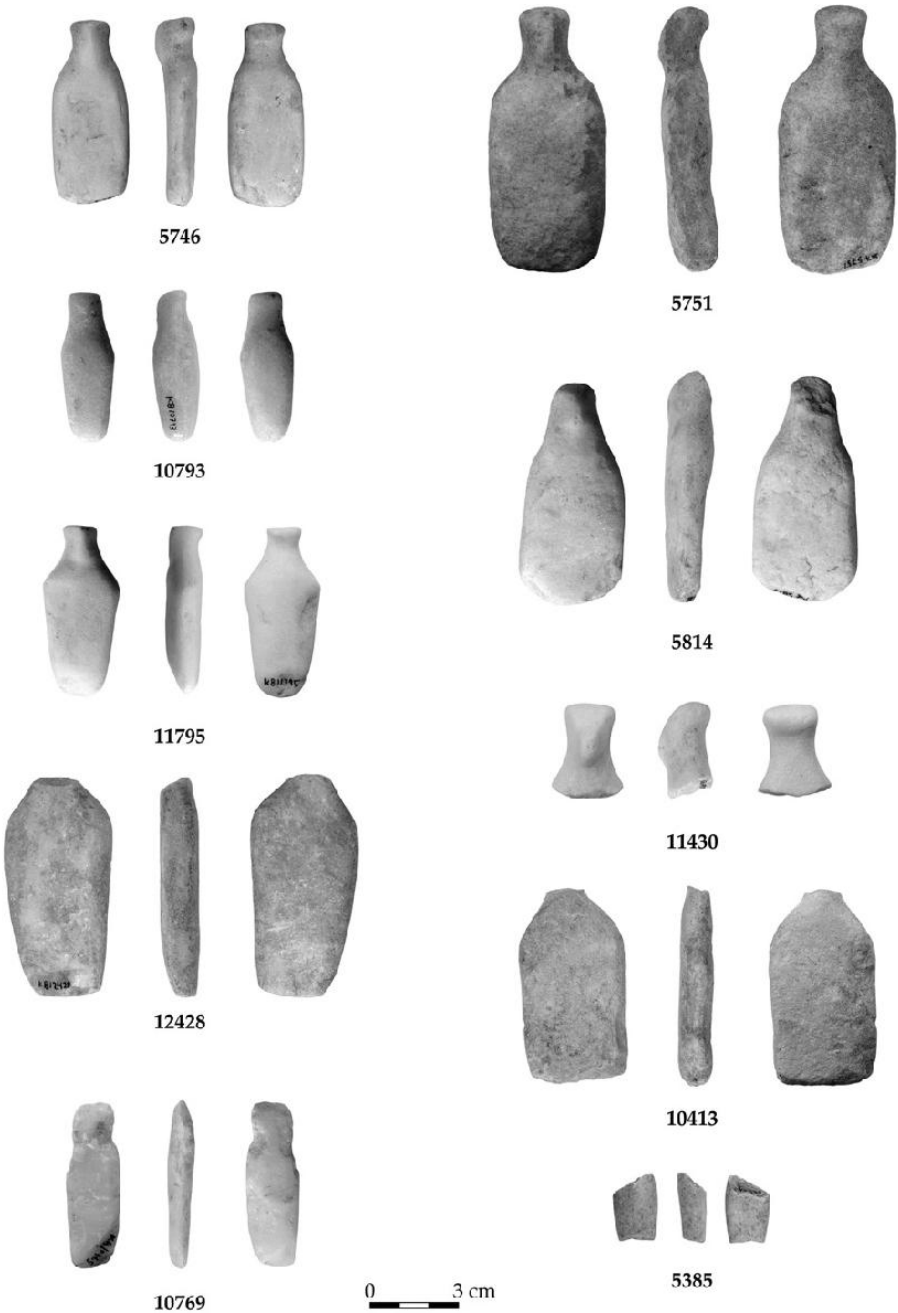

Fig. 13.4 Schematic figurines from Dhaskalio. Scale 1:2.

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14

FIGURINES FROM POTAMIA ON EPANO KOUPHONISI (PANDELIS TSAVARIS PROPERTY)

Olga Philaniotou

Introduction

Herakleia, Schinousa, Kouphonisia, Keros and Antikeria, which belong to the Small Cyclades, lie off the southeast coast of Naxos, like a protective belt (Fig. 14.1).

Small and rocky, these islands have sustained societies that exploited the limited arable land, the sea with its wealth of fish and, more importantly, their strategic location in the Aegean, on sea routes connecting north with south and east with west.

Their small size, however, meant that they could not always cope successfully with long periods of drought or external threats, resulting in recurrent periods of abandonment. These are reflected in gaps in the archaeological record.

Connections between these small islands and the larger ones – Naxos and Amorgos – are complex and ambiguous and I believe that it is through them that one can more clearly understand the peculiarities and the dynamic character of Early Cycladic culture.

Kouphonisia (Epano and Kato Kouphonisi)

On Kato Kouphonisi, which is uninhabited now, EC occupation has been identified in several places, as well as a habitation site of the early Late Cycladic period, with heavy LM IB/LM II influence, and at

least one Late Geometric settlement (Philaniotou 2005, 287–8).

Epano Kouphonisi, one of the smaller islands of the group, is today the most affluent and populated. The modern village seems to have been built over a large Roman settlement, which would have extended to the bay of Loutra, on the southwest coast (Philaniotou 2005, 287). Archaeologically speaking, Epano Kouphonisi is mainly known for the three EC cemeteries excavated by P. Zapheiropoulou in the 1970s (Zapheiropoulou 2008; Gavalas, this volume, Chapter 19).

A deposit of EC finds in a broad and shallow cavity in the bedrock was excavated some years ago at the eastern limit of the modern village, on the Aikaterini Simidalas property, suggesting the presence of an EC settlement in that area (Hadjianastasiou 1988).

The figurines presented here were found during a rescue excavation on the property of Pandelis Tsavaris, at Potamia, southwest of the modern village, on the southernmost tip of the peninsula which borders the bay of Loutra on the west (Figs 14.2, 14.3; Philaniotou 2005, 287, fig. 426). On the eastern side of the bay, at Alonistria Chousouri by Epano Mylos, in the plot of Eudokia Skopelitis, lies one of the EC cemeteries excavated Zapheiropoulou while, immediately to the northwest, higher on the peninsula that divides the bay of Loutra from that of Parianos Kavos, lies another, in the plot of Ioannis Tsavaris (Zapheiropoulou 2008; Gavalas, this volume, Chapter 19).

Property of Pandelis Tsavaris (Figs 14.2–4)

The property of Pandelis Tsavaris covers an area of roughly 10,000 sq. m and is divided into two unequal parts by a rock formation, running west–east. To the south-southwest the plot borders the chapel of Agios Nikolaos and the modern cemetery of the island. To the east and north of the precinct wall of the chapel, traces of foundations (the apse and part of the north wall) of an Early Christian basilica can be seen.

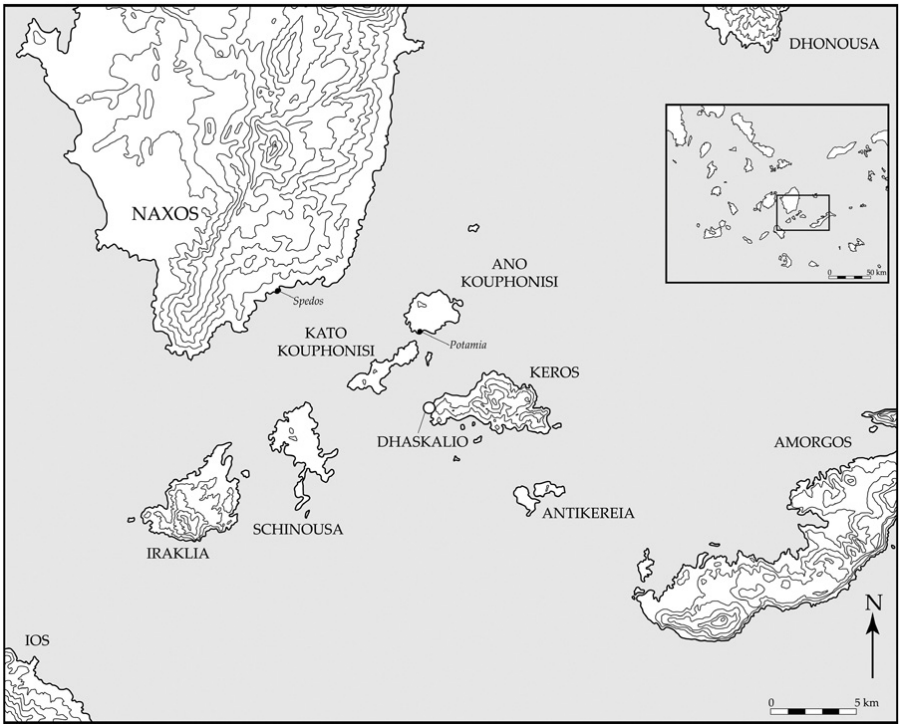

Fig. 14.1 Naxos and the Small Cyclades.

Fig. 14.2 Pandelis Tsavaris property and Agios Nikolaos chapel from the east.

Fig. 14.3 Pandelis Tsavaris property from the west. Across the cove is Epano Mylos with Keros in the background; in the foreground is the northern sector of the excavation.

Fig. 14.4 The eroded southwest part of the peninsula.

The southwest part of the peninsula and almost all of the west part of the plot are severely eroded. A large section has fallen to the sea, creating an almost vertical drop of some 30m (Fig. 14.4).

Southwestern sector of the Tsavaris property

Near the southwest tip of the property, foundation walls and pebble floors came to light, over the yellowish compact soil characteristic of Kouphonisia and Keros, which is known by the locals as 'πωρί' (Philaniotou 2005, 287, fig. 423). It was very difficult to recognise an intelligible pattern in these meagre and unrelated architectural remains. However, in combination with the nature and volume of artefacts retrieved (abundant domestic pottery, chiefly cooking pots and deep bowls, some of them complete, ground stone tools, and obsidian blades, flakes and cores: Fig. 14.5), they leave no doubt as to the existence here of an EC settlement, most of which has eroded into the sea.

Northern sector of the Tsavaris property (Figs 14.3, 14.6)

On the northern side of the property, beyond the rock formation mentioned above, the situation was different: there were no traces of walls or floor surfaces to indicate the presence of a settlement. Other interesting features emerged, however. The first was a deposit covering an area of *c*. 8 × 4m, under a very thin layer of fill, almost on top of the virgin soil. This contained closely-packed hatshaped vessels and a few stone tools (Fig. 14.7). No other finds were located here.

Southwest of this deposit, a large cavity in the bedrock, was a thick layer of loose soil mixed with stones, covering an area of some 75m^2. It was packed with sherds, large numbers of ground-stone tools (querns, hammers, etc), various small finds, such as 'spools', and clusters of obsidian – a striking feature of this site. There were also some complete vessels: bowls (both marble and clay), a burnished globular juglet (a typical EC II shape), little scoops or 'lamps', an early type of askos with biconical body and vertical tubular handles, etc. Fragments of an Urfirnis sauceboat, possibly imported, were recognised. Notable was the presence of several sherds and a complete 'brazier' (a vessel with wide distribution in the Cyclades and mainland Greece, of unknown use so far), with red slip and two lines of triangular openings (Fig. 14.8). Its closest parallel comes from Markiani phase II, dated to the transitional ECI/II phase (Karantzali 2006, 122, fig. 7.10, 1-3, pl. 32e). On the basis of the ceramic finds studied so far this deposit seems to cover a long period, from the transitional ECI/II phase to the end of EC II/beginning of EC III.

The concentration of miscellaneous artefacts in a rock cavity can be compared to the – shallower – deposit unearthed at the eastern limit of the modern village of Kouphonisi (property of Aikaterini Simidalas,

Hadjianastasiou 1988), mentioned previously. However, at Potamia, among the other material, were found the figurine fragments described below – all of marble, except NM 10763.

Fig. 14.5 Southwest sector of Pandelis Tsavaris property: domestic pottery – settlement remains.

Fig. 14.6 Excavation plan of northern sector (archive of the Ephorate for the Cyclades).

Fig. 14.7 Hat-shaped vessels in situ.

NM10674, Fragment of seated female figurine (Figs 14.9, 14.10)**.**
Ht 70mm.

The figure has folded arms and is seated on a four-legged stool. The head, neck, feet, and stool legs are missing (the stool is better preserved on the right side of the figure) and there is damage on the shoulders and the upper right part of the back.

The arms and hands are rounded, with no indication of fingers. Rounded and full are also the thighs and buttocks (cf Aplomata figurine NM5467, Doumas & Lambrinoudakis, this volume, Figs 15.19, 15.20). The legs are separated by a deep groove, while a shallow groove denotes the spine. The figure leans slightly forward (cf. Aplomata figurine NM5466, Doumas & Lambrinoudakis, this volume, Fig. 15.18). The sides of the stool are arched, as in the case of the 'cup-bearer' in the N.P. Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art (Doumas 1983, 55, 128–9, no. 159; 2000, 188–9, no. 320), not rectangular as in the Aplomata examples.

Fig. 14.8 'Brazier' from the large deposit.

Our fragment belongs to the small group of 'passive' seated EC female figures, as opposed to the – usually male – seated musicians or the 'cup bearer'. This group is represented by 6 complete or almost complete examples found in the cemetery of Aplomata and one each from Ios, Amorgos, Euboea and Crete. Fragments of seated figures from the Keros Special Deposits are not always easy to attribute to a specific type.

These seated figures are typologically assigned either to the Kapsala or early Spedos varieties and have been dated to the early EC II period (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 62, with further bibliography).

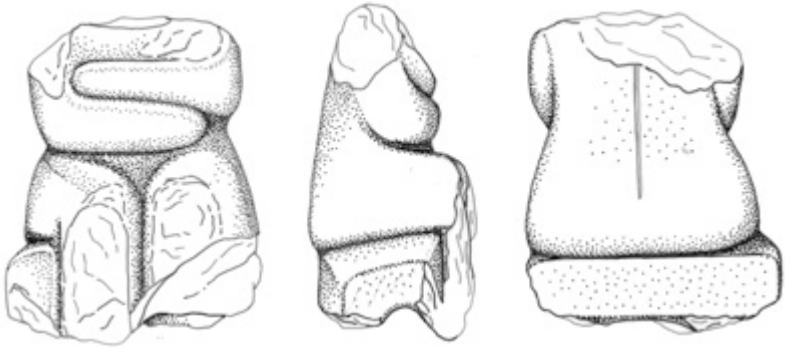

Fig. 14.9 Seated figurine NM10674. Scale 1:2.

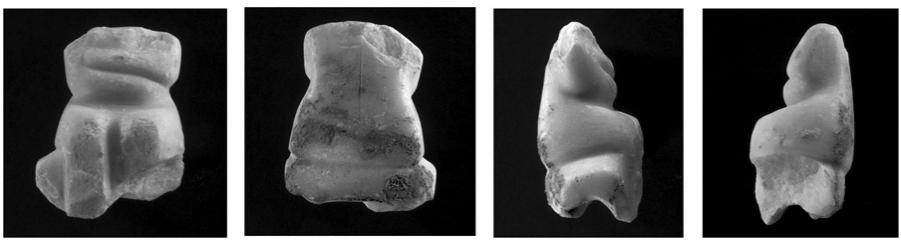

Fig. 14.10 Seated figurine NM10674. Scale 1:2.

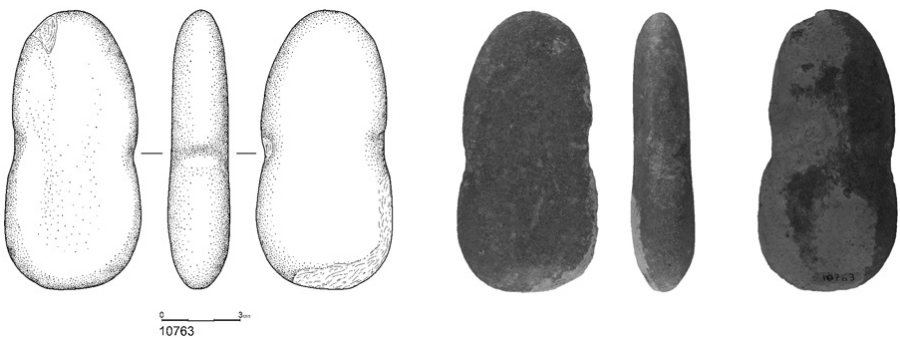

Fig. 14.11 Schematic figurine NM10763. Scale 1:2.

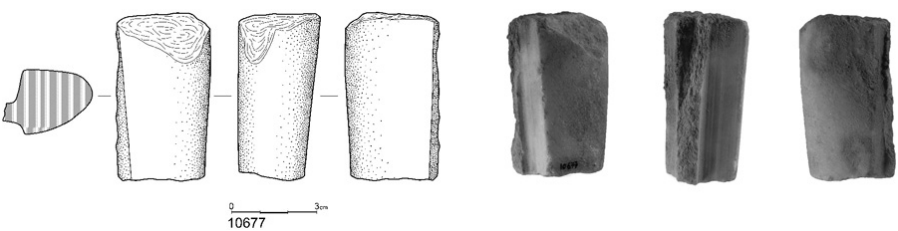

Fig. 14.12 Left leg fragment of folded-arm figurine, NM10677. Scale 1:2.

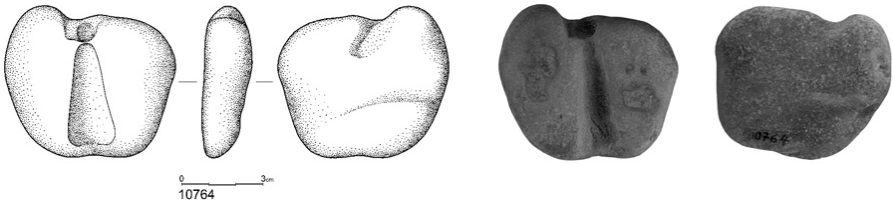

Fig. 14.13 'Thighs' of figurine NM10764. Scale 1:2.

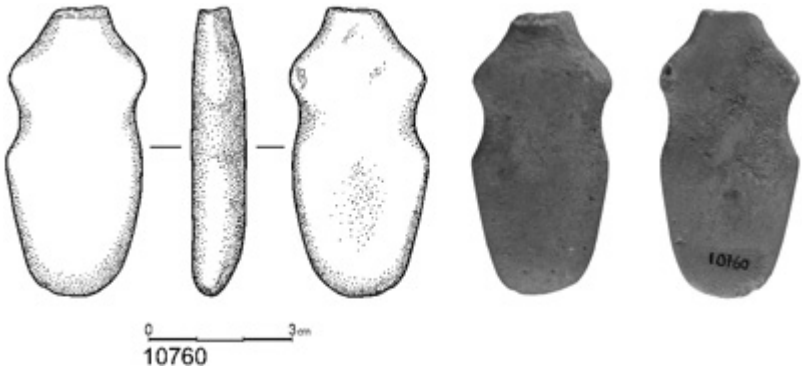

Fig. 14.14 Headless schematic figurine NM10760. Scale 1:2.

NM10763, Schematic figurine of Troy type (Fig. 14.11).
Ht 108mm, width 23mm.

Made of limestone. Intact, apart from chips on the periphery. One side half covered with off-white incrustation.

This is basically a flattish pebble, with two curved notches at about its middle, creating a 'figure of eight' shape, with abstract rendering of head and body.

Its association in the large deposit with objects of various EC periods makes exact dating of this piece difficult. Similar figurines, known from the Cyclades and Crete, are typologically related to examples from Troy and Asia Minor. On the basis of these examples and correlations within the 'closed' deposit at Akrotiri, the longevity of this type from EC I to EC III has been noted (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 119, fig. 5, 547, 1962, pl. 9b, c; 2005, 54; 2008b, 128).

NM10677, fragment of left leg of a folded-arm figurine (Fig. 14.12).
Ht 58mm, width 26mm.

The surface is well preserved. Diagonal chip on the upper part of the front. The join with the right leg is preserved: the two legs are separated by a groove, deeper on the front.

Because of the relatively straight outline and the form of the groove separating the legs, this piece may be assigned to the late Spedos variety (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 58). Its presence here is interesting, since similar fragments are virtually unknown from graves, whereas they occur frequently in the two Special Deposits at Kavos (Renfrew, pers. com.).

10764, Thighs of a figurine (?) (Fig. 14.13).
Ht 56mm, width 64mm.

This artefact is merely a grey pebble with a deep triangular groove. It is mentioned here due to its presence in this large deposit: it resembles the area of the thighs of a figurine, probably smoothed by sea water action.

Cf. Sotirakopoulou 2005, 97, no. 12, fig. 12 a, b: early Spedos with barely visible groove

separating the back side of the thighs. For the rounded thighs, cf Sotirakopoulou 2005, 103, no. 22, fig. 22a, b.

The large deposit was bordered on the west by a low, crudely built wall, beyond which were some fallen rocks (Fig. 14.6). Another fragmentary figurine was found there:

NM 10760, Headless schematic figurine (Fig. 14.14).
Ht 61mm, width 29mm.

Triangular projections denote the arms/shoulders, while a curved groove divides the upper from the lower part of the body, which is rounded. Plank-shaped in profile, with one side slightly curved towards the bottom. Traces of red paint survive on the flat side.

The figurine belongs to the ECI 'shouldered' type, as defined by Renfrew (1969, 5, ill. 1, 1c; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 53). The rounded base is closer to the violin-shaped figures, or even the LN pieces of Saliagos or Strofilas (Renfrew 1969, pl. 2c; Televantou, this volume, Fig. 5.10). A smaller version of the same type came from the cemetery of Tsikniades, Naxos (NM9139, Philaniotou, this volume, Fig. 18.7).

Area of the 'pits'

Further west, and bordering the rocky outcrop running east-west, were found three 'pits' (A, B, Γ, Fig. 14.6) – deep fissures in the soft bedrock – measuring 5.40 × 2.60m, 4.20 × 2.60m, and 2 × 2.20m respectively. The fill of the first (Pit A) contained 28 human skulls and long bones while, at the bottom, at a depth of 3m from the surface, was a burial within a shallow cavity. The deceased lay in a contracted position, with the head facing north: the bones are well preserved. There were no offerings: a large stone had been placed near the feet.

The second pit (B) contained some bone fragments and a few sherds; the third (Γ) skulls and bones in the fill while, deeper, on the virgin soil, there were two complete vessels: a spouted bowl with vertical tubular handles, a transitional ECI/II shape, and a small collared jar with horizontal grooved handles, which can be dated to EC II.

On top of 'pit A', in a layer of dark brown soil, a headless marble figurine and two figurine heads were found:

NM12866, Figurine of the Spedos variety (Figs 14.15–14.17).
Ht 252mm, width 98mm.

Headless figurine joined from two fragments (the break was at the knees). There are traces of red paint at the base of the neck. Angular shoulders distinctly broader than the thighs. The pubic area is rendered with a curved horizontal groove at the bottom of the abdomen and two diagonal grooves along the inguinal lines. The legs are separated by a deep groove, which becomes a perforation above the ankles. There are no fingers or toes. On the back two slanting grooves mark the join of neck to shoulder, while the spine is rendered by a long deep groove; a shorter groove separates the buttocks. On the same side, the arms protrude unevenly – the left shorter than the right – and are distinguished from the body by vertical incisions. The feet bend downwards.

Because of the curved outline and the pronounced flexion of the legs this figurine may be assigned to the early Spedos variety, dated to the EC II period. The type has a wide

distribution in the Cyclades, also in mainland Greece and Crete (Getz-Gentle 2001, 38; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 57). One interesting feature here is the small repair hole in the centre of the horizontal broken surface of the neck, made by a drill, to connect the (broken) head to the body. This practice was adopted in the transitional EC I–II phase, alongside an earlier method of two holes pierced one to either side of the point of breakage (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 145–6; Stambolides & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 80–1).

NM12868, Figurine head of the Spedos variety (Fig. 14.18).
Ht 94.1mm, width 47.8mm.

Preserved down to the base of the neck. The head is lyre-shaped, concave at the back. The nose is conical. An incision below the chin continues diagonally upwards and backwards to either side, becoming deeper on the right.

Cf Getz-Gentle 2001, pl. 34, 35, early Spedos.

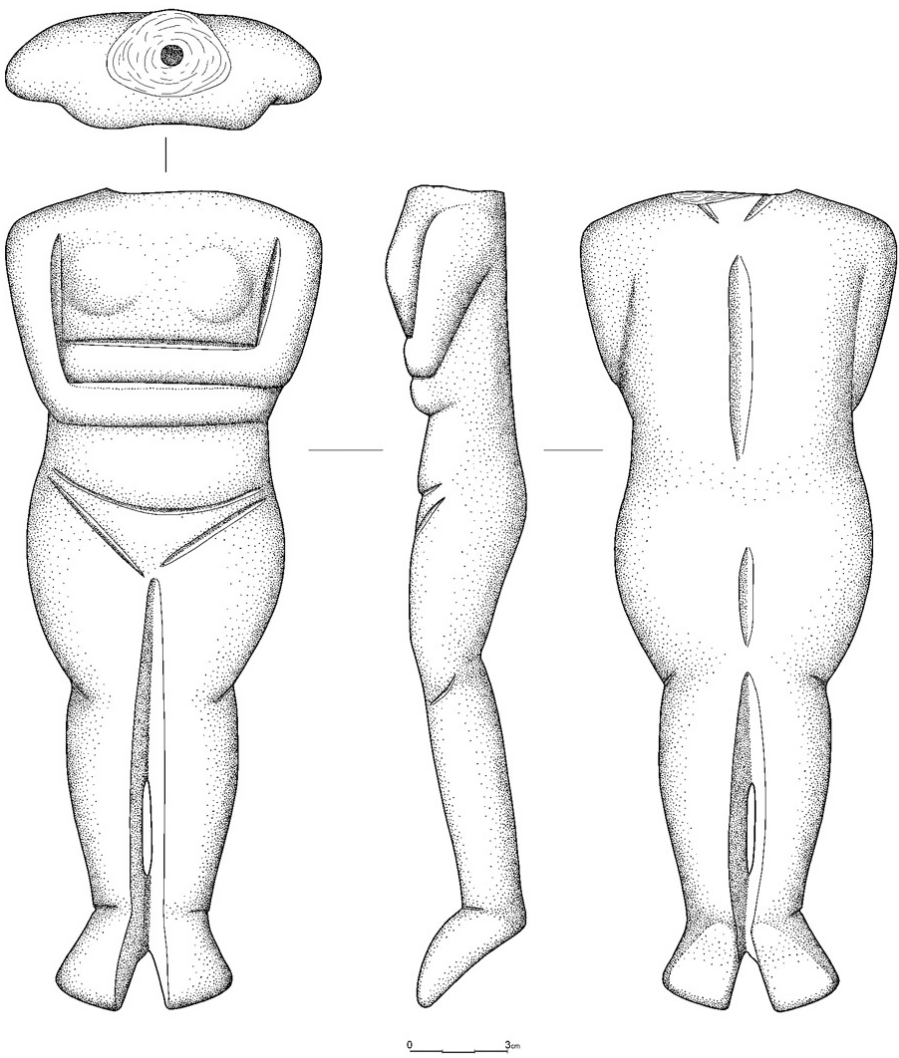

Fig. 14.15 Figurine of the Spedos variety NM12866. Scale 1:2.

A few metres to the north, at a slightly higher level in the fill, a fragment of another figurine head was found:

NM12867, Fragment of figurine head of the Spedos variety (Fig. 14.19).
Ht. 73mm, width 56mm.

Preserved from the lower part of the nose to the base of the neck. There is a diagonal chip on the left back side. The face is flat with an oval border. The neck is tall and cylindrical.

In a trial trench a few metres northeast of the area of the pits, another figurine head was found just below the surface (there were no other finds down to the bedrock):

NM10759, Head and part of the neck of figurine of the Spedos variety (Fig. 14.20)
Ht 93mm, width 70m.

The top and upper back of the head broken off. Surface slightly eroded. Flat, triangular nose. Flat face with rounded contours. For the outline of the face, compare the figurine from Alonistria Chouzouri, NM4569 (Gavalas, this volume, Fig. 19.4).

Further west, there was a cist grave (Fig. 14.6), apparently looted, containing a few bone fragments and two fragmentary LHIIIA1 vessels. Excavation of this area was not completed.

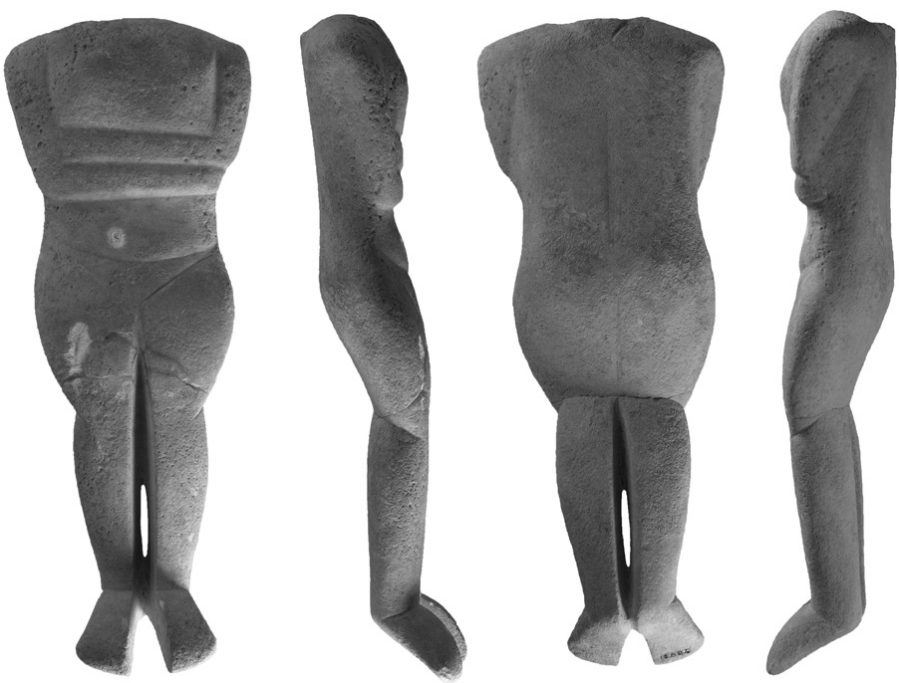

Fig. 14.16 Figurine of the Spedos variety NM12866. Scale 1:2.

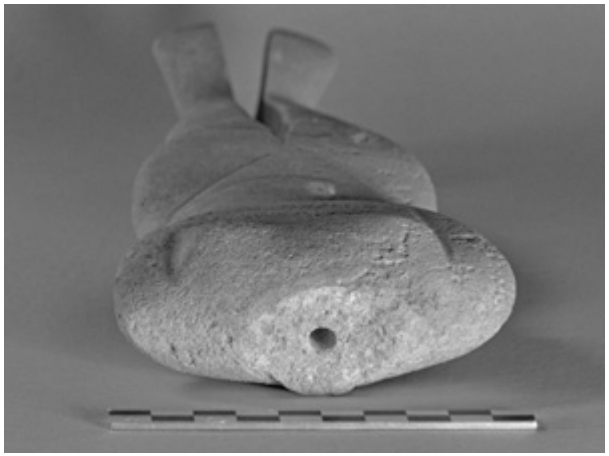

Fig. 14.17 Detail of figurine of the Spedos variety NM12866. Scale 1:2.

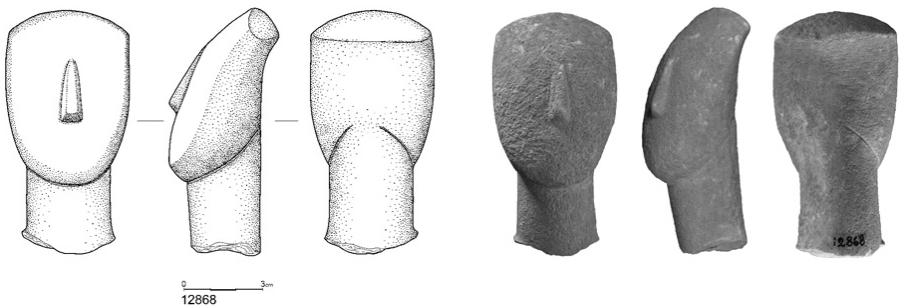

Fig. 14.18 Head of folded-arm figurine, NM12868. Scale 1:2.

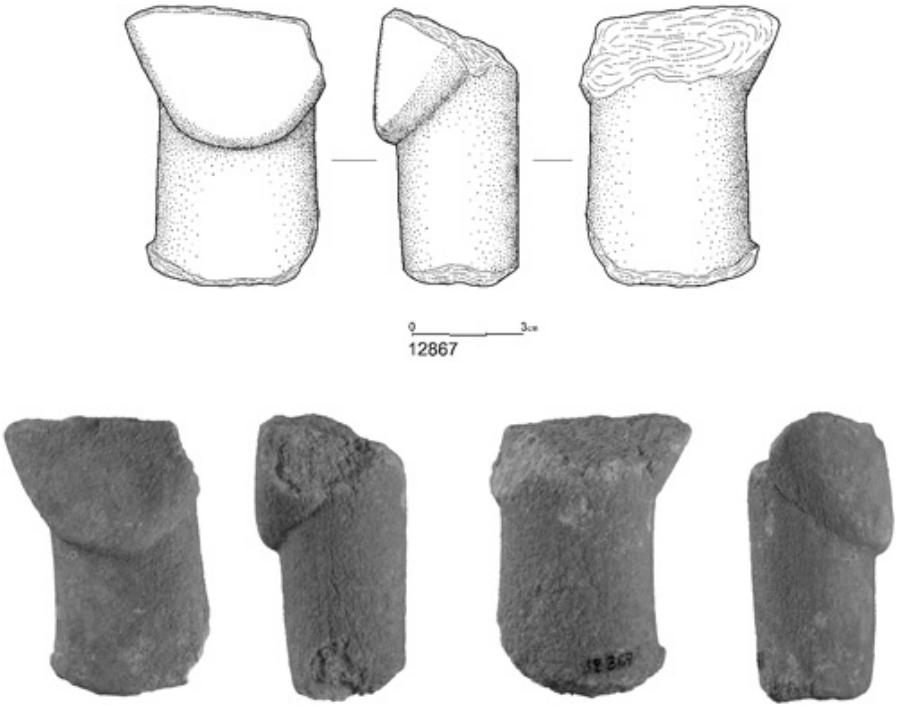

Fig. 14.19 Fragment of head of folded-arm figurine, NM12867. Scale 1:2.

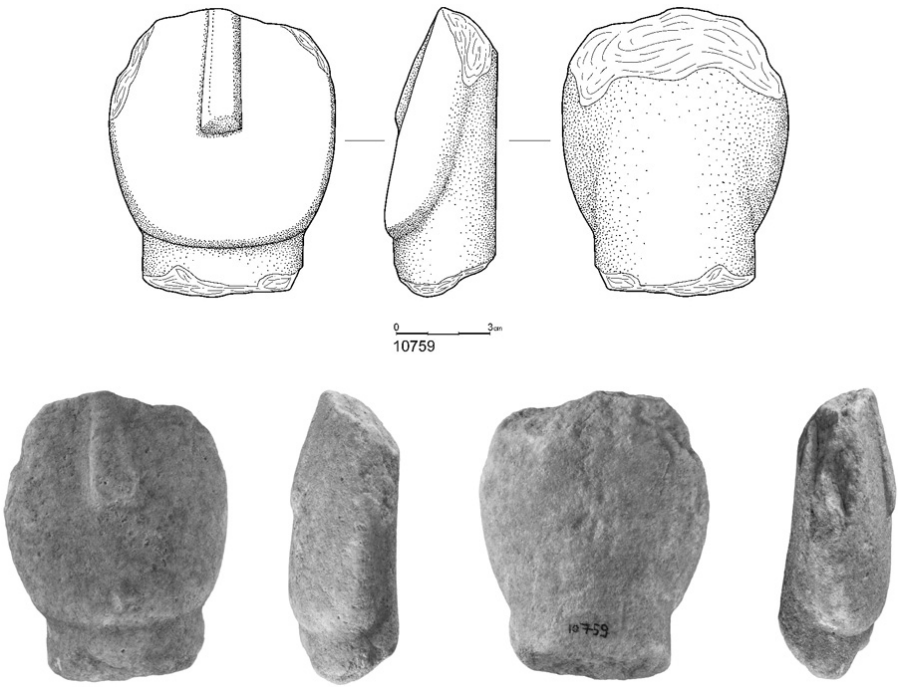

Fig. 14.20 Head of folded-arm figurine, NM10759. Scale 1:2.

General observations

To summarise the available data, and keeping in mind that study of the large body of material from this excavation is still in progress, the following observations can be made.

The almost totally eroded settlement, remains of which survive in the southwest section of the Pandelis Tsavaris plot, was probably related to one or both clusters of graves excavated by Zapheiropoulou to the northwest (Ioannis Tsavaris plot) and southeast (Eudokia Skopelitis plot) and dated, on the basis of the pottery retrieved, to the transitional EC I/II period. This date, however, may be modified by detailed study of all the material. To the same chronological horizon belongs the interesting deposit in the northern part of the plot that contained nothing but hat-shaped vessels and stone tools (cf the deposit of hatshaped vessels at the Ayioi Anargyroi cemetery on Naxos: Doumas 1977, 63; 1990, 94; Pantelidou-Gofa 2008, 286–288).

A much larger deposit, to the southwest of this, with material that relates to habitation sites (domestic pottery, large stone querns, hammers etc) but also items usually found as burial offerings (as well as some EC marble figurines), seems to cover a longer time span. In close proximity to this, immediately north of the rock outcrop dividing the Tsavaris property into two sections, within three deep pits (A, B and Γ), there were secondary burials and one primary. Marble figurines, dating to the EC II period, were found outside the pits at a higher level, in a layer apparently disturbed.

As regards the large deposit, its proximity to both the settlement on the southwest side of the Pandelis Tsavaris plot and the EC cemeteries excavated by Zapheiropoulou nearby should be noted. Like the similar feature excavated at the eastern side of the modern village (Hadjianastasiou 1988), it shares characteristics (earth mixed with rubble packed with sherds, some whole vases and other objects) with the finds in the chasms and pit at Kato Akrotiri on Amorgos, and deposits at Tsepi and Aghios Kosmas in Attica (Tsountas 1898, 166–8; Marangou 2002, 309; Renfrew 2007, 405, 422; Pantelidou-Gofa 2008). Although there was no clear indication of deliberate breakage, the general character and chronology of the Kouphonisi deposits can also be related to the Special Deposits at Kavos on Keros. These first appear in the transitional EC I/II period (Special Deposit North, Sotirakopoulou 2004, 1334–5; 2008a, 115, 120), reach their peak during the EC II period, and decline in EC III, when the settlement at Dhaskalio flourished (Renfrew 2013, 719). However, important differences, such as the rarity of figurine fragments and other precious

objects in our deposit and the frequency of complete vessels or joining fragments, point to a different use of this area.

In any case, bearing in mind that Potamia, on the southwest side of Kouphonisi, lies immediately opposite Kavos and Dhaskalio (Fig. 14.3), its connection to the latter sites is worth investigating. The possibility that Dhaskalio may have been founded at the beginning of Phase A (EC II) as a 'minor colonisation event' from a pre-existing settlement, perhaps on Kouphonisi, has been proposed (Renfrew 2013, 718). The Potamia settlement and the character of the other finds in the Pandelis Tsavaris plot offer an attractive possibility, corroborated by the fact that this coastal site lies between Keros and Dhaskalio and the south coast of Naxos, where, apart from Panormos, the important settlement of Spedos (Fig. 14.1), flourished in EC II if not earlier (Philaniotou forthcoming).

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the Ephorate of Antiquities for the Cyclades, directed then by Marisa Marthari, for their assistance and co-operation, especially since the last months of this excavation took place after my transfer to the Ephorate of Antiquities for Lesbos. I am also indepted to Dora Papangelopoulou, for her invaluable contribution as trench supervisor. The drawing of Figure 14.9 is by Tassos Papadongonas. The plan (Fig. 14.6) is by Lia Tsaknaridou. The other drawings are by Douglas Faulmann, and the photographs by Dieter Depnering.

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THE EARLY CYCLADIC II CEMETERIES

15

THE CEMETERY AT APLOMATA ON NAXOS

Christos Doumas & Vassilis Lambrinoudakis

Introduction

Situated on the outskirts of a continuously inhabited area, the cemetery at Aplomata had a fate different from that of the cemeteries in the countryside of the island. This direct contact with the town may have prevented looting of its graves, but it did not protect them from trivialities diachronically. Not only was the same area used as a burial ground in Geometric, Roman or Early Christian times (Fig. 15.1), but also the Early Cycladic graves themselves became a quarry providing building material in more recent years. Due to these reasons, many graves in the cemetery had been destroyed completely (Fig. 15.2), while the preservation of others was poor (Kontoleon 1970, 145–6; 1971, 176). A further problem in studying the grave assemblagescontexts is the inadequate documentation of the excavation data or inaccurate information (e.g. Kontoleon 1972, 151). It is characteristic that the theft which occurred during the excavation season in July 1972 was not mentioned in the excavation report (Kontoleon 1972). Consequently, the content of the grave from which the artefacts came is ignored, despite the fact that one of the two unique seated figurines has been recovered and a photograph of the other has been published (Getz-Preziosi 1985, 47 fig. 28)

Some of the graves were two-storeyed and their sides covered with dry-stone walling (Kontoleon 1970, 148-50; Lambrinoudakis 1976).

For the present purpose graves 4, 13, 19, 23 and 27 have been selected as the best documented. The graves selected for discussion

are presented in Part A of the article, where the sculptures are shown with the other associated artefacts of marble, bone and metal from each grave. In Part A, the finds are not shown systematically to scale. In Part B, the sculptures (already seen in Part A) are shown systematically at a scale of 1:2.

Part A

Aplomata grave 4 (Fig. 15.3)

The grave was found undisturbed and with 'plenty of smaller slabs and a pile of stones on its cover slab, as usual'. However, only scant traces of bones were preserved in it (Kontoleon 1970, 150). Only marble grave goods have been reported from this context (Table 15.1).

Aplomata 'grave' 13 (Fig. 15.4)

The 'grave' is described as a 'shallow, almost oblong cavity, the outline of which is confused with the bedrock around'. A host of grave goods were piled on the least damaged part its floor (Kontoleon 1971, 178, pl. 211a), listed in Table 15.2.

Impressed by the number and variety of these grave goods, Kontoleon commented that 'for the figurines we must accept dates lower than those believed so far and at least a continuation of their production even in years more recent than the Early Cycladic period' (Kontoleon 1971, 178–9). It is true that the unusually large quantity of figurines of different varieties along with silver jewellery seem to span a quite long period of time. However, neither the typology of these objects nor the general context in which they were found would favour a date beyond phases A and B of the EC II period. On the other hand, the fact that the oblong shallow cavity in which they were found bears no resemblance at all to any EC grave type, would suggest that the grave goods were deposited there after having being removed from their original place.

Aplomata grave 19 (Fig. 15.5)

According to its description, the grave was almost square (0.90 × 0.85m, depth 0.72m) but the sidewalls were destroyed (Kontoleon 1972, 149). Unfortunately, in that year's report the grave goods are presented by categories according to the material of their manufacture, irrespective of their context. This perhaps explains why only a canonical figurine of the Spedos variety and a clay 'frying-pan' vessel are reported as grave goods from grave 19 (Kontoleon 1972,

151, pl. 136b and 154, pl. 141 respectively). However, in the catalogue of the Naxos Museum, five more items are inventoried as coming from grave 19 (Table 15.3).

Fig. 15.1 Plan of the cemetery at Aplomata, Naxos, with graves of all periods.

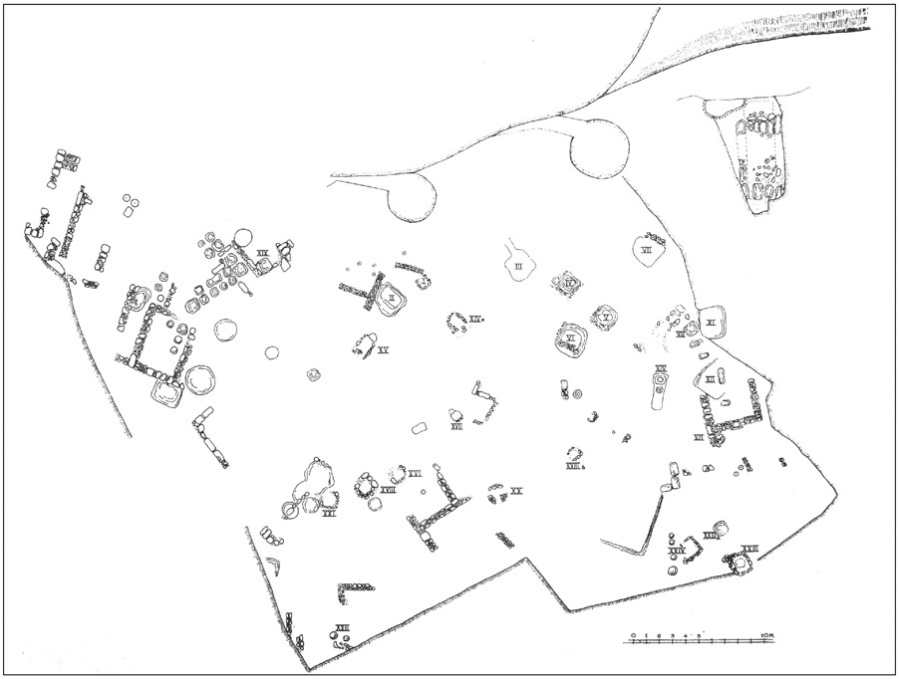


Fig. 15.2 Plan of the EC II cemetery at Aplomata, Naxos.

Table 15.1 Material from grave 4 at Aplomata.

	Grave context	Type & variety	Fig.	Reference in Kontoleon 1970
I	Head & lower legs of figurine (NM4864; 4855)	FAF, Kapsala	15.8	151, pl. 194a.1–2
II	Figurine (NM4837)	FAF, Spedos	15.9	151, pl. 195a
III	Marble Pithoid jar or pyxis (NM4836)			151, pl. 192b.2
IV	Marble bowl (NM4839)			151, pl. 193a.2

NM4837

NM4836

NM4839

NM4855

NM4864

Fig. 15.3 The context of grave 4 at Aplomata, Naxos. Not to scale.

Table 15.2 Material from ‘grave’ 13 at Aplomata.

	Grave context	Type & variety	Fig.	Reference in Kontoleon 1971
I	Marble figurine (NM5470)	Precanonical	15.10	178
II	Marble figurine (NM5461)	FAF, Kapsala	15.11	178
III	Marble figurine (NM5463)	FAF, Kapsala	15.12	178
IV	Marble figurine (NM5460)	FAF, Spedos	15.13	178
V	Marble figurine (NM5462)	FAF, Spedos	15.14	178
VI	Marble figurine (NM5465)	FAF, Spedos	15.15	178
VII	Marble figurine (NM5464)	FAF, Spedos	15.16	178
VIII	Marble figurine (NM5469)	FAF, Spedos	15.17	178
IX	Marble figurine (NM5466)	FAF, seated	15.18	178, pl. 211
X	Marble figurine (NM5467)	FAF, seated	15.19, 15.20	178, pl. 211
XI	Marble figurine (NM5468)	FAF, seated	15.21	178, pl. 211
XII	Shell figurine (NM5479)	Schematic	15.22	178, pl. 212
XIII	Shell figurine (NM5480)	Schematic	15.23	178, pl. 213
XIV	Marble kylix (NM5474)			178, pl. 210
XV	Marble pyxis (NM5475)			178, pl. 210
XVI	Marble pyxis (NM5477)			178, pl. 210
XVII	Marble pyxis (NM5478)			178, pl. 210
XVIII	Marble Bowl (NM5481)			178, pl. 210
XIX	Silver bracelet (NM5485)			178,pl. 210b.3
XX	Silver rings (NM5486)			178, pl. 210b.4

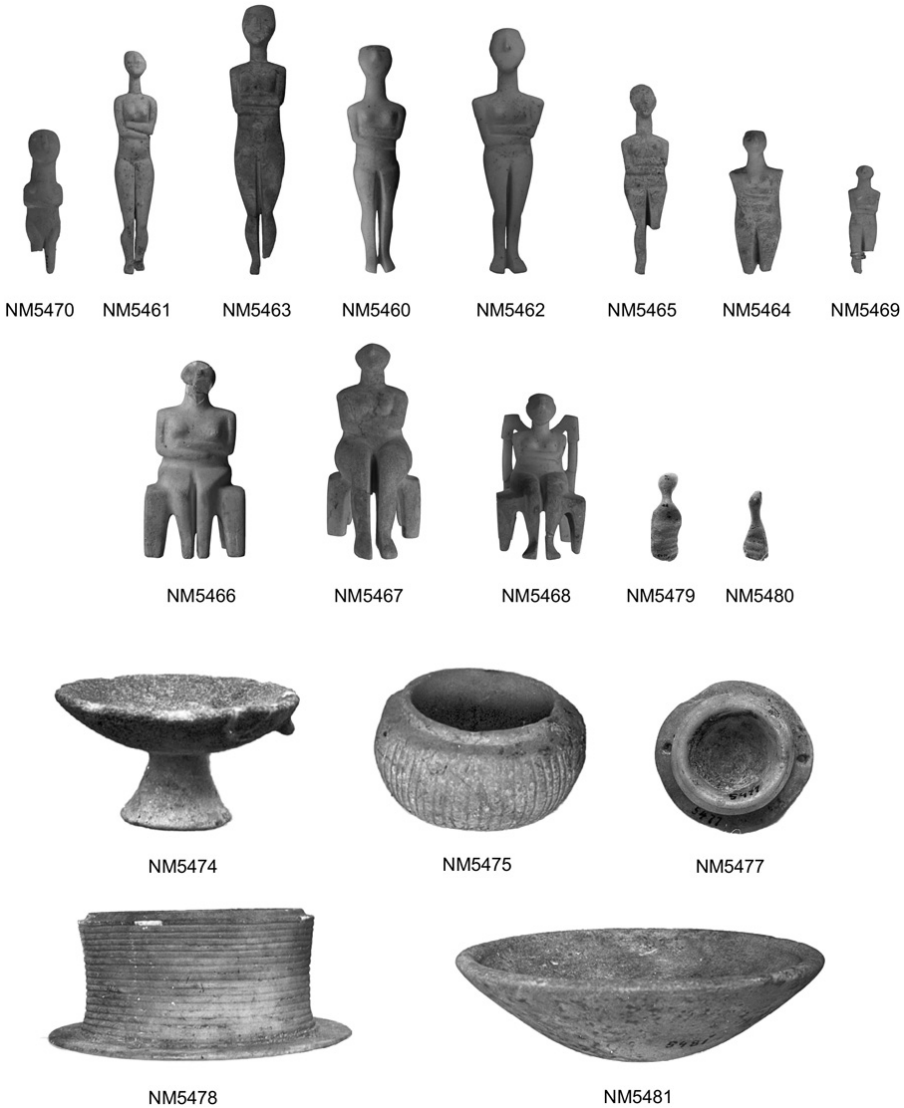


Fig. 15.4 The context of grave 13 at Aplomata, Naxos. Not to scale.

Table 15.3 Material from grave 19 at Aplomata.

	Grave context	Type & variety	Fig.	Reference
I	Marble figurine (NM5840)	FAF, Spedos	15.24	Kontoleon 1972, 151, pl. 136.b
II	Lower legs of marble figurine (NM5943)	FAF, Spedos		Naxos Museum catalogue
III	Marble bowl (NM5883?)			Naxos Museum catalogue
IV	Marble pyxis (NM5845)			Naxos Museum catalogue
V	Marble footed jar (NM5846)			Naxos Museum catalogue
VI	Marble bowl (NM5843)			Naxos Museum catalogue
VII	Clay 'frying-pan' vessel (NM5941)			Kontoleon 1972, 154, pl. 141

Aplomata grave 23 (Fig. 15.6; Table 15.4).

The almost square grave (1.00 × 0.90m, depth 0.60m) was poorly preserved (Kontoleon, 1972, 149–54). Emphasis in the report is given to the fact that blue colour had impregnated 'the earth, the bones and certain vessels, some of which were probably pigment containers'. Concerning the grave goods, a lack of concordance between the published excavation report and the Museum catalogue has been observed, raising doubts about the reliability of the information presented here. For example, the canonical figurine inventoried under No. 5809, only side view of which is published (Kontoleon 1972, 151 pl. 136a), has not been located in the Naxos Museum. On the other hand, the seated figurine No 5803 is referred to as found in grave 24 (Kontoleon 1972, 151 pl. 137).

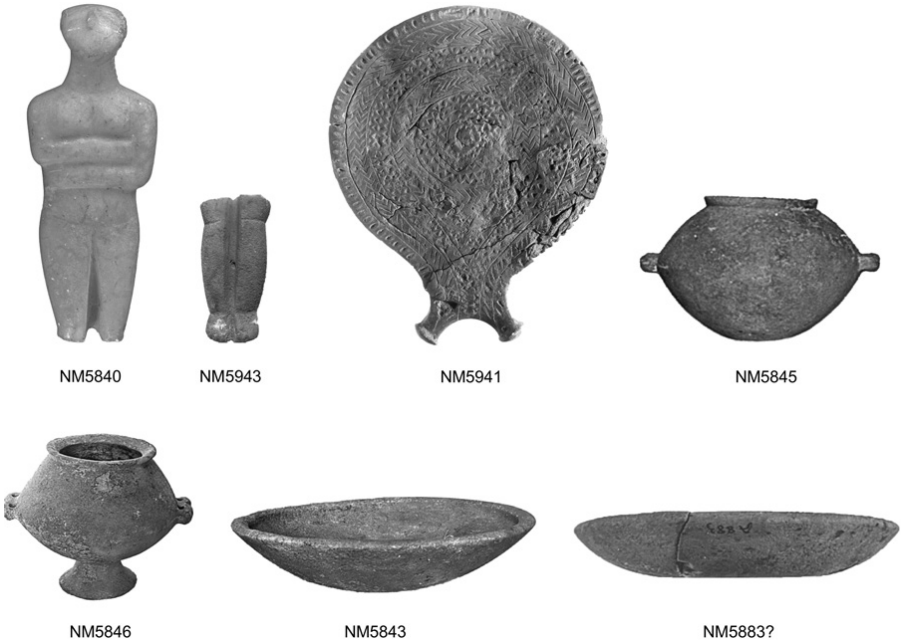


Fig. 15.5 The context of grave 19 at Aplomata, Naxos. Not to scale.

Table 15.4 Material from grave 23 at Aplomata.

	Grave context	Type & variety	Fig.	Reference in Kontoleon 1972
I	Marble figurine (NM5803)	Seated	15.25	151 pl. 137
II	Head of marble figurine (NM5804)	FAF, Spedos		151 pl. 134
III	Marble figurine (NM5800)	FAF, Spedos		151 pl. 136a
IV	Marble bowl (NM5801)			
V	Large marble bowl (NM5802)			151 pl. 139a
VI	Marble pyxis (NM5807)			
VII	Marble 'frying pan' (NM5810)			152 pl. 140
VIII	Marble kylix (NM5812)			151 pl. 138c
IX	Marble spouted kylix (NM5813)			151 pl. 138b
X	Silver spoon (NM5837)			153 pl. 143b–c
XI	Bone tube (NM?)			153 pl. 144a
XII	Bone tube (NM5829)			151 pl. 144c

Fig. 15.6 The context of grave 23 at Aplomata, Naxos. Not to scale.

Aplomata grave 27 (Fig. 15.7).

It was a stone built two-storeyed grave considerably damaged and full of stones and disturbed earth (Lambrinoudakis 1976, 295–9). Its finds are listed in Table 15.5.

The fact that these grave goods were found high in the fill of the grave, along with remains of bones (Lambrinoudakis 1976, 296), suggests that their deposition there was a secondary one.

Table 15.5 Material from grave 27 at Aplomata.

	Grave context	Type & variety	Fig.	Reference in Lambrinoudakis 1976
I	Marble figurine (NM6904)	FAF, Spedos	15.26, 15.27	298, pl. 195a
II	Marble figurine (NM6903)	FAF, Spedos	15.28	298, pl. 195b
III	Fragmentary marble figurine (number unknown)	FAF, Spedos		298
IV	Marble figurine (torso, NM6908)	FAF, Spedos	15.29	298, pl.195d–e
V	Schematic figurine (number unknown)	Violin		298
VI	Marble 'frying Pan' (NM6902)			298, pl.196c–d
VII	Marble kylix (NM6909)			296 pl. 196a
VIII	Marble Pyxis (NM6906)			298, pl. 196b

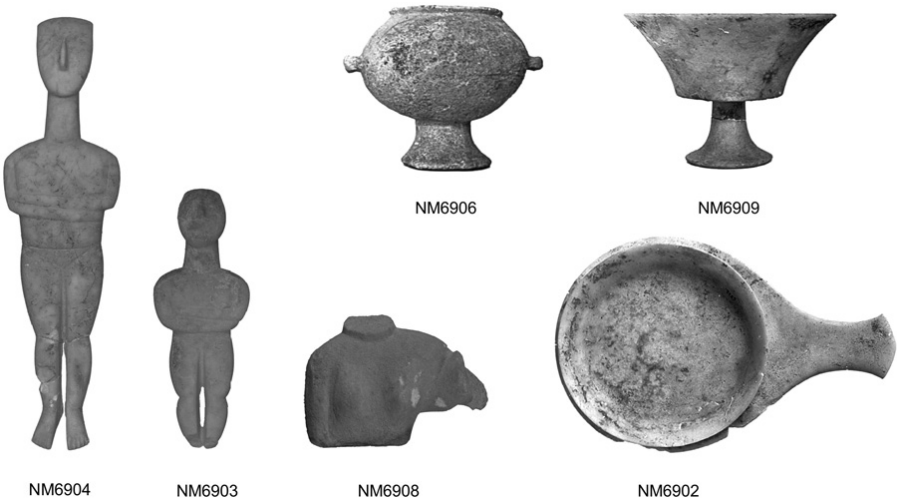


Fig. 15.7 The context of grave 27 at Aplomata, Naxos. Not to scale.

Comments

Some striking features make the cemetery at Aplomata unique in the EC II period. First of all, the graves 'do not belong to the common Early Cycladic types … They are simple pits dug in the bedrock with the walls converging toward the bottom, generally square in shape, and are distinguished by their large dimensions and their great depth' (Kontoleon 1970, 148). The dearth of pottery from the grave goods is another feature, in stark contrast to the abundance of marble objects (Kontoleon 1970, 150; 1972, 153).

These features combined with the evidence from graves such as numbers 13 and 27, the contents of which seem to be secondary depositions, may indicate that this burial ground was also hosting mortuary material transferred there from other cemeteries.

Kontoleon dated the cemetery to the same chronological horizon as the graves excavated by Tsountas at Chalandriani on Syros. However, a remarkable difference between the two did not escape his attention, as he pointed out that 'although figurines are so common in the Aplomata graves, in the graves of Chalandriani they are particularly

rare' (Kontoleon 1972, 150). This difference is further emphasized by the presence at Aplomata of two early types of figurines (Precanonical and Kapsala variety), dating the origin of the cemetery at the very beginning of the EC II period.

The peculiarities observed both in certain graves and in the treatment of the grave goods may have a meaning, if one takes into consideration that on present evidence these early types of figurines are completely absent from the context of the Special Deposits at Dhaskalio Kavos on Keros (Renfrew 2007a, 282).

If Dhaskalio Kavos on Keros operated as a 'symbolic attractor' (Renfrew 2007b), the transfer of grave goods and perhaps bones there from other islands could not be an ordinary daily practice. It is obvious, therefore, that such grave contents from cemeteries scattered over each island should be gathered in a provisional location near the coast. This location, probably another cemetery, may have acted as the intermediary 'depot', before the final transfer of the material to Dhaskalio Kavos. Such a procedure will inevitably have involved collateral damage and even destruction of the most sensitive and fragile objects, such as decomposed skeletal remains or poorly-fired pottery.

The picture we have managed to restore from the archaeological context of the Aplomata cemetery suggests that it may have served as an intermediary 'depot', thus revealing a facet of the ritual and ideological context in which the figurines were implicated.

Part B

The sculptures listed in Part A, seen at a scale of 1:2

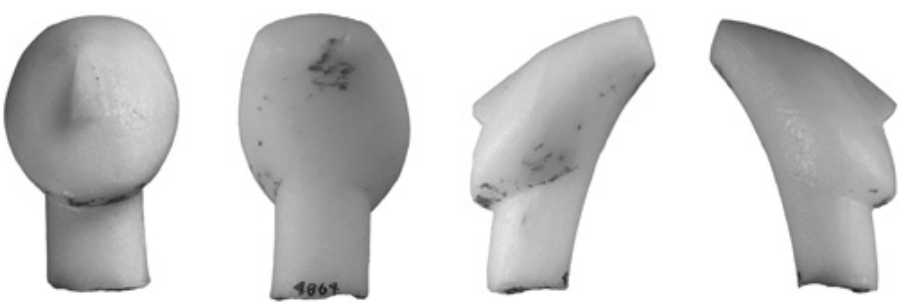
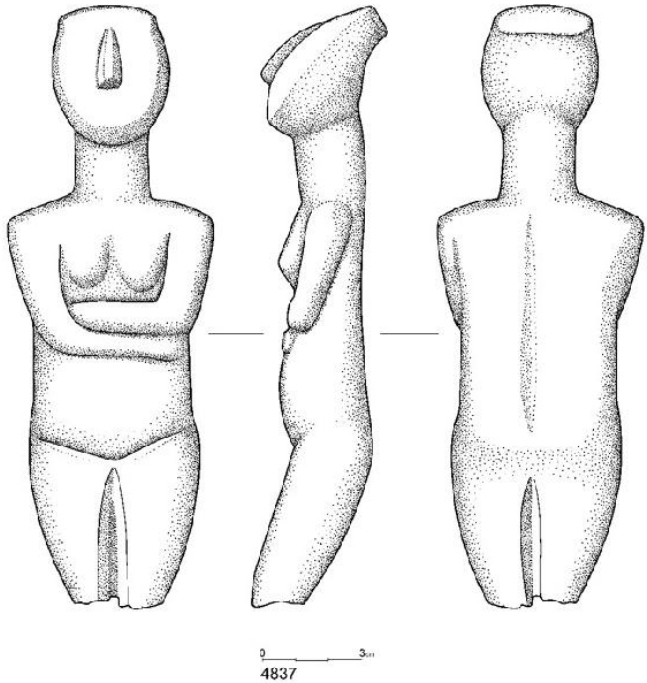


Fig. 15.8 NM4864. Head of folded-arm figurine of Kapsala variety from Aplomata grave 4. Scale 1:2.



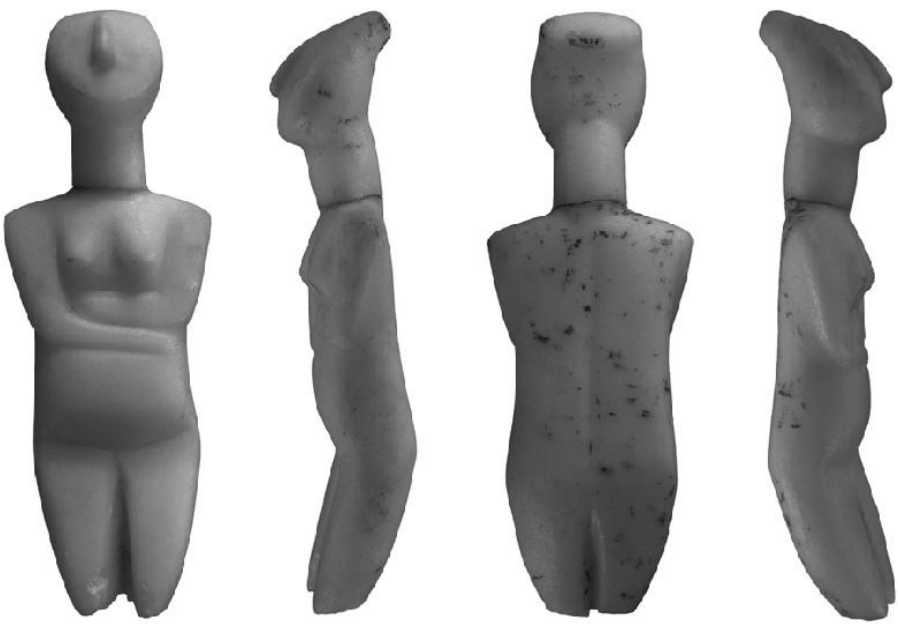


Fig. 15.9 NM4837. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety from Aplomata grave 4. Scale 1:2.

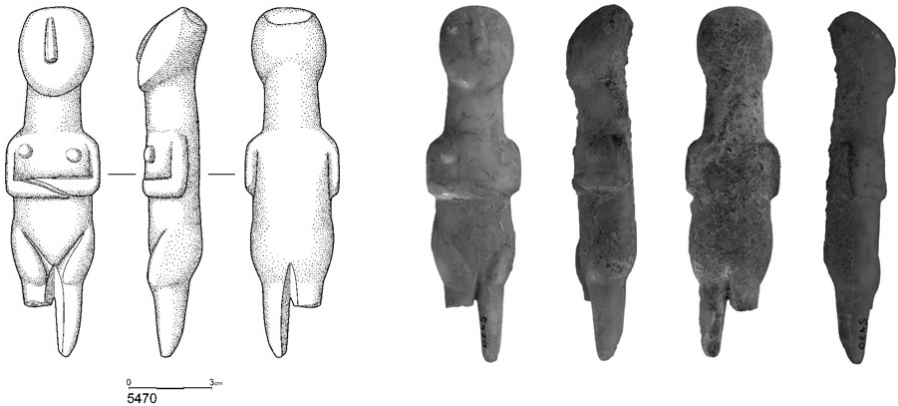


Fig. 15.10 NM5470. Precanonical figurine from Aplomata grave 13. Scale 1:2.

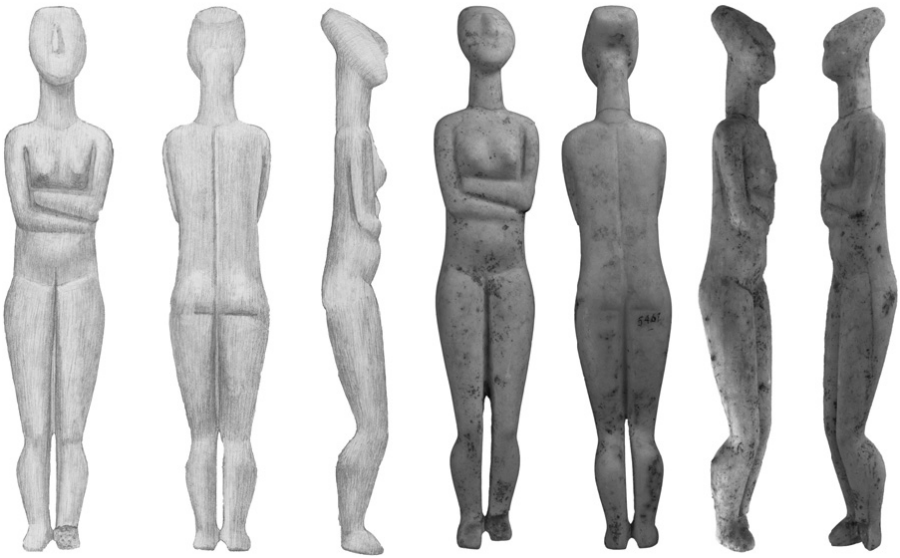


Fig. 15.11 NM5461. Folded-arm figurine of Kapsala variety from Aplomata grave 13. Scale 1:2.

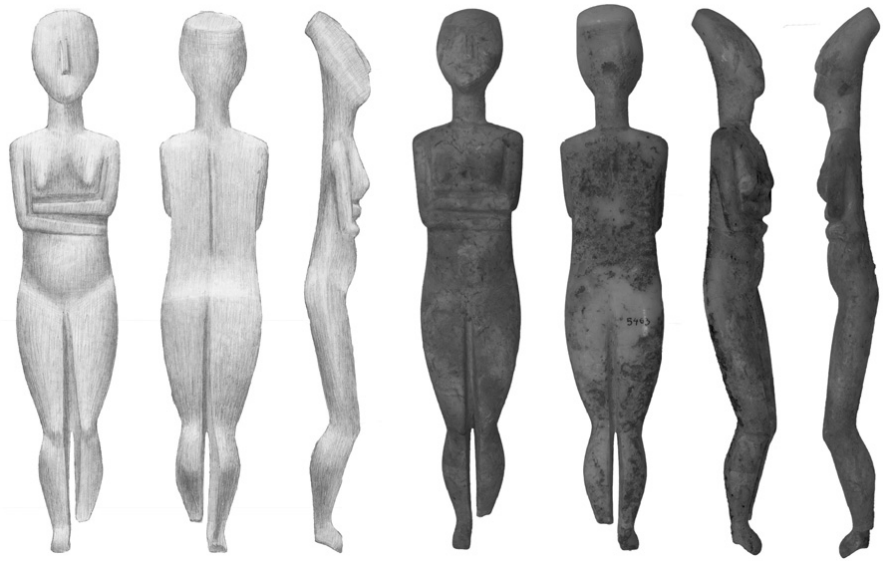


Fig. 15.12 NM5463. Folded-arm figurine of Kapsala variety from Aplomata grave 13. Scale 1:2.

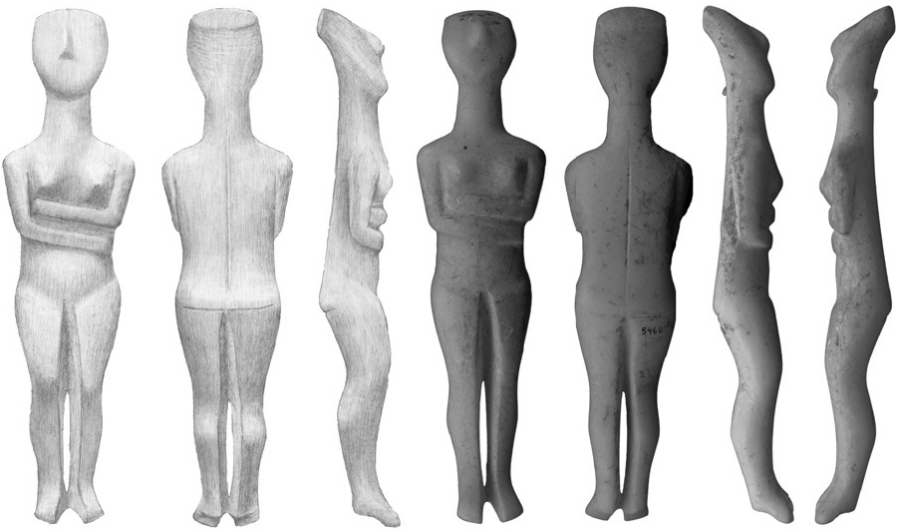


Fig. 15.13 NM5460. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety from Aplomata grave 13. Scale 1:2.

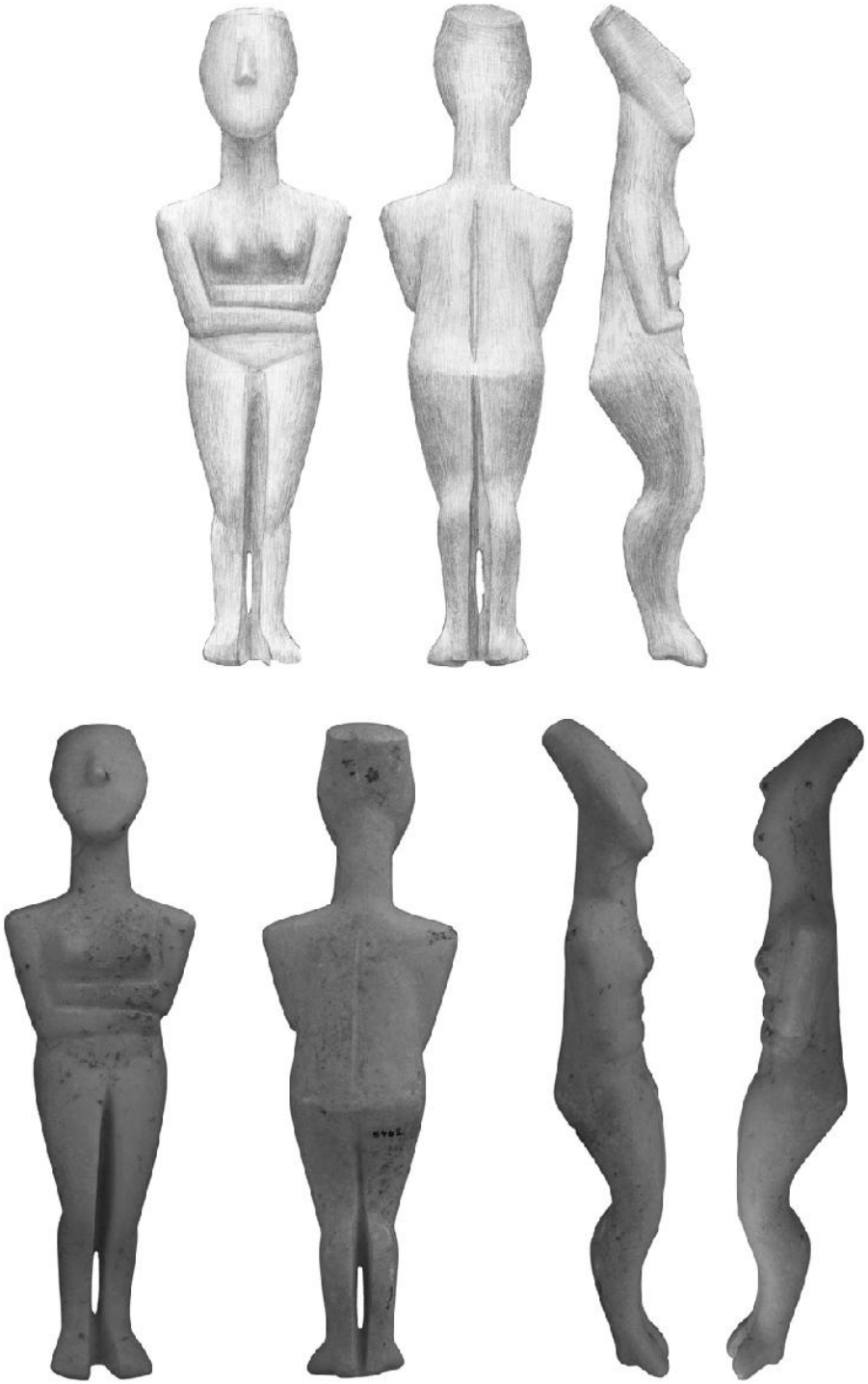


Fig. 15.14 NM5462. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety from Aplomata grave 13. Scale 1:2.

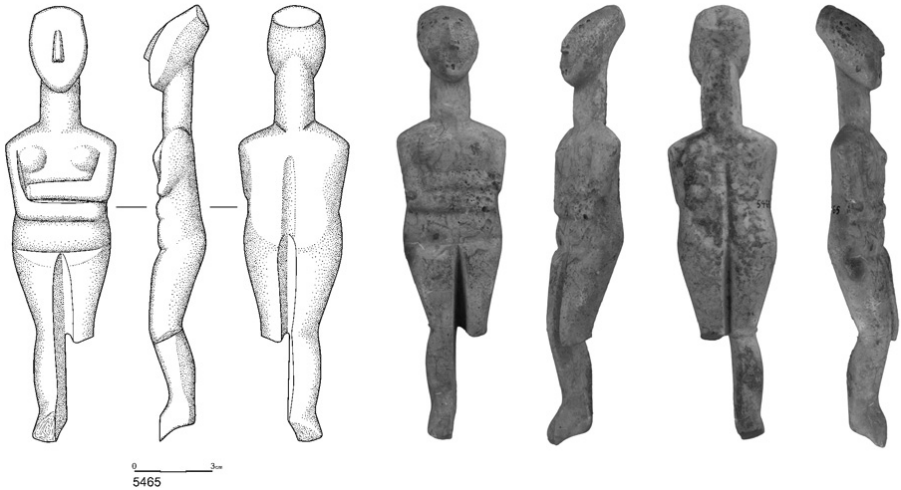


Fig. 15.15 NM5465. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety from Aplomata grave 13. Scale 1:2.

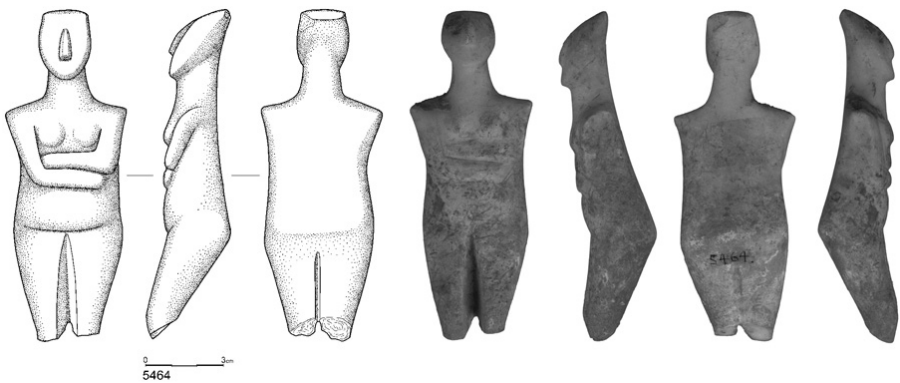


Fig. 15.16 NM5464. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety from Aplomata grave 13. Scale 1:2.

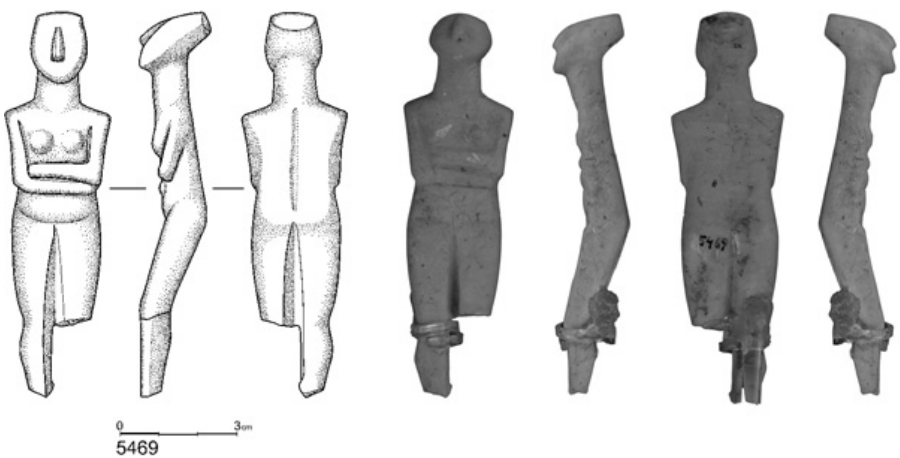


Fig. 15.17 NM5469. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety from Aplomata grave 13. Scale 1:2.

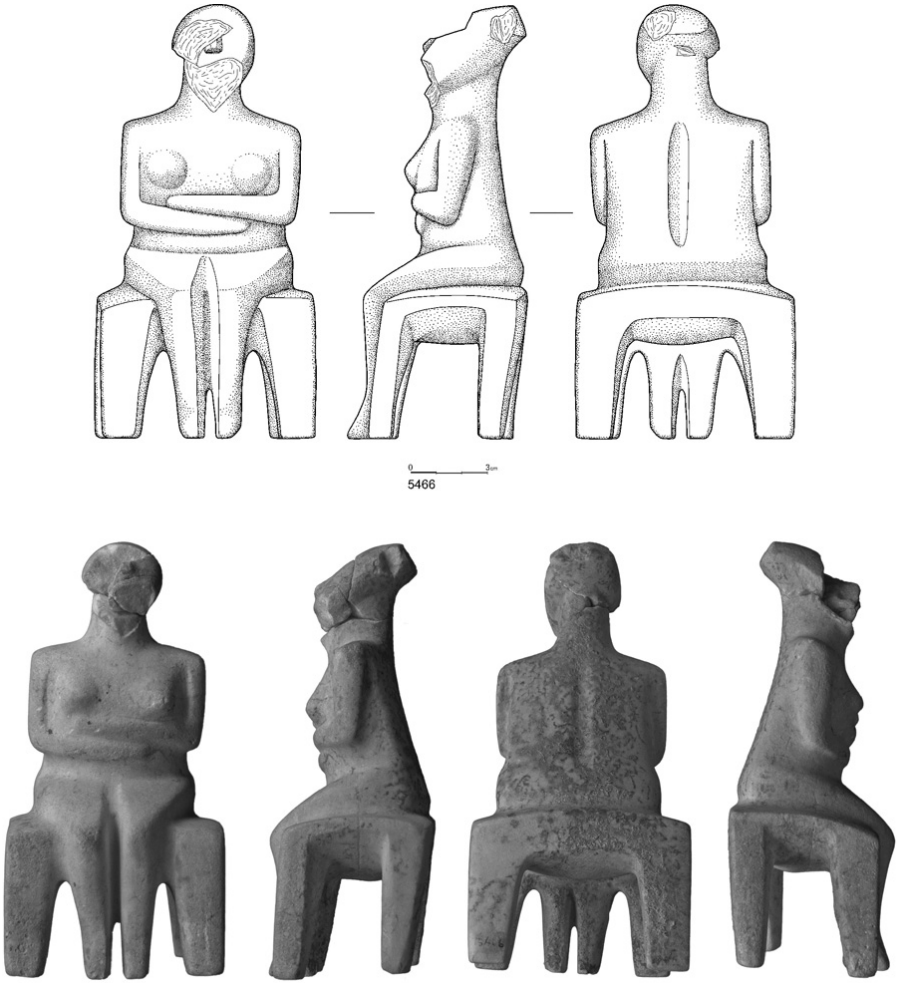


Fig. 15.18 NM5466. Seated figurine from Aplomata grave 13. Scale 1:2.

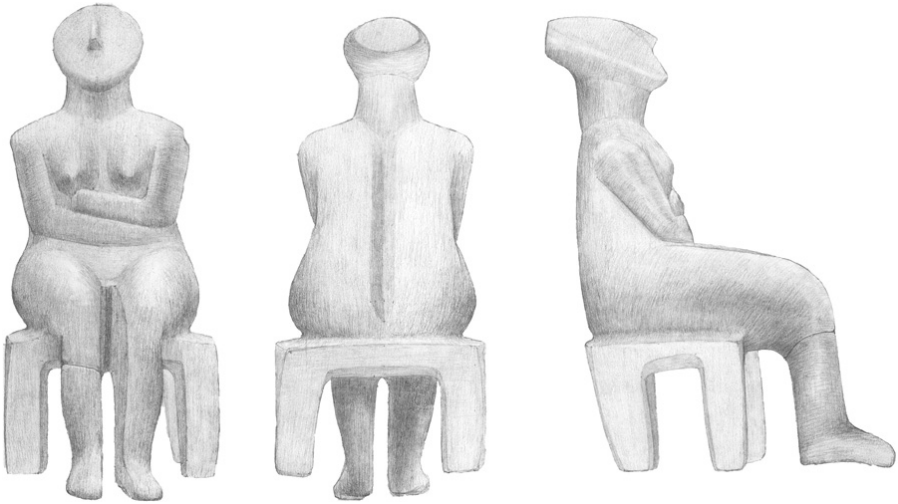


Fig. 15.19 NM5467. Seated figurine from Aplomata Grave 13. Scale 1:2. See also Fig. 15.20.

Fig. 15.20 NM5467. Seated figurine from Aplomata Grave 13. Scale 1:2. See also Fig. 15.19.

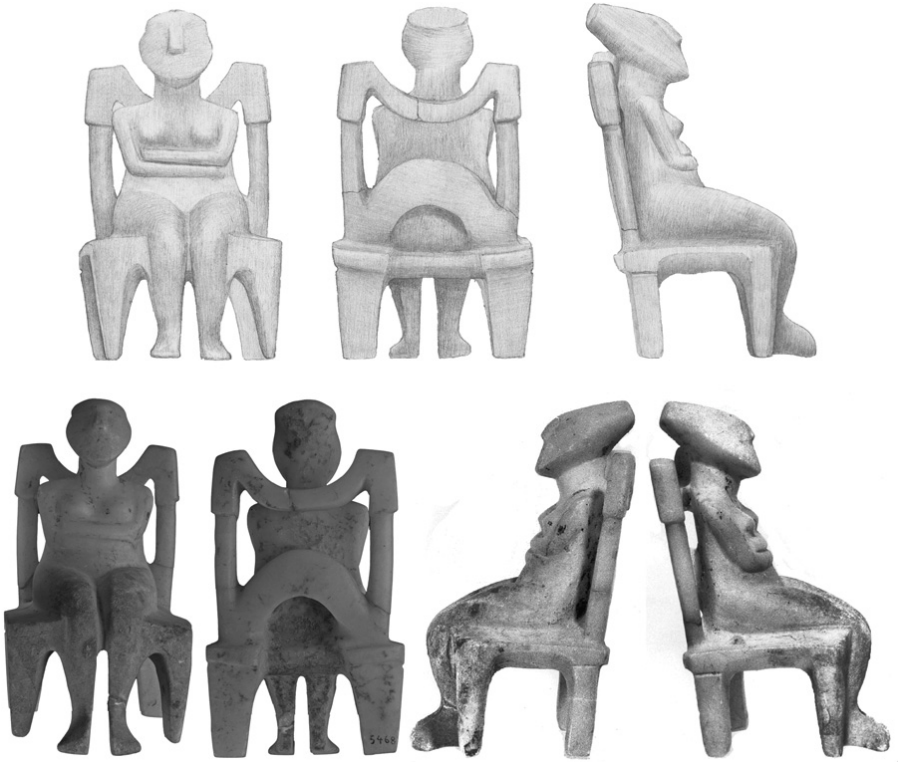


Fig. 15.21 NM5468. Seated figurine from Aplomata Grave 13. Scale 1:2.

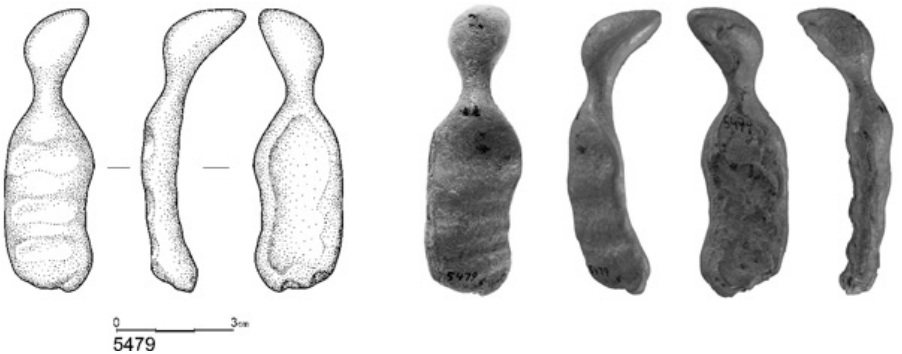


Fig. 15.22 NM5479. Figurine of shell. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 15.23 NM5480. Figurine of shell. Scale 1:2.

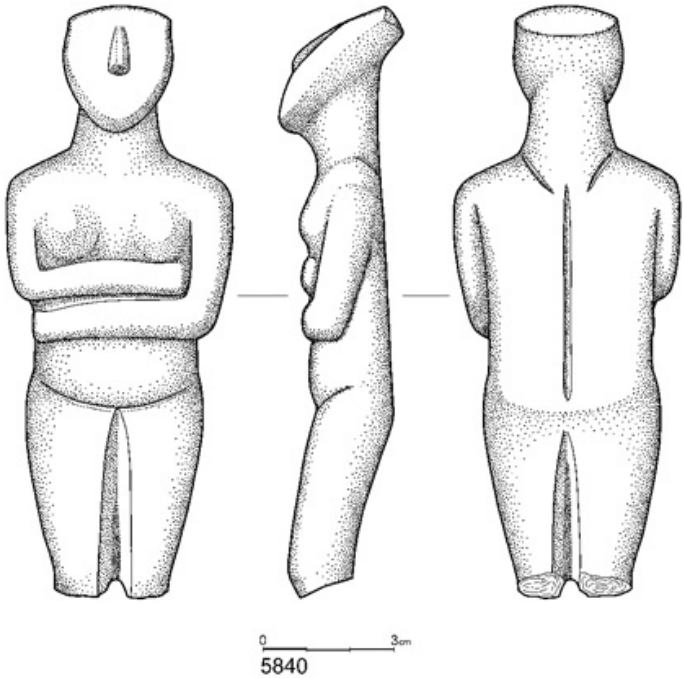


Fig. 15.24 NM5840. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety from Aplomata grave 19. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 15.25 NM5803. Seated marble figurine from Aplomata grave 23. Scale 1:2.

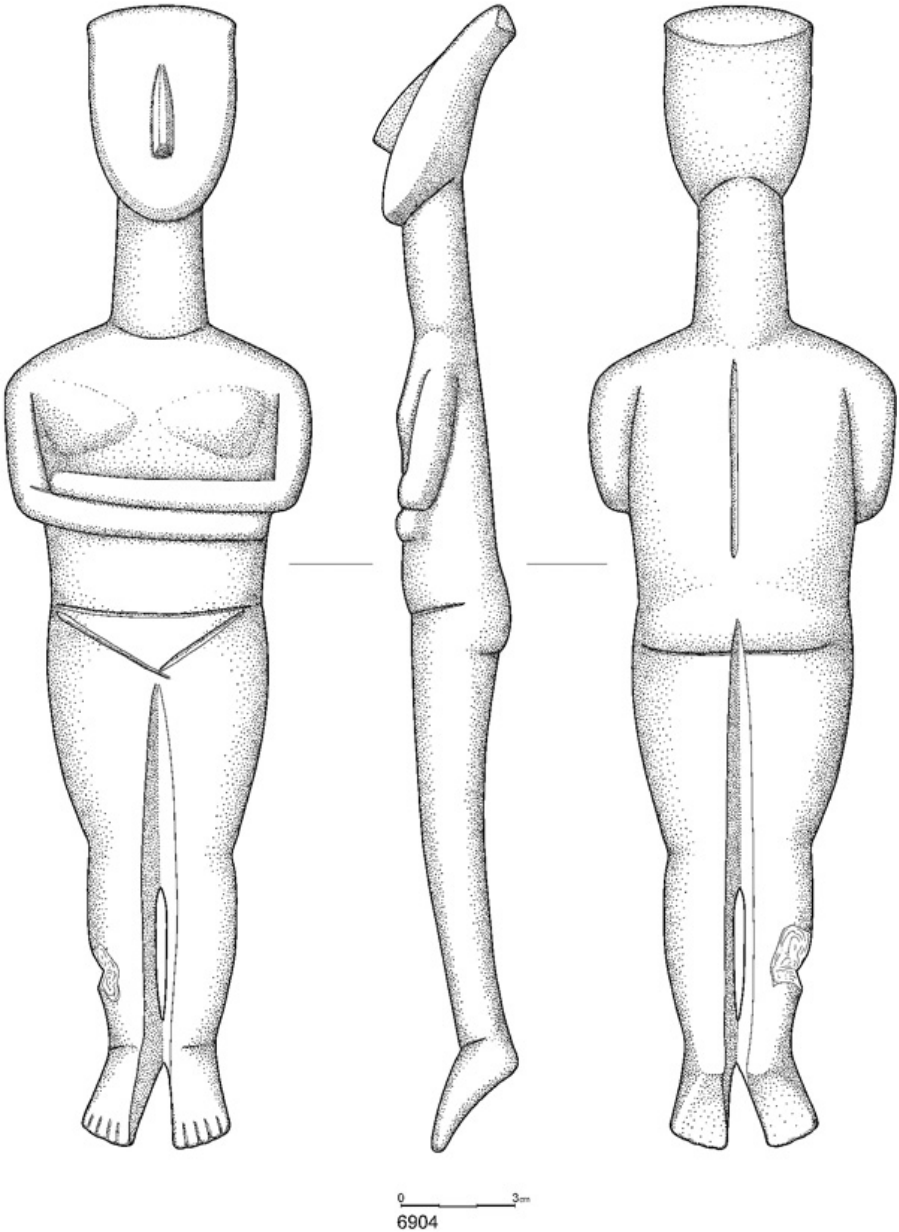


Fig. 15.26 NM6904. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety from Aplomata grave 27. Scale 1:2. See also Fig. 15.27.

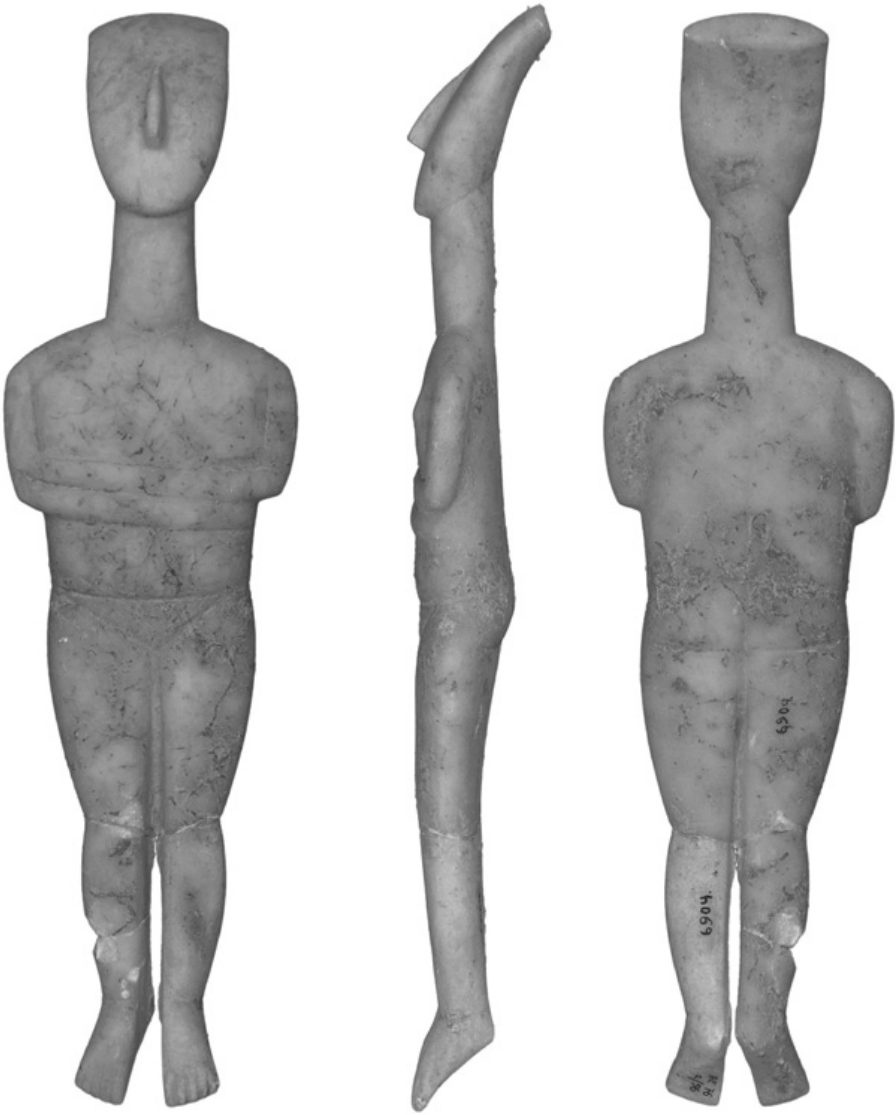
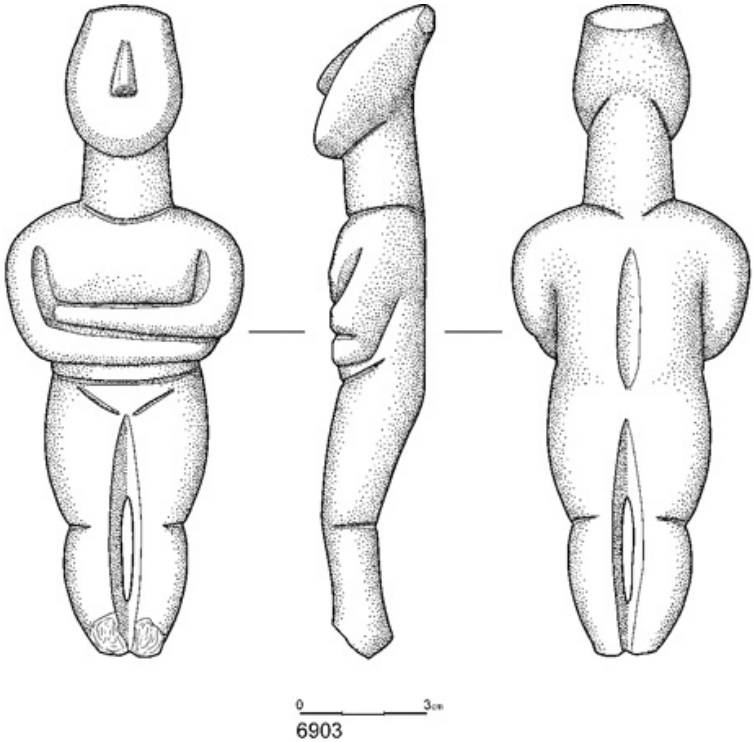


Fig. 15.27 NM6904. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety from Aplomata grave 27. Scale 1:2. See also Fig. 15.26.



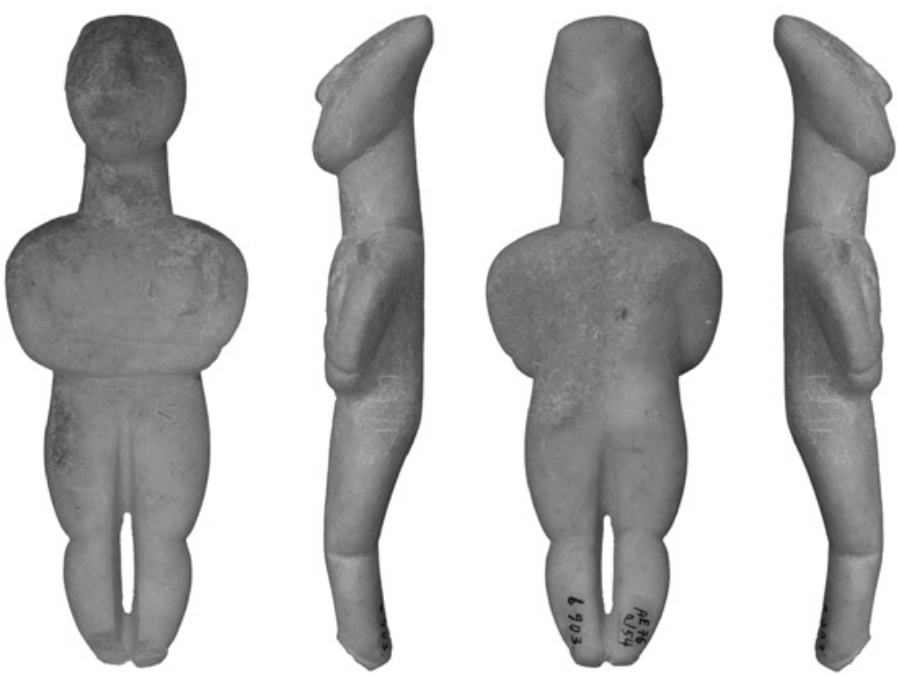


Fig. 15.28 NM6903. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety from Aplomata grave 27. Scale 1:2.

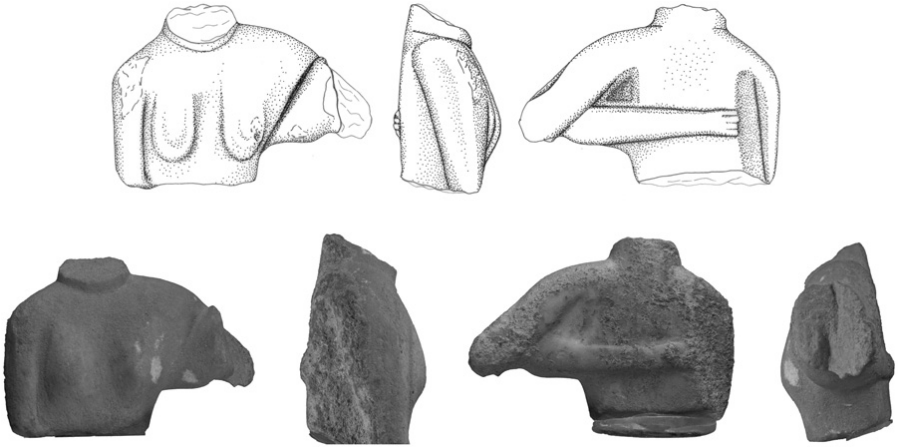


Fig. 15.29 NM6908. Fragmentary double figurine from Aplomata grave 27. Scale 1:2.

Appendix: pottery from the cemetery of Aplomata, Naxos

Olga Philaniotou

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to supplement the presentation of figurines above by Professors C. Doumas and V. Lambrinoudakis by providing a broader picture of Aplomata through discussion of the best preserved examples of pottery. A full and definitive analysis of all the pottery from this important site will form part of the final publication.

As noted above, pottery was scant in this cemetery 'in stark contrast to the abundance of marble objects'. Kontoleon (1972, 151, 153) had commented on the scarcity of ceramic finds, which could not be explained in terms of the general destruction of the graves, since even the sherds found in the surrounding earth (mostly from 'frying pan' vessels) were very few.

Another interesting feature was the abundance of obsidian blades, with some cores (Kondoleon 1970, 152). The blades are of an impressive size and were perhaps made especially for funerary use (cf. Carter 2008, 204–5).

Of the graves discussed above, only grave 19 contained pottery: a single frying pan vessel (NM5941). The other pottery selected here came from graves 2, 10, 15 and 22, only one of which contained a marble figurine.

The description of the graves and their contents is based on the preliminary reports published by Kontoleon (1970, 146–52; 1971, 175–80; 1972, 145–55). The attribution of finds to graves has been facilitated by the excavation inventory and index cards. The excavation daybooks will provide further information in the course of a more detailed study of the material.

Graves 2, 10, 15, 19 and 22

Graves 2, 10 and 22 are not described separately by Kontoleon. They presumably belonged to a type most commonly found at Aplomata – a simple square or rectangular pit dug in the bedrock, its sides converging towards the bottom and, in some cases, dressed with drystone walling. Since there was widespread destruction due to the re-use of the site in later periods, several graves give the impression

that their sides were merely formed by the bare bedrock (Kontoleon 1970, 146, 148–9, fig. 3; 1972, 148–9). Grave 2 appears in an excavation photograph and Kontoleon mentions the existence of fragments belonging (presumably) to its covering schist slab (Kontoleon 1970, 150 and pl. 188b).

Grave 15 was rectangular (1.50 × 0.82, depth 0.80m.), its sides dressed with dry-stone walling. The walls are preserved on three sides. The southern had collapsed and, under the fallen stones, which reduced the length of the grave to 1.10m, was a figurine (Kontoleon 1972, 149 and pl. 130b). As in grave 23, 'blue colour had impregnated the soil, the bones and some vessels'. Red pigment was also present, in smaller quantities, usually on the surfaces of certain vessels (Kontoleon 1972, 150).

Grave 19 is described above. Kontoleon (1972, 149) notes that 'at a depth of 0.54m. it becomes narrower, by a step carved on the bedrock, perhaps to support the side walls'. Another possibility is that the step to hold the covering slab of the lower storey, in which case the grave would have been two-storied (cf. Kontoleon 1972, 150 and the detailed description of grave 27 above and Lambrinoudakis 1976, 296).

Pottery from graves 2, 10, 15, 19 and 22

Grave 2

Five clay vases reported from this grave (NM4852, NM4868, NM4869, NM4870 and NM4871: Kontoleon 1970, 151, pl. 193c) were located in the Museum of Naxos. Kontoleon also records a 'pear shaped' vessel with horizontal incised handles (1970, 151, pl. 188b, excavation photograph; Rambach 2000a, 151, pl. iv.9), a kylix with painted decoration on a buff-coloured slip, both fragmentary; also a pyxis lid with incised spirals, and fragments of 'four more vessels' (Kontoleon 1970, 151). The only marble find reported from grave 2 is an EC II footed pyxis (NM4840, Kontoleon 1970, 151, pl.192b; Devetzi 1990, 133, no. 139).

NM*4852. Conical cup* (Fig. 15.30).

Height 80mm, rim diam. 125mm, base diam. 54mm, wall thickness 11mm.

Intact, chipped on the rim and base.

Conical-spherical body. Base flat, slightly raised. Flat rim.

Very crudely made, with asymmetrical shape and uneven surfaces.

Red-brown clay with black core, semi-coarse, micaceous. Outer surface lightly burnished, red-brown, grey and black due to uneven firing. Inner surface red-brown and black.

Aplomata inventory no.: 2/70. Kontoleon 1970, 151 (not depicted). Cf. Kontoleon 1949, 120, fig. 12, from Grotta; Karantzali 2006, 113, fig. 7.4.7–10, pl. 30d; 123 – Markiani II, ECI/II 'Kampos Group'; Philaniotou 2008, 198, 200, fig. 10.13 – Tsikniades, found with a precanonical figurine and assigned to early ECII; Rambach 2000a, pls xvii.3a, 32.4: Chalandriani, grave 205 (in an EC IIIA – 'Kastri Group' context) and pl. 32.10: Chalandriani, grave 206. For wall thickness cf. also Rambach 2000a, pl. xvii.1, 72.4: Kato Akrotiri Amorgos (in an ECI/II context?). For the longevity and distribution of this form, in several varieties: Karantzali 2006, 113; Angelopoulou 2014, 169–70 and fig. 3.32

Fig. 15.30 NM4852. Conical cup from Aplomata grave 2.

NM4868 Beaker (Fig. 15.31).
Height 153mm, rim diam. 153mm, base diam. 75mm.

Joined from many pieces and restored. Small part of rim missing. Small chip on rim.

Conical body with flat base.

Brown-grey clay, semi-fine, with golden mica. Outer surface burnished – burnish lost on base, because of wear. Inner surface burnished only in a wide zone in the upper part. Orange coloured slip (Urfirnis?), except on the inside of the base. Wide zone blackened slightly above the inner base, either due to firing or wear.

Aplomata inventory no. 13/1970. Kontoleon 1970, 151, pl. 193c.3; Rambach 2000a, pl. xviii.5.

NM4869 Beaker (Fig. 15.32)
Height 158mm, rim diam. 143mm, base diam. 65mm.

Joined from several pieces and restored. Two rim fragments missing.

Conical body with flat base.

Buff-coloured clay, semi-fine, with some silver mica. Perhaps slipped and burnished: most burnish worn off, particularly on the base.

Aplomata inventory no. 23/1970. Kontoleon 1970, 151, pl. 193c.5. This form, as NM4868 and NM5280 (see below, grave 10), seems to originate in the EC I marble beakers with vertical lugs (Plastiras group: Doumas 1977, 17, fig.5 a; Tsountas 1898, 158, pl. 10.18 from Panagia on Paros). Cf. Thimme 1977, 505, no. 282, unknown provenance. The more common clay beakers of ECI or ECI–II (Kampos Group) have convex sides and in-curving rims (cf. Doumas 1977, pl. xliv.c, from Ayioi Anargyroi; Zapheiropoulou 2008, figs 19.14a, 19.16a, from Ano Kouphonisi; Karantzali 1996, 118–9). A variation of this form continues in ECII, while in ECIII appears a narrower type, with out-turned rim (see below, NM5816; Renfrew & Evans 2007, 150, fig. 5.7: 17–20, 155, Phylakopi Phase A2; 166-7, fig. 5.15.7–9, Phase B). So far, the Aplomata tall clay beakers NM4868, 4869 and 5280 below, seem unparalleled in the Cycladic repertoire of shapes.

Fig. 15.31 NM4868. Beaker from Aplomata grave 2.

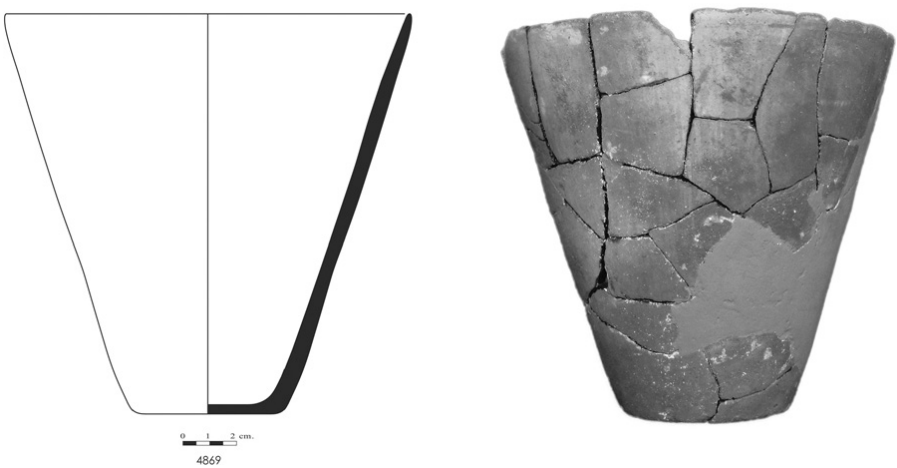


Fig. 15.32 NM4869. Beaker from Aplomata grave 2.

NM4870. Brazier or incense burner (Fig. 15.33).
Height 145mm, rim diam. 95mm, base diam. 63mm.
Joined and restored. The lower edge of the foot chipped.

Spherical body, broad conical neck, everted rim accentuated by a shallow external groove. Vertical strap handle, from the rim to the shoulder. Conical foot.

Orange-red clay, semi-fine or semicoarse, with mica. Orange-red slip on outer surface and inner face of the rim. Outer surface burnished (except inner face of foot) and bearing brush marks, brown-black in parts, due to uneven firing. Inner surface rough and uneven, blackened in a broad zone below the rim either from burning or uneven firing.

Fig. 15.33 NM4870. Brazier from Aplomata grave 2.

On the neck a line of antithetic triangular perforations, of unequal size.

Aplomata inventory no. 16/70. Kontoleon 1970, 151, pl. 193c; Lambrinoudakis 1990, 102, 108, no. 106 (with ref. to Georgiou 1986, 40, no. 162, LBA 'incense burner'); Rambach 2000a, 151, pl. xvi.5.

Another brazier from the Aplomata cemetery appears in the Naxos Museum catalogue as number NM6907, with the indication 'Aplomata 49/70'. It is not mentioned in Kontoleon's preliminary report for 1970, but in the excavation inventory for no. 49/70 there is an entry reading '28 fragments of a Cycladic brazier with tall foot, bearing an impressed decoration of antithetic triangular perforations 6m from grave B'. Presumably it was found in the fill between the graves. Aplomata EC cemetery and Mycenaean Grave B (Kontoleon 1970, 146 and fig. 1; see above, fig. 15.2).

NM6907. Brazier or incense burner (Fig. 15.34).
Height 168mm, rim diam. 111mm, base diam. 85mm.

Joined and restored. The lower edge of the foot chipped in parts.

Conical or spherical, carinated, body, everted rim, tall, flaring foot. Root of vertical strap handle on shoulder.

Brown semi-coarse micaceous clay. Brown to orange-brown, mottled surface, burnished on the outside and inner face of rim. No marks of burning can be discerned.

On the neck a line of small antithetic triangular perforations, bordered by two rows of impressed leaf-shaped motifs.

Very similar to these, not very common, Aplomata vessels, which may have had some kind of ritual as well as practical use (Lambrinoudakis 1990, 102), are two unpublished pieces of unknown provenance in the Apeiranthos Museum (MAP175, MAP620). Compare also examples from Kouphonisi (Agrilia, NM4892, Karantzali 1996, 105, fig. 23.e) and Crete (Pyrgos and Aghia Photia: Karantzali 2008, 253, fig. 25.14), dated to EBA I/II.

NM4871. Sauceboat (Fig. 15.35).
Height 147mm, rim diam. 122mm.

Joined from several pieces and restored. Handle missing, together with a large part of the vase in the relevant area, making reconstruction impossible. The spout was restored wrongly: see Kontoleon 1970, pl. 193c. The drawing in figure 15.35 is a reconstruction based on fragments found inside the vessel, all bearing the Aplomata inventory no. 28/70 – apparently they had not been located before restoration.

Spherical body, spout almost horizontal with out-turned rim. Low, trumpet-shaped foot.

Pale buff clay, semi-fine, without mica. Surface covered by black slip and lightly burnished (Urfirnis). Inner face of foot reserved. On some parts of the outer surface the colour changes to brown, while in others the clay is visible through the brush marks.

Aplomata inventory no. 28/70. Kontoleon 1970, 151, pl. 193c.2; Rambach 2000b, 307.

The closest parallel for the spherical body and trumpet-shaped foot seems to be the marble sauceboat EAM6292, possibly from Naxos (Manteli 2011, 362-363, no. 38). Getz-Gentle (1996, 168, fig. 97c, pl. 103; 169-170, fig. 97e, EAM6105) draws attention to features shared by the marble sauceboat and a clay spouted vase from Spedos. On the basis of the overall similarity of the Aplomata vessel with the National Museum marble example, the handle has been restored as vertical (cf. Renfrew-Evans 2007, 149, fig. 5.7.4, Urfirnis, Phylakopi Phase A2- ECII), although most known sauceboats have horizontal handles (Wilson 1999, 72; Sotirakopoulou 2004, 1310). Sauceboats with pedestal bases are common in the Cyclades; they also appear at Palamari, Skyros (Wilson 1999, 72; Sotirakopoulou 2004, 1310) and in 'island-type' specimens in Attica (Wiencke 2000, 587, 591). The flaring foot is considered characteristic of EC II (Doumas 1977, 20). For the spout compare Rambach 2000a, pls XII. 6, 57.1, 124.4 EAM5159, Chalandriani grave 389.

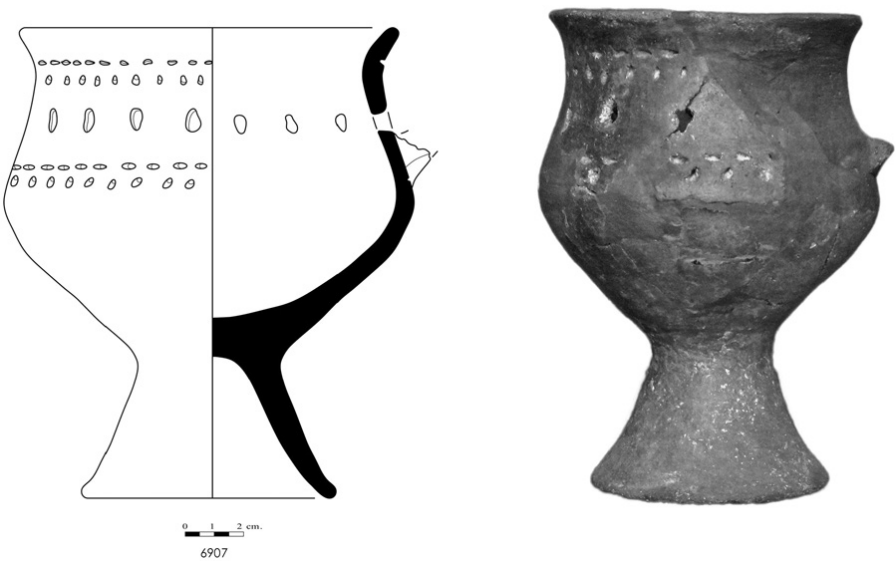


Fig. 15.34 NM6907. Brazier from Aplomata grave 2 the fill between the Aplomata EC cemetery and Mycenaean Grave B.

Fig. 15.35 NM4871. Sauceboat from Aplomata grave 2.

As regards surface treatment, the rather matt appearance of this vessel with visible brush marks seems to confirm Wilson's remark (1999, 71) that 'black slipped (or painted)' might be more appropriate terms than 'glazed' or 'Urfirnis''.

A feature shared with Keros and Ayia Irini sauceboats is the remarkable thinness of the walls (cf. Wilson 1999, 72). The pale, fine fabric, quite unlike the usual Naxian clays, suggests that this vessel was imported (for the distribution of Urfirnis or Urfirnisrelated sauceboats: Sotirakopoulou 2004, 1311–12).

Grave 10
NM5280. Beaker with horizontal lugs (Fig. 15.36).
Height 22mm, rim diam. 195mm, base diam. 11mm.

Intact, small breaks and chips on the rim.

Conical body with narrow rim and flat base. Two horizontal crescent lugs, unpierced.

Brown clay with black core, semi-coarse, with some mica. Uneven surface, brown, in parts orange-brown, in parts flaked off, perhaps slipped and burnished, with brush marks visible. Faint black spots a little above the inner base.

Aplomata inventory no. 78/1970. Kontoleon 1970, 152, pl. 193c; Rambach 2000a, pl. xviii.4.

This vessel is a larger and coarser version of the handleless beakers NM4868 and NM4869 presented above.
No other find is reported from this grave.

Grave 15
NM5899. Frying pan (Fig. 15.37).
Height 27mm, length (with handle) 213mm, diam. 17mm.

Joined and restored. Two small rim fragments missing.

Brown clay, semi-fine or semicoarse. Brown burnished surface, orange coloured in parts.

The main circular surface of the vessel, slightly convex, extends over the vertical side to form a flange. Rectangular handle, unpierced.

Decoration: Stamped double spirals, each enclosed within a circle, arranged in three concentric rings round an identical central motif. On the handle, two horizontal bands of stamped triangles frame a 'Kerbschnitt' band. A band of four hatched triangles on the outer edge.

Aplomata inventory no. 60/72. Kontoleon 1972, 154, pl. 142; Coleman 1985, 209, no. 22, ill.2; Rambach 2000a, pl. xxvii.2.

The shape of this vessel, with the flange and the flat handle, is identical to the two marble frying pans from Aplomata (NM5810, Kontoleon 1972, 152, pl. 140a–b; NM6902, Lambrinoudakis 1976, 298, pl. 196 c–d; 1990, 109, no. 110) and very similar to the undecorated frying pan from the cemetery of Ayioi Anargyroi, Naxos (Doumas 1977, 104, pl. XXXVII. g–h); also the frying pan of chlorite schist, reportedly from Naxos (Thimme 1977, 522, no. 364). The flange and the stamped decoration are usually associated with ECII 'Syros type' frying pans (Sotirakopoulou 1999, 137–41; Renfrew & Evans 2007, 144–6), but not the flat, rectangular handle (cf. Coleman 1985, 208, no. 20, from Syros; also the undecorated frying pan from the cemetery of Ayioi Anargyroi, Naxos: Doumas 1977, 104, pl. xxxvii. g–h). For the decoration cf. Renfrew & Evans 2007, 145, fig. 5.5:1, Phylakopi phase A2.

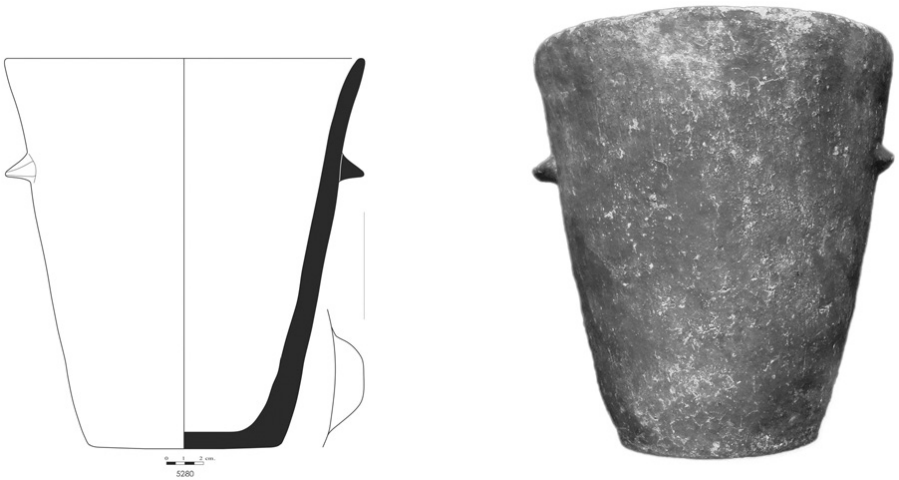


Fig. 15.36 NM5280. Beaker with horizontal lugs from Aplomata grave 10.

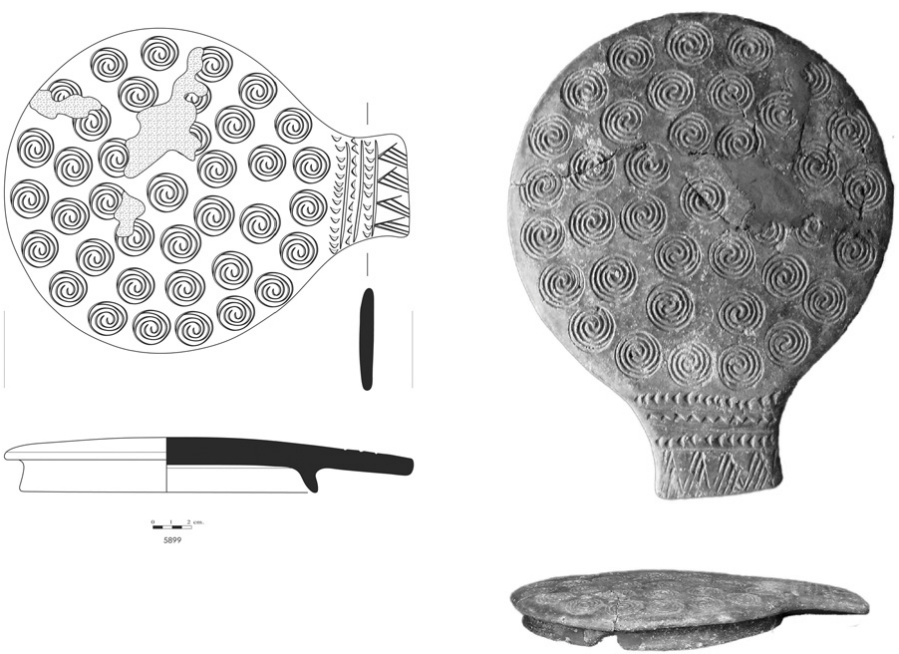


Fig. 15.37 NM5899. Frying pan from Aplomata grave 15.

Other finds reported from this tomb include a “small pear-shaped vase, probably detached from a ‘kernos’” (Kontoleon 1972, 154) and an undecorated bone tube containing blue pigment (Kontoleon 1972, 153, pl. 144b). Among marble offerings were a kylix, a footed pyxis, a ‘palette’ (Kontoleon 1972, 151, pls 138a, 238d, 152 pl. 139c) and the figurine mentioned earlier on (Kontoleon 1972, 149). The excavation inventory adds a fragment of a steatite vessel with incised decoration and two fragments of bronze objects.

Grave 19
NM5941. Frying pan (Fig. 15.38).

Height 22mm, length (with handle) 300mm, diam. 246mm.

Joined from several pieces and restored.

Rim at right-angles with the flat, circular, upper surface. Forked handle with disk-like terminations.

Brown semi-fine clay, poorly fired and friable; brown burnished surface.

Decoration: around a small central motif, lost today, are four concentric bands alternately of Kerbschnitt and incised herringbone, and one zone with impressed strokes made with a blunt instrument. The outermost bands curve outward and continue on the handle. The impressed strokes are repeated in a double row on the perpendicular side of the vessel.

Aplomata inventory no. 299/72. Kontoleon 1972, 154, pl. 141a–c; Coleman 1985, 195, 196, 209, no. 32; Rambach 2000a, pl. xxvi.2 (without NM number, as it was not visible on the vessel).

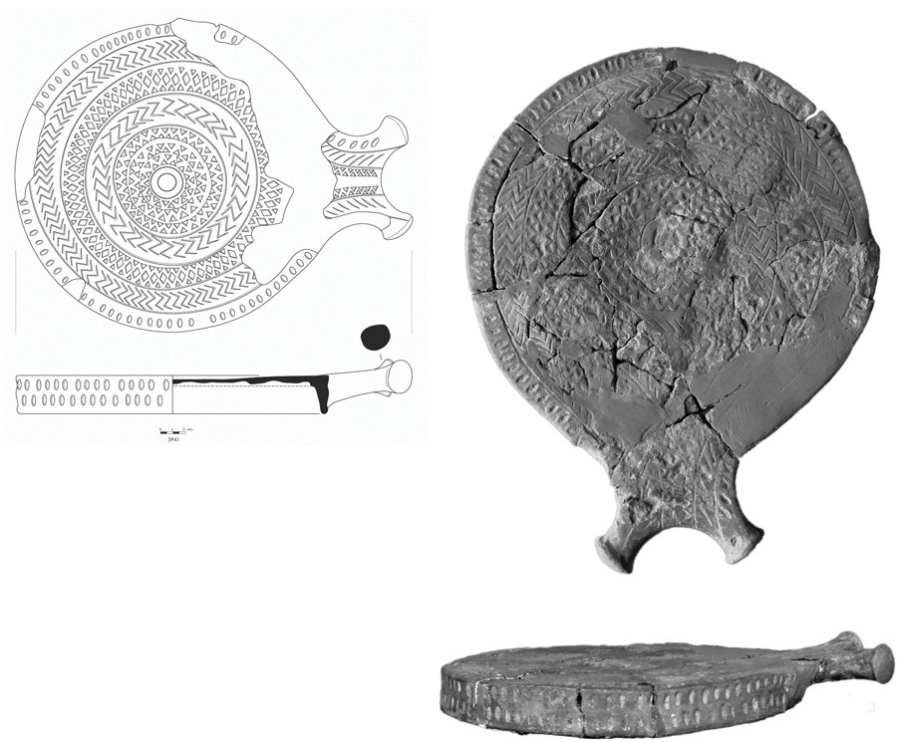


Fig. 15.38 NM5941. Frying pan vessel from Aplomata grave 19.

For the decoration and handle form cf Rambach 2000a, pls xxv.4, 68.1, from Chalandriani.

Rambach (2000b, 273) assigns both of them to a broader Aplomata/Chalandriani group.

This vessel has the straight side (at right angles to the flat decorated surface) of the 'Kampos type' frying pans (cf. Varoucha 1926, 107, fig. 9; Renfrew 1972, 528; Pantelidou-Gofa 2005, 311). The handle recalls the 'Syros type' frying pans, while the stamped and incised decoration, arranged in concentric circles, combines elements of both 'Kampos' and 'Syros' types (Sotirakopoulou 1999, 137–41; Marthari 2008, 77, fig. 9.16, 80). Another interesting feature is the decoration on the vertical wall, recalling examples of the 'Kampos type', as well as mainland frying pans (Wilson 1999, 62; Pantelidou-Gofa 2005, 75, 311, pl. 9). The forked handle is not common in the Cyclades outside Syros, while a variation is well-known from Euboea (Coleman 1985, ill.2, 195, 198, 200; Sotirakopoulou 1999, 138).

For other items reported from this grave see above, where the associations point to a date early in EC II.

Grave 22
NM5816. Beaker (Fig. 15.39)
Height 78mm, rim diam. 70mm, base diam. 40mm.

Intact, chipped rim

Cylindrical body, rounded at transition to (flat) base. Everted rim.

Pale buff micaceous clay, semi-coarse or semi-fine.

Surface smoothed, not very lustrous. Outer surface scored with fine brush marks, producing a decorative effect.

Aplomata inventory no. 120/72. Not reported in Kontoleon 1972. According to the excavation inventory, this item was found in grave 22.

For the profile cf. Rambach 2000a, pls XVII 5, 1.3, EAM4712, Kapsala. At Phylakopi this form appears late in the EC sequence: Barber 1974, 25 (Shape 10a from a Phylakopi Iiii context, ECIIIB); Renfrew & Evans 2007, 166–7, fig. 5.15, 7 (Urfirnis Related) phase B. The everted rim is reminiscent of ECII marble beakers (Kontoleon 1972, pl. 133; Devetzi 1990, 129, no. 130 (marble beaker from, Aplomata grave 14a).

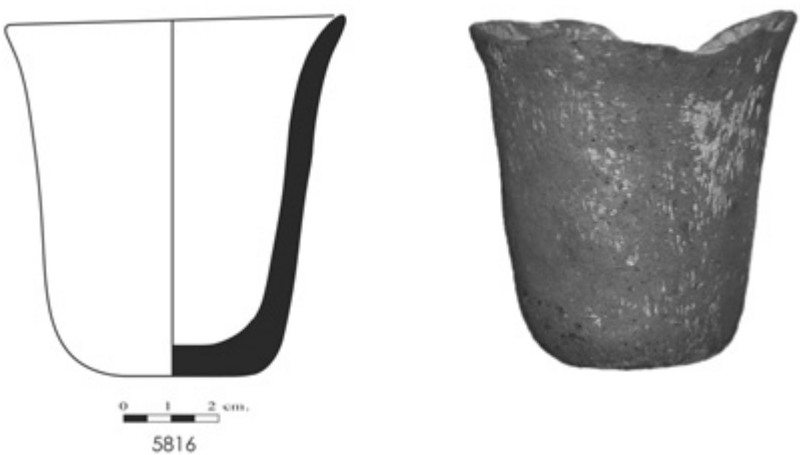


Fig. 15.39 NM5816. Beaker from Aplomata grave 22.

General comments

The pottery from the Aplomata cemetery studied so far includes rare or unusual specimens, such as the beakers NM4868, NM4869 and

NM5280, the braziers or incense burners NM4870 and NM6907, the two frying pans NM5899 and NM5941 – the latter combining elements of earlier and later Cycladic phases or different areas, and the beaker NM5816, a form known from ECIII examples, but made in a 'traditional' fabric. An almost certain import is sauceboat NM4871. It is interesting that two vessels, the frying pan NM5899 and this sauceboat, find their closest parallels in marble items. Also worth noting, in view of its scarcity in this cemetery, is the abundance of pottery – and pottery of different phases – in a single grave (grave 2). All these features further emphasize the unusual character of the Aplomata cemetery discussed above. An assessment of the overall chronology based on the above vases, representative of the pottery finds still to be studied in detail, suggests a period of use from the ECI/II transition to the end of ECII, possibly originating in ECI and extending into ECIII.

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Professors Doumas and Lambrinoudakis for entrusting me with the publication of the pottery finds from the important cemetery of Aplomata, as well as for their support over many years. I also wish to thank Professor Renfrew for enthusiastically encouraging the presentation of this material here and Dr. M. Boyd for his friendly assistance. Finally, my thanks are due to Dr. R.L.N. Barber for improving the English and for numerous useful suggestions. Drawings are by Kalliopi Theodoropoulou.

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16

SCULPTURES FROM PHIONDAS, NAXOS

Irini Legaki

Introduction

Phiondas, an area in the hinterland of southeast Naxos (Fig. 16.1), is best known for the seven marble Early Cycladic (EC) figurines, which are displayed in the Naxos Archaeological Museum (Fig. 16.2). The figurines are: NM166 (Ph. 104), NM167 (Ph. 105), NM168 (Ph. 106), NM169 (Ph. 108), NM170 (Ph. 107), NM171 (Ph. 110), NM172 (Ph. 109). Each is identified both in the text and captions by its NM catalogue number. Reference to the Phiondas inventory Number (Ph.), i.e. the register entry number, is cited below only as needed.

Six out of the seven Phiondas figurines, NM166–71, were among those stolen from the museum at the end of 1976, but fortunately all were recovered in Naxos as a result of investigations by the Greek Police Authorities within a short period of time. Figurine NM167 was recovered some months later in Kastoria, where it had been transferred for sale, as we have been informed by Giorgos Houzouris who, as we shall see later, is our living source for the circumstances of the discovery of the Phiondas figurines in 1947. Beyond this subsequent adventurous life of the figurines, the records relating to the conditions of their discovery are in themselves interesting, and, their assemblage itself, constitutes a really difficult case. Many of its features remain to be adequately explained.

The EC figurines from Phiondas are considered in the three sections which follow. First a catalogue is presented which gives the find-spot and associated finds for each figurine, the material, the condition, the

part of body preserved, the dimensions in mm, the typological form and the variety, the indications of paint or paint ghostswhere appropriate, the description, remarks on chronology, typological features and peculiarities, and any close parallel for each sculpture, as well as any earlier published references.

The next section, 'Unearthing the truth about the Phiondas figurines', gives the bibliographic references, and presents research results about: (a) the conditions of discovery of the grave which yielded the figurines, and (b) the confusion as to the context and the number of figurines within the grave. In the final section questions arising (and possible answers) are set out in brief.

Fig. 16.1 Location of Phiondas on Naxos.

Fig. 16.2 Naxos Museum. Showcase with the Phiondas figurines.

Catalogue

1. NM166, Ph. 104 (Figs 16.3, 16.4, 16.7a).
EC II. Naxos. Phiondas.

Reportedly found in association with figurines NM167–70 and a bronze dagger or spearhead, inside a single grave or cenotaph. Marble: white, fairly fine-grained. Pinkish-brown patina. Complete. Total height (head to feet): 498mm. Width: 62.5mm (at the upper part of the head); 108mm (at shoulders); 99mm (at hips); 49mm (at feet). Maximum thickness (at the abdomen): 51mm. Height of head: 130mm (with the neck); 94mm (up to the chin). Thickness of neck: 35.1mm (at the base); 30.8mm (at the top). Folded-arm figurine. Spedos Variety. Chipped at the upper left side of the head. Broken and mended just above the knees. Small black stains, impurities and pitting in places. Possible paint ghost on the rear of the head in the form of an irregular triangular. The surface is smooth and rather glossy in some places, showing that the figurine must originally have been highly polished. This effect is more clear both at the front and rear of the right upper leg (pelvis to knee), along a strip on the back (between the elbows) and in a small area a little above the buttocks.

This is an elongated figurine fashioned with delicacy and skill: the contours of the outline combine almost straight lines in the upper part with subtle curves below. It seems to be designed following the four-part canon. The long backward tilting head is lyre-shaped. Viewed from the side or from the rear, there is a flat vertical surface near the crown that may indicate some piece of headgear special to the canonical figurine. The straight and prominent nose is clearly defined and the chin is rounded. Apart from the nose there are no facial features. The slender, elegant neck is delineated by two curved incisions just under the chin and at the Adam's apple at front and at the back by two V-shaped incisions on the juncture of the neck with the head and with the torso. The shoulders are angular, the elbows held close to the body and the narrow, asymmetrical lower arms together form a rectangle. Viewed from

behind the right arm is longer than the left. The forearms are separated by a clear space and folded in the canonical way (left above right). The hands have carefully incised long fingers. Those of the left hand do not extend all the way across the body to meet the right upper arm. Wide-spaces round breasts are lightly indicated. The abdominal area is defined by a broad horizontal line that forms the top of a scalene pubic triangle, the lateral sides of which are indicated by faint incisions. The hips and thighs are quite broad and curved, while the calves are slender and thin. Incised curved lines mark the ankles and the knees. These are interrupted by the wide leg-cleft, which begins at the apex of the pubic triangle. The cleft is unperforated down to the slightly bent knees. But the calves are separated by the perforation of the cleft, while the feet are carved separately at the heels. Exaggeratedly long toes are incised on the feet which are long and narrow and point downward. At the rear the back of the head curves at the top. The line of the spine begins from the V-shaped neck and ends at the waist. The upper arms are clearly defined and the buttocks are emphasised by a curving horizontal line. The profile is relatively straight.

Hair was sometimes painted at the sides and rear of the heads of canonical folded-arm figurines heads (Preziosi & Weinberg 1970, 10, figs 8-9, pls 6,2 & 6,3). So the triangular area at the back of the head of this piece (from the crown up to the nape; Fig. 16.4), which seems lighter in colour than the surrounding areas, could possibly indicate that painted hair was originally shown, although this is uncertain. Another effect which is difficult to explain is the smoother surface of the marble in some places. The only explanation we can think of is that either the marble was also painted in these places or that it had been wrapped in some way.

If this figurine is placed in a horizontal position it touches the flat surface at the back of the head, at the buttocks and at the heels (Fig. 16.7, top). Comparable examples (e.g. EAM3914, EAM3920 and EAM5107) led Preziosi (elsewhere: Getz-Preziosi or Getz-Gentle) to suspect that the figurines that appear to be on tiptoe were meant to be laid down in the grave rather than propped up (Preziosi 1966, 109). This explanation, suggested long ago by Stéphanos (1905, 222) may hold for some cases. Preziosi (1966, 109, n. 28) suggests for instance, that a figurine reputedly from Paros preserved with a marble 'cradle', in the collection of Mr and Mrs Isadora M. Cohen, is an example of 'an idol which seems definitely meant to recline'. However this does not apply to the Phiondas figurines, being unsupported by their alleged actual position at the time recovery (as will be seen in the next section) or by their surface condition. For one would expect the part of the figurine resting directly on the grave floor or on the corpse to be discoloured differently than the other parts. Preziosi examined 27 idols on display in the National Museum in Athens and found that of these 16 were heavily encrusted only on the back, and five only on the front only. So, she concluded that:

> if the idols had been propped up in the grave at the funeral, one would expect more of them to be encrusted on the front, for they would, at least in some cases, have fallen over onto their faces. It is the impression that Mr. C. Doumas of the Greek Archaeological Service, and former Epimelite of the Cyclades, that idols were sometimes laid directly on the corpse at burial. This practice may account for the lime deposits on the front of some of the pieces. For the objects placed on the corpse would have fallen, and perhaps, overturned, as the body decomposed (Preziosi 1966, n. 23).

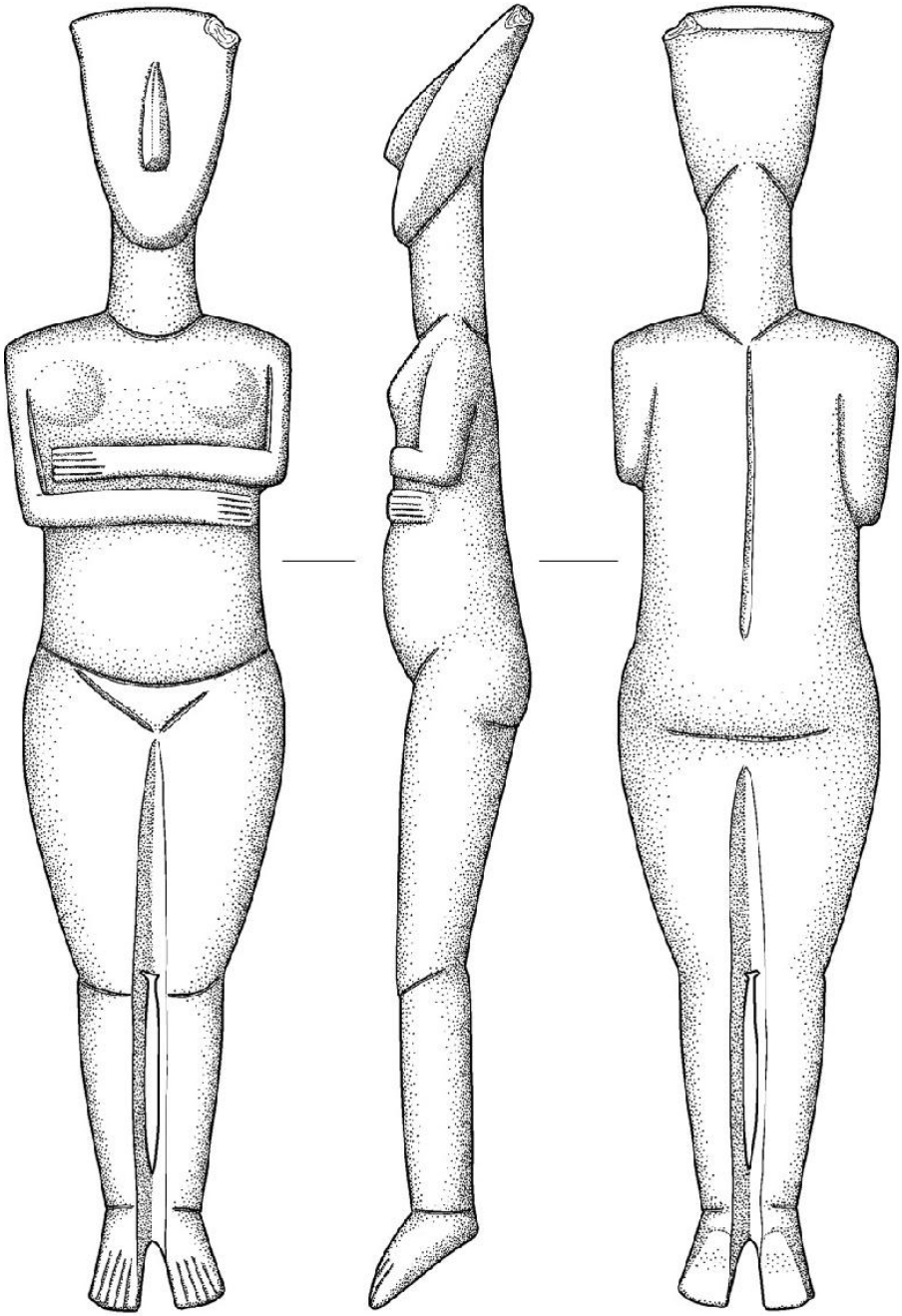
This figurine belongs to the Spedos variety. Renfrew, who first distinguished and named the various figurines type and varieties, pointed out that 'the Spedos variety is at present something of a residual category, not as well defined as the others, within which the figurines are broadly similar' (Renfrew 1969, 15). Yet he did suggest two subdivisions of the variety (group A and group B). Thimme (1977, 459–60) arranged the material in a somewhat different way, distinguishing three categories (Early, Middle and Late group) within the general Spedos variety. Getz-Preziosi (1987b, 160–1) does not accept Thimme's 'Middle' group and suggests the subdivision of the variety into an 'Early' (Spedos A and B) and a 'Late' group on somewhat different criteria than those proposed by Thimme. (For a synopsis of the criteria that distinguish the subdivisions of the Spedos variety, as proposed by Renfrew, Thimme and Getz-Preziosi, see Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 160–1). NM166 has been classified either as a Middle (Thimme 1977, 468) or as a Late Spedos variety (Getz-Gentle 2001, 41; Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 113). In support of her classification Preziosi points out that the separation of the forearms by a clear space rather than a broad groove can be seen also on a very few Early

Spedos B figurines, but is more often found among Late Spedos variety images, such as NM166 (Getz-Preziosi 1984, 52; Getz-Gentle 2001, 40). She also says that this aesthetic device, designed to concentrate the viewer's attention on the arms occurs rarely, usually in combination with incised fingers, and only on large, mature works produced by a small number of 'experienced' sculptors, and that its first known use was in the largest known figurine of the Kapsala variety.

According to Getz-Preziosi NM166 was 'one of the Bastis's Master late works' (Getz-Preziosi 1977, 87; 1981b, 25), representing a 'mature stage of the sculptor's career' (Getz-Gentle 2001, 95) and belonging to his 'best period' (Getz-Gentle 2001, 94). She also underlines the fact that although the Bastis Master at the beginning of his career, on at least one of his figurines, NM168 (see below), did not perforate the leg-cleft between the calves, in his later works, such as NM166, he 'came to regard the perforation as a refinement worth a certain amount of risk' (Getz-Preziosi 1981, 25).

A nearly exact replica of NM166 is in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 68.148), which is also attributed by the same archaeologist to the Bastis Master (Getz-Preziosi 1977, 87; Thimme 1977, 468), although that is an unprovenanced piece whose authenticity can therefore not be confirmed by the context of its discovery.

At this point we take the opportunity to note that on the grounds presented in detail in the introductory paper (Renfrew, this volume, Chapter 1), ideally it would be preferable to restrict any parallels of the Phiondas sculptures to pieces with an excavation context. Yet most of the 'comparanda' are unprovenanced pieces emerging on the market after 1950. Thus we thought that instead of excluding them as if they did not exist, it would be more useful to list and discuss them, especially since they have already been mentioned in the bibliography. But the main reason for this decision is that they constitute indicators of the scale of looting (most probably of forgery as well) in recent years.



166

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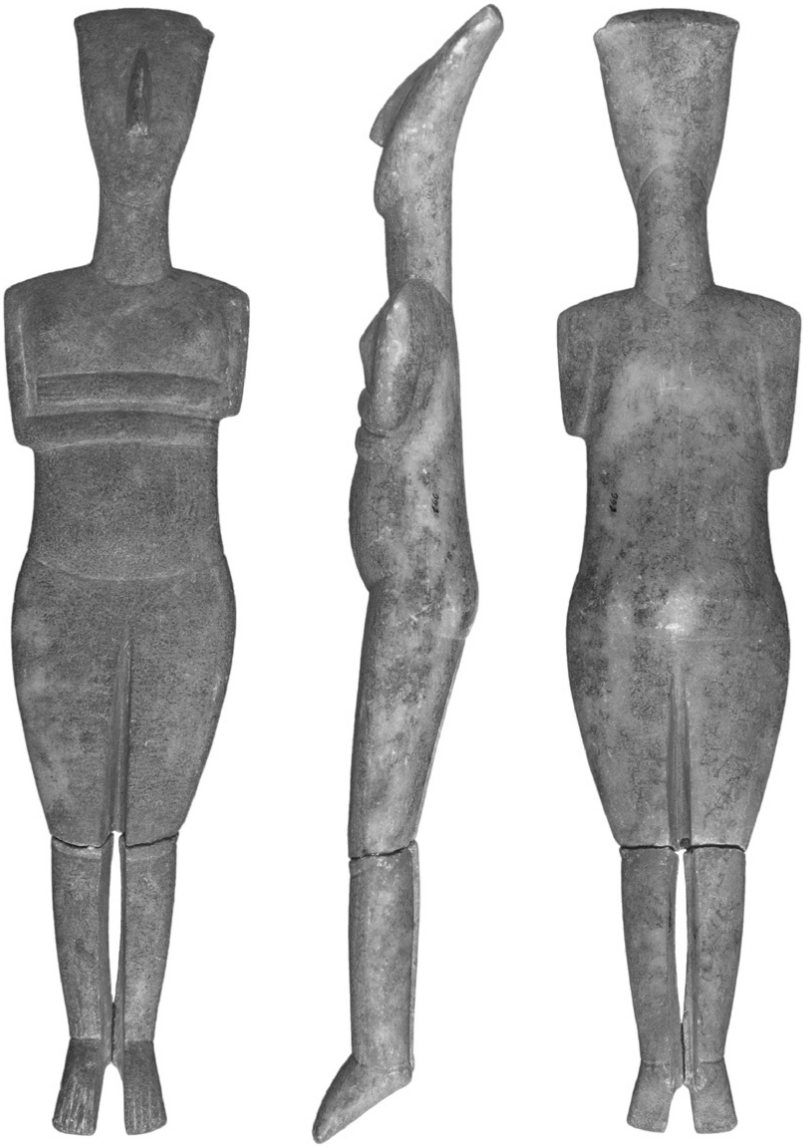

Fig. 16.3 (facing page) and **Fig. 16.4** NM166. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

However, there is one authentic, yet fragmentary, example comparable to NM167: the NM2374 neck, torso and waist of figure of the Spedos Variety, from the Kavos Special Deposit South, recovered by Doumas in 1963. It is related to 'Kavos sub-variety', a term proposed to supersede the Preziosi's 'Goulandris Master' subvariety (Sotirakopoulou, Renfrew & Boyd, this volume, Chapter 23). It should be stressed that 'the figurines of Getz-Preziosi's 'Goulandris Master' and of her 'Bastis Master' are so similar that they can be considered with reason the works of closely related workshops or traditions. The close similarities between the figurines of these two 'Masters' have indeed been pointed out by Getz-Preziosi herself (1987a, 110, 112), who finally reaches the conclusion that these 'were compatriots in touch with each other or even brothers' (Sotirakopoulou, Renfrew & Boyd, this volume, Chapter 23).

This inference, along with the fact that all of Preziosi's 'Bastis' sculptures, with the exception of the two Phiondas figurines NM166 and NM168 (see below), lack secure archaeological provenance (see Getz-Gentle 2001, 166–7), (let alone that, as we shall see later, NM166 and NM168 are not that closely similar in form – so grouping them together is a sort of arbitrary 'act'), call into question, in our opinion, the 'reality' of the 'Bastis Sculptor'.

Earlier published references: Getz-Gentle 2001, 40–1, 95, 166 (checklist): the Bastis Sculptor [2], fig. 20; Getz-Preziosi 1977, 87; 1981b, 25; 1987a, 108–10, 112–13, 162 (checklist): the Bastis Master [2], figs 46b, 47 a, c, pls 38–9; Thimme 1977, 468. Note that Getz-Preziosi (1977, 87) and Thimme (1977, 468) report that the height of the figurine is 500mm and *c.* 540mm, respectively, while in the reality is 498mm.

2. NM167, Ph. 105 (Figs 16.5, 16.6, 16.7).
EC II. Naxos. Phiondas.

Reportedly found in association with the figurines NM166, 168–70 and a bronze dagger or spearhead, inside a single grave or cenotaph. Marble: white, fairly fine-grained. Pinkish-brown patina. Complete. Preserved height: 309mm. Width: 45mm (at the upper part of the head); 96mm (at shoulders); 65.5mm (at hips); 40.5mm (at feet). Maximum thickness (at the abdomen): 44.5mm. Height of head: 75mm (with the neck and in particular from the shoulders and above); 52mm (without the neck). Thickness of neck: 33mm (at the base); 24mm (at the uppermost part). Foldedarm figurine. Spedos variety. Because of the way the broken neck was glued to the body the impression is given of a protruding lump, which in reality is not the case. Although the surface is generally well preserved there are signs of wear in places. In particular there is recent pitting and chipping especially at the back of the head and on the buttocks and a few abrasions on the back and at the side of the left leg.

This inspiring figurine has a lyre-shaped and almost chinless head with a rather thick and long aquiline nose that extends low down the face. No other facial feature is depicted. The crown of the head tilts back and forms a broad ridge at the back of the head. The rather fat neck widens towards the low curving neckline. The shoulders are broad and convex, with a conventional angular transition to the neck, and the elbows well out from the waist. The forearms are folded in the canonical manner beneath the drop-shaped, slender breast, and widen subtly at the ends, the right arm petering out on the body well before the edge. The hands are non-existent (the fingers are not modelled), whereas, in contrast, the toes on the downward pointing feet are rather naturalistic. The markedly distended abdomen may depict an advanced stage of pregnancy. The thighs taper from the broad hips to narrow knees. The calves are symmetrical in relation to the upper legs. The incised pubic triangle, whose long side is indicated by an incision similar to the two marking the lower part of the abdomen, is large, with its apex bisected by leg-cleft, which is unperforated all the way down. Oblique incisions at the side of the figurine demarcate the thighs from the calves (denoting the knee-caps) and separate the feet from the lower part of the calves. The knees are slightly bent. At the back there is an incision at the juncture of neck and head, while a continuous spine begins well above the apex of the V-shaped incision of the neckline and continues down to the feet, bisecting the buttocks. These are well modelled and rather naturalistically rendered, and curved when viewed from rear and in profile. Seen in profile the calves and ankles are quite thick.

The figurine combines features of both the Spedos variety (e.g. shape of head, low neckline on the front, thickening of the legs in profile, rounded shoulders) and the Dokathismata variety (the breadth of the figurine, especially at the shoulders). Yet it is less severely angular than typical Dokathismata variety figurines. A smaller (227mm) figurine (no. 59 in Getz-Preziosi 1987b), currently in the Harmon Collection, not only closely resembles this piece (NM167), but also:

> both works are discolored as the result of long burial in ironsoil, and it is likely that they also share the same provenance. The figurine in Naxos was found in the cemetery of Phiondas on that island in 1948-that is, not long before cat. no 59 entered the Collection. (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 212)

It is probably worth mentioning at this point, that the Harmon Collection figurine first

appears in the bibliography in an exhibition catalogue (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 212–3: no. 59) as belonging to a Private Collection, which is not named. However, reference is made to the former collection: 'Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Reis, acquired before 1956'. The second time the same figurine is published (Getz-Gentle 2001, 169, pls 88, 89a1, a2) it is labelled 'the Harmon Collection (ex. Reiss Coll. Acquired in the 1950's, perhaps as early as 1950)'. But it has no secure provenance, and is not recorded in print prior to 1987.

Getz-Preziosi (1987b, 213), who classes the no. 59 Harmon figurine, which is indeed almost identical to NM167, as the Dokathismata variety, 'admits' that it 'might be thought of as representing a fusion of the Late Spedos and Dokathismata approaches'. Renfrew (1969, 20–1), on the contrary, notes that no examples of the Dokathismata variety have been published from Paros-Antiparos or Naxos and 'significantly, there is none in the Naxos Museum …' (Renfrew 1969, 17) and stresses that 'several figurines show features of both the Dokathismata and Spedos varieties. This need not, however, mask the essential difference between the two'.

This artefact, NM167, is attributed by Preziosi to the Berlin Master (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 212–13; Getz-Gentle 2001, 103–4, 169 (checklist): the Berlin Sculptor [6]) and in particular to the earlier period of his development, 'at the outset of his career', when his style 'might have been related to Late Spedos variety but that as it developed his figurines became full-fledged members of the Dokathismata variety' (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 213).

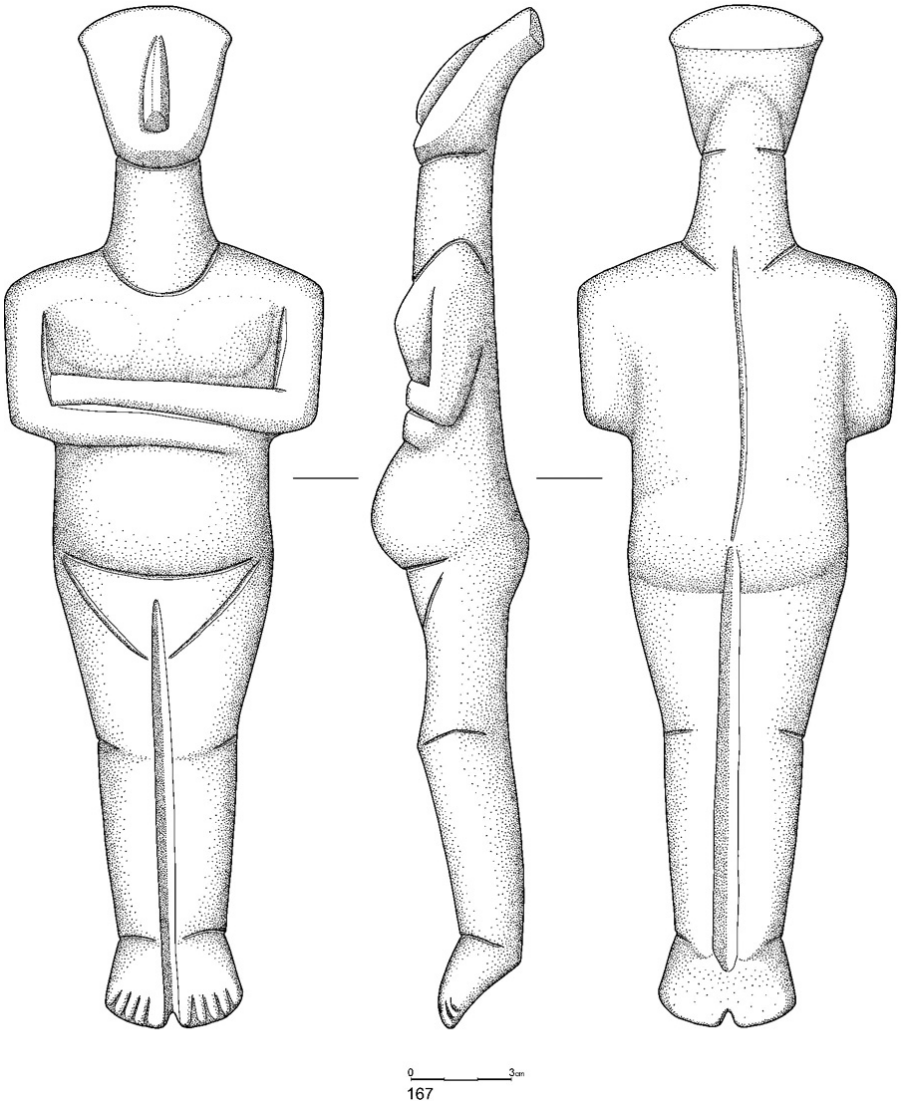

Fig. 16.5 NM167. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

In our opinion the head of NM167 is more reminiscent of the head of another figurine in another private collection (again without provenance), also ascribed by Getz-Gentle to the Berlin Sculptor (Getz-Gentle 2001, pls 88, 89a1, b1, b2). Moreover, whereas the buttocks of the figurine in the Harmon Collection are virtually non-existent, those of NM176 of the aforementioned figurine in the private collection are closely similar.

The exact counterpart of MN167, and indeed an excavation find with secure provenance (Polichni, Naxos), is a 'figurine of a pregnant woman' presented by Stéphanos in a Congress at the beginning of the 20th century (Stéphanos 1905, 223, Papazoglou-Manioudaki, this volume, Chapter 21). Renfrew (1969, 11) stated he had seen the Polichni sculpture in the Naxos Museum, but Papazoglou-Manioudiaki questions whether he had actually seen this particular figurine from Polichni or its 'twin' from Phiondas, that is, NM167. In any case, according to the criteria set by Renfrew (this volume, Chapter 1), the Polichni sculpture, along with the Phiondas NM167, could be used to define a tenable subvariety named after

their sites of discovery either the ‘Polichni’ or ‘Phiondas’ sub-variety. Subsequently these two sculptures should in the future be assigned to the ‘Polichnni’ or ‘Phiondas’ sub-variety and the terminology ‘Berlin Sculptor’ be abandoned. The other pieces attributed to the Berlin Master (see Getz-Gentle 2001, 169) should not be incorporated into the ‘Polichni’ or ‘Phiondas’ sub-variety, since they are recent acquisitions of unknown find-place. Renfrew’s suspicion should be recalled that even the Berlin’s Master name-piece, an unprovenanced acquisition of 1978, might have been recently modelled on the EAM9096 example in the National Museum in Athens (Renfrew, this volume, Chapter 1).

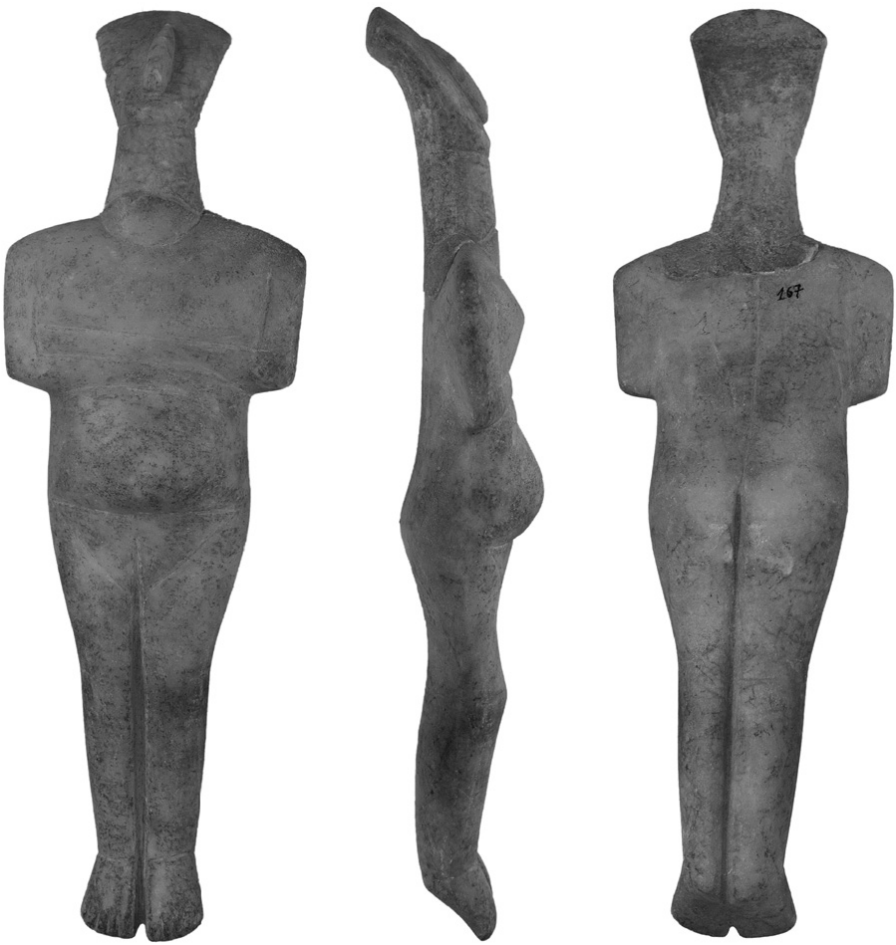

Fig. 16.6 NM167. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Earlier published references: Doumas 1994, pl. 90; Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 212–13; Getz-Gentle 2001, 103–4, 169 (checklist): the Berlin Sculptor [6]; Marangou 1990, 152, no. 158.

Fig. 16.7 Comparison of NM166, NM167 and NM170, reclining. Not to scale.

3. NM168, Ph. 106 (Figs 16.8, 16.9).
EC II. Naxos. Phiondas.

Reportedly found in association with the figurines NM166–7 and NM169–70 and a bronze dagger or spearhead, inside a single grave or cenotaph. Marble: white, fairly fine-grained. Pinkishbrown patina. Left foot missing. Preserved height: 230mm. Width: 36.5mm (at head); 59mm (at shoulders); 53.5mm (at hips). Maximum thickness (in the abdomen): 31mm. Height of the head: 61mm (with the neck); 56.5mm (without the neck). Thickness of neck: 21mm (at the base); 19mm (at the uppermost part). Folded-arm figurine. Spedos variety. Mended at the broken neck at the front. The nape of the neck and the uppermost part of the back are restored in plaster. Recent chips at the head. A few scratches and flakes in places. Worn shoulders at the back. Paint was probably once present in the rounded eyes, which appear to have been designed as solid areas of colour.

To judge from those figurine heads on which actual pigment is still preserved, the eyes were often rendered as in this example. But there are also examples with eyes drawn in outline only, with the pupil indicated by a dot at the centre (Preziosi & Weinberg 1970, 9). For further examples of folded-arm figurines showing traces of painted and/or incised eyes, see Sherratt 2000, figs 83, 85-93. Yet the traces (which are more distinct in the area of the left eye: Fig. 16.10) are very faint, and therefore doubtful.

This is a rather sturdy figurine with a well-defined outline, which seems to be designed following the four-part canon. The lyre-shaped head shows the familiar curvature, seen on many folded arm figurines, which terminates at the back in a flat ridge. It has a nose in relief in the shape of a somewhat pointed triangle. The shoulders are angular. The elbows are held close to the body and the narrow arms, rendered by means of grooves, are relatively symmetrical, with little apparent disparity in the level of the elbows. The forearms are folded in the canonical manner (the left above the right) beneath the small and wide-spaced breasts which are placed rather close to the armpits. The hands have no fingers, while five toes are depicted on the long and slender feet. This difference arises from technical issues: there was not enough space for the craftsman to incise fingers neatly and in the correct number because the space allowed for each arm is only slightly greater than the minimum of 10mm needed for this purpose. Because of this requirement it is rare for folded-arm figurines with a length of less than 400mm to be embellished with fingers. On the other hand, incised toes are

commonly seen on works much smaller than 400mm in length because the feet of Cycladic figurines are usually considerably wider than the arms (Getz-Preziosi 1981b, 28 & n. 53). The hips are broad and curving, the calves short and rather fat. The knees are bent slightly. A broad horizontal line under the abdomen area forms the top of the incised pubic triangle. The wide leg-cleft begins at the apex of this triangle and continues unperforated all the way down to the ankles, where the marble membrane between them is not perforated This was a precautionary measure in order to decrease the degree of fragility of the figurine's legs (Getz-Preziosi (1981, 25), although the downward pointing feet are carved separately to the heels. The junction of head and neck, the knees and the ankles have incisions. Those at the knees and ankles are incised round the figurine, interrupted only by the leg-cleft. At the back, the dorsal incision meets the leg-cleft at the buttocks. The latter are not separated or emphasized with a horizontal line but indicated by an angular projection. Seen in profile the figurine is flat and seems rather thick.

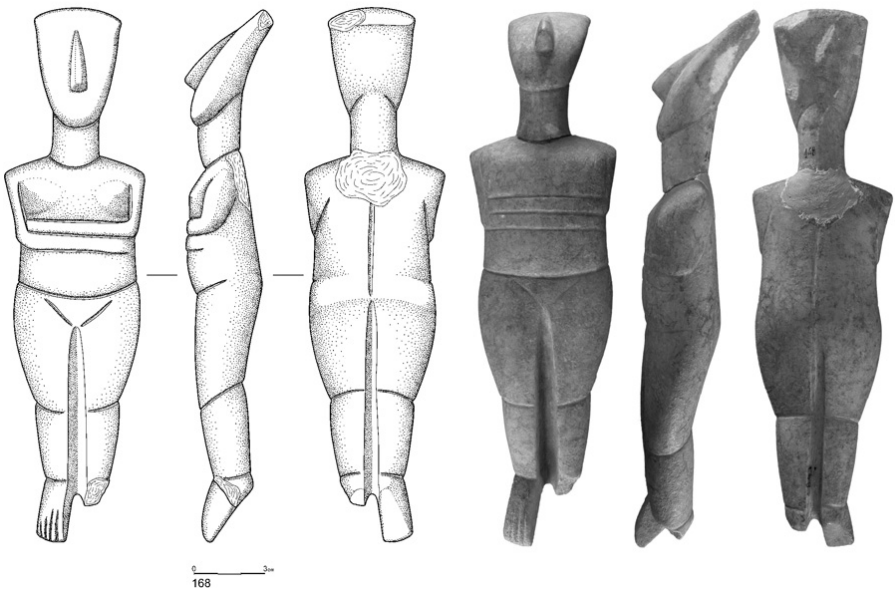

Fig. 16.8 (left) and **Fig. 16.9** NM168. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

This figure is considered to be of the Late Spedos variety (Getz-Preziosi 1981b, 27, figs 58–9; 1987a, 108; Getz-Gentle 2001, 94) and as an early product of the Bastis Sculptor (Getz-Gentle 2001, 94–5; Getz-Preziosi 1981b, 25), indeed his smallest known, work (Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 108–9). As indicated above (see catalogue), the very existence of the 'Bastis Sculptor' grouping is now disputed (see also Renfrew, this volume, Chapter 1).

Earlier published references: Getz-Gentle 2001, 94–5, 166 (checklist): the Bastis Sculptor [1], fig. 38a; Getz-Preziosi 1981b, 25, 27–8, figs 58–9; 1987a, 108–13, 162 (checklist): the Bastis Master [1], pls 38–9, figs 46a, 47a, c.

Fig. 16.10 NM168. Detail of head. Not to scale.

4. NM169, Ph. 108 (Figs 16.11, 16.12).
EC II. Naxos. Phiondas.

Reportedly found in association with figurines NM166–8 and NM170 and a bronze dagger or spearhead, inside a single grave or cenotaph. Marble: white, fairly fine-grained. Pinkish-brown patina. Complete. Total height (head to feet): 182mm. Width: 29.4mm (at the head); 49mm (at the shoulders); 23mm (at the folded forearms); 37.5mm (at the thighs); 27.6mm (at the feet). Height of the head: 43.6mm (with the neck); 35mm (without the neck). Thickness of neck: 28mm (near the base); 16.2mm (upper part). Folded-arm figurine. Spedos Variety. Mended at the broken base of the neck. The surface is much worn with scratches, pitting and black stains in places at both sides. However the possibility ought to be considered that these are traces of metacinnabar, a black form of mercuric sulphide produced by the corrosion of cinnabar, which has been identified on a figurine in the British Museum (Sherratt 2000, n. 24). Striations on the crown of the head (Fig. 16.12), if not tool-marks, may suggest that the head was not as uniformly polished as the rest of the figurine.

This is a rather crude figurine, conforming to the four-part canon. But because the mid-section is somehow omitted, the mid-point is at the bottom of the arms or above rather than on the abdomen (Getz-Preziosi 1984, 51, fig. 2a). It has a large, broad-cheeked face with a nose placed above the chin. At the rear the head is set off at a rather pronounced angle to the slightly bulging neck and has a distinctive outline. The shoulders are slightly sloping. Generalised breasts beginning nearly at the shoulders. Upper arms only partially differentiated from the chest and thick forearms. The elbows are close to the body and the right hand extends as far as the right elbow, with the result that the left elbow, being carved above the back of the right hand, is lower at the back than in front. The fingers are not discernible. There is almost no midsection and the pubic area is defined by a broad, shallow incised triangle, set below the right forearm. The leg-cleft, which is simply a groove, continues to the end of the unperforated, stubby feet. These are rounded at the ends and the

toes (which when viewed underneath are distinguished from the rest of the foot by a rather deep incision) are short and grooved (Fig. 16.12). Knee and ankle incisions beside and behind the limbs. The knees do not bend, while the feet point sharply downwards. The left leg is fatter than the right, while the left foot is set slightly in advance of the right, as if the figurine is ready to take a step forward, a feature not commonly seen in other folded-arm figurines. The back is flat and somehow looks like a rectangular 'block' and the spine is indicated as a broad and shallow depression. At the rear the arms are rendered in an oblique plane, while the buttocks form a shelf-like lower boundary of the back. In profile the figurine is quite thick, and the axis is straight.

According to Preziosi this is a Late Spedos-variety figurine (Getz-Gentle 2001, 81; Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 95), a work of the Naxos Museum Master (Getz-Gentle 2001, 159; Getz-Preziosi 1984, 50–1, figs 11–13a; 1987a, 158). Indeed she has proposed this as the name-piece of the sculptor. She sees it as his smallest work, and as belonging to the earliest and most immature phase of his artistic development (Getz-Preziosi 1984, 50–1; 1987a, 97).

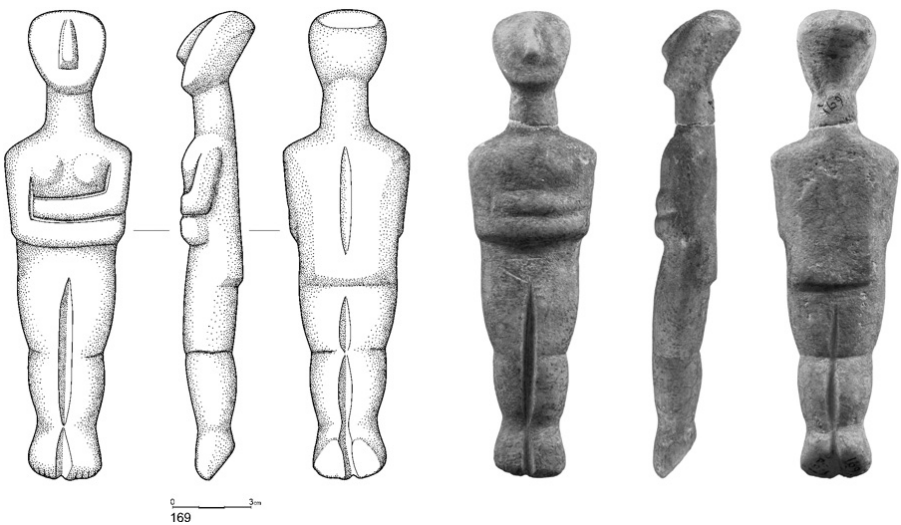

Fig. 16.11 NM169. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 16.12 NM169. Top: striations on the crown of the head. Bottom: underside of feet. Not to scale.

Earlier published references: Getz-Gentle 2001, 81, 159 (checklist): the Naxos Museum Sculptor [1]; Getz-Preziosi 1984, 50–1, figs 11–13a; 1987a, 95-8, 158 (checklist): the Naxos Museum Master [1].

5. NM170, Ph. 107 (Figs 16.7, 16.13).
EC II. Naxos.

Reportedly found, in association with figurines NM166–9 and a bronze dagger or spearhead, inside a single grave or cenotaph. White marble. Pinkish-brown patina. Intact. Total height (head to feet): 147mm. Width: 26mm (at the middle of the head); 51.5mm (at the shoulders); 37mm (at the thighs); 23.5mm (at the feet). Thickness: 22.2mm (in the abdomen). Height of the head: 40mm (with the neck); 30mm (without the neck). Thickness of the neck: 20mm (near the base); 19mm (at the middle). Folded-arm figurine. Spedos variety. Small scratches in places and pitting on the feet. Black mottling from 'bruise' marks are seen on each of the shoulders.

This is a well-made figurine with a somewhat 'bearlike' appearance. The face is broad with the nose (which is the only facial feature depicted) placed high on the head. The top of the

head arches back in the usual fashion, forming a rough flat ridge at the rear. Thick and rather shortish neck, longer at the back than at the front. Broad sloping shoulders. Barely suggested breasts. The forearms are folded in the usual manner (the left above the right), the right arm not quite horizontal but on a slant. The fingers are not rendered. A horizontal groove separates the body from the top of the legs. The genitals are not depicted. The relatively wide and unperforated leg-cleft runs down to the downward pointing feet, where only a membrane connects the ankles. The toes are not discernible (if they existed at all). The knees are low-slung and flexed. Incisions indicate the junction between face and neck, and head and neck at the rear. The knees must also have been incised. The arms are formed by bevelling at the sides. The back lacks any indication of the spine. A groove runs down from the well-modelled buttocks to the feet. In profile the back is somewhat curved and the thighs, calves and ankles are thick.

Significantly this figurine is devoid of clear sexual characteristics (the breasts are not highlighted, the pubic triangle is absent), so it could be characterised as asexual. The prevailing view is that despite the absence of distinct sexual markings, Cycladic figurines (both schematic/abstract and 'naturalistic') are generally assumed to represent the female form – unless there is a clear depiction of the penis. Exceptions to this rule are the 'occupational' or 'action' statuettes regarded commonly as males (though on some the sex seems indeterminate) on account of their special posture or alleged status in the society of the early Bronze Age. For instance the absence of genitalia of seated figurines, such as the harp player (Getz-Preziosi 1981a, 7, nos 9, 11–17, figs 14, 16–19, 21–8, 32–43) and the cupbearer (Getz-Preziosi 1981a, nos 18–19, figs 14, 45), is explained either by the supposition that they were meant to be viewed from the side rather than the front, or as an attempt to avoid the difficult problem of representing genitalia on a seated figurine. A third explanation offered for the standing action statuettes such as the pipe player (Getz-Preziosi 1981a, nos 20–4, figs 15, 46–7) and the hunter/warriors (Getz-Preziosi 1981a, 25, nos 26–31, and perhaps no. 36, figs 49–55) is that 'since the prehistoric inhabitants of the Cyclades clearly knew which sex was appropriate to the role presented, there was no need to stress gender through the primary sex distinctions' (Getz-Preziosi 1981a, 7).

The canonical arrangement of the forearms is sometimes associated with figurines representing female bodies because it denotes, according to one widespread theory, a posture preferred by women either during pregnancy, or subsequently while cradling their babies (Sherratt 2000, 130), even if 'it was used on occasion for male as well as female representations' (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 74). The same goes for anatomical attributes (primary and secondary: such as broad hips, emphasized breasts etc.) used as indicators of the female sex, whereas there are male figurines that 'are equal broad through the hips and equally narrow through the waist' as the female ones and, moreover, they have 'breasts equally prominent as a female and a belly which is more swollen than that of the female …' as Sotirakopoulou stresses referring to three Plastiras-type figurines from Akrotiri on Thera (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 133, nos 6818, 6820, 6858, figs 8–10, pls 13 a–d, 14a–d, 16a–d). Consequently the swollen belly, the 'gynecomasty', and the chubby thighs may simply indicate 'the corpulence of the depicted figurine, whether male or female' (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 133). Mina (2010, 235), on the other hand, supports the view that that these particular figurines from Thera are anatomically ambiguous.

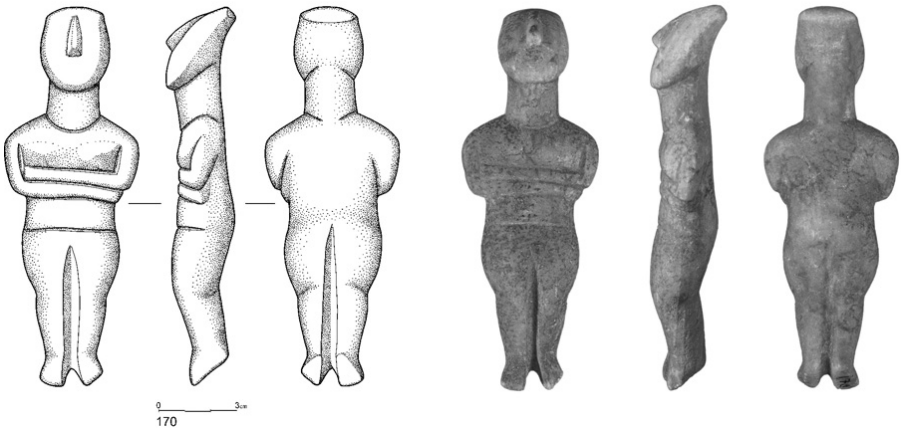

Fig. 16.13 NM170. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

There do however exist female figurines that exhibit rather masculine proportions: for instance NM199 is a figurine of Plastiras type with masculine proportions, but the protuberance on the stomach is unclear as to whether it represents the navel or the penis (Getz-Preziosi 1981a, 7, fig. 10d).

Generally speaking, marble figurative sculptures are dominated by the female form. The male figurines account only for 4–5% of the sculptures carved in the Cyclades during the 3rd millennium BC. Getz-Preziosi (1981a) enumerates 37 male figurines and Sotirakopoulou (1998, 133) adds three more examples of the Plastiras type from Akrotiri (see above). But, as discussed above, we are not convinced that all the figurines from Akrotiri are males, since some have female or ambiguous bodies. The other figurine categories made during the EC period are occupational and action figurines (see above), groups (e.g. the 'acrobats': a trio consisting of two standing figurines supporting a sitting one: Getz-Preziosi 1981a, 7, no. 25, fig. 48), and ambiguous and asexual figurines. Probably hermaphrodite forms do exist as well: for instance in the acrobat group, the penis of the left-hand figurine appears to be framed by a triangular groove. (For hermaphrodite forms see also Sherratt 2000, n. 22 and pls 197–9). These categories are few in number compared with the female forms, but they do exist.

That may imply that the presence or absence of anatomical features or the fusion of both sexes on some of the figurines could be deliberate, meaning that the sculptor was making a conscious choice in the way he (or she) wished to communicate gender through the physical body. From that point of view it might be sensible to consider the possibility that figurines with no indication of sex or of uncertain sex should not be considered as females (see for instance, Thimme 1977, nos. 146–7 for foldedarm figurines that lack clear definition of sex, yet are assumed to be female) or sometimes as males (e.g. the case of seated and special occupational figurines discussed above) or, treated to be of poor workmanship or as 'last-minute sexual metamorphosis' (Getz-Preziosi 1981a, 27–8). She explains the peculiar appearance of two hunter/warriors, one in Seattle (no. 30), the other in Oxford (no. 31), as the result of the conversion of ordinary female folded-arm figurines into male ones. So for this Phiondas figurine NM170, we cannot exclude the possibility that it was intentionally made to appear asexual.

The sloping shoulders of this piece relate to the Spedos variety elements which occur in the figurines characterised as transitional or precanonical (Zapheiropoulou 1980, 536), while the plasticity of the volumes (and the curving contours especially of the thighs and calves) are seen in Renfrew's early Spedos group A. Moreover this relatively thick figurine has a horizontal abdominal groove and lacks sculptural marking of the pubic area, features which are characteristic of the Early Spedos group as defined by Thimme and Getz-Preziosi. Yet at the same time this piece shares traits of Getz-Preziosi's Late group, such as the unperforated legs with the deeply cut leg-cleft.

The closest parallel to NM170 is an EC II figurine (no. 1946.115) in the Ashmolean Museum (Sherratt 2000, 153: 7.22, pls 171–3), which is of nearly the same length (120mm) and

believed also to have come from Naxos. But it has features that NM170 lacks, such as the broad shallow pubic triangle, the complete separation of legs at the level of the knees and the marked groove running down the centre of back from the base of neck to the buttocks.

Not previously published.

6. NM171, Ph. 110 (Figs 16.14–16.16).
EC II. Naxos.

Chance surface find from the Phiondas site or the surrounding area. Marble: white, fairly fine-grained. Pinkish-brown patina. The greater part of both legs is missing (the left preserved up to a little below the knee, the right up to the mid-calf). The patina suggests that the breakages are old (Fig. 16.16, left). Preserved height: 198mm. Width: 22.6mm (at the head); 45.2mm (at the shoulders); 32mm (at the thighs). Thickness (at the folded forearms): 18.5mm. Height of head: 78.5mm (with the neck); 50mm (without the neck). Thickness of the neck: 19mm (low, near the base); 14mm (high, near the chin). Spedos variety. Mended at the neck. Striations on the crown of the head (Fig. 16.16, centre), if they are not toolmarks, suggest that the surface of the head is pitted and more weathered than the other surfaces. In general the front side of the figurine is rougher than the back. There are recent scratches at the back of the head and the calves, and black stains on the head (top and left side) and on both shoulders.

A disproportionately long stalk-like neck merges with an oblong head, which lacks the vertical surface near the crown that usually characterizes the canonical folded-arm figurines. Viewed from the back a gradual reduction in thickness towards the top is observed. Although they are not depicted in the drawings and are barely visible on the photographs, very faint roundish traces on both sides of the nose, which is shown in relief (Fig. 16.16, right) may denote the eyes (which bring to mind the holes bored for the eyes inlaid with dark polished pebbles in figurines of Plastiras type (Preziosi & Weinberg 1970, 7, n. 15 with examples)). Faint lines of what seem to be the eyebrows are barely discernible above the eyes, while there is also something like a mouth under the nose (Fig. 16.16, right). It should be stressed, however, that all these features are far from clear and may well be due to the worn condition of the marble. The base of the neck both at the front and at the back is delineated by V-shaped incisions. The upper part of the body is quadrilateral in form. The upper arms and forearms are not separated from the elongated torso and are barely distinguishable. The shoulders are asymmetrical (the right is lower than the left), as are the upper arms (the right being longer than the left) and the forearms (the left thinner than the right). These are arranged in typical manner (the left above the right), held against the stomach and a little above the waist. There is some space between them. The hands are separately shown. The simple breasts, which are small round protuberances, are seen as slight projections. The waist is indicated by a curved notch at each side. The short legs are separated at both front and rear by a wide unperforated cleft. The genital organs are not shown. The knees are marked by indentations on the outer sides. At the rear the buttocks are not shown nor is the spinal column, while the upper arms are very schematically depicted. There is no curvature along the back which is flat and the profile is rather slender. Since the front surface of the piece looks more worn than the back, one may suggest that it was placed face down on the ground. It is also possible that the coarser front surface did not undergo the process of smoothing, perhaps because the figurine was left unfinished. This possibility is suggested by the ineffective rendering of the volumes – as if the carver quit working as soon as he or she had executed the rough outlines and before starting to chisel the details.

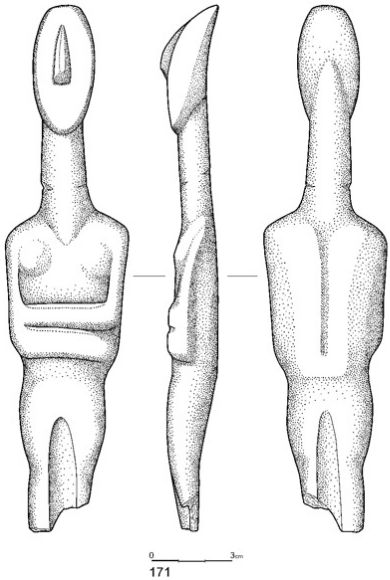

Fig. 16.14 (left) and **Fig. 16.15** NM171. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

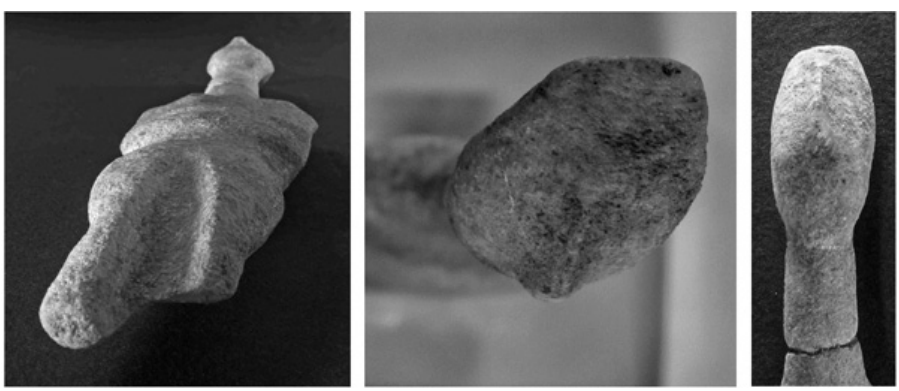

Fig. 16.16 Details of NM171. Not to scale.

While studying this figurine the suggestion arose that it might be a folded-arm figurine-Plastiras 'hybrid', since it combines the solid form of a canonical folded arm figurine with a very long neck supporting a head with naturalistic features (if the extremely faint rather doubtful traces indeed indicate an attempt by the crafts man to depict the eyebrows, eyes and mouth). Within the folded-arm figurine class there are indeed hybrids between the different varieties, but hybrids between the folded-arm figurine type and other types are rare (Renfrew 1969, 73). Yet this figurine could constitute – along with another Naxian figurine illustrated by Zervos (1957, fig. 26) with a Louros-type outline, a face like a folded-arm figurine, and knees of Plastiras type, also mentioned by Renfrew (1969, 73, n. 104) – one of the very few examples where mixing of features of both early and developed type can be seen.

A more cautious and thorough approach led to different conclusions. Generally speaking, the sculptors in the EC II period adopted a more modest neck length (abandoning the dangerously long, slender necks of the the Plastiras type and of the violin figurines of the EC I period and of the Louros figurines of the transitional EC I–II phase) in order to reduce the

vulnerability of this part of their work (Getz-Preziosi 1981, 25). But although the very long neck of NM171 is reminiscent of those of the early Plastiras and Louros types, yet even later some sculptures are still carved with long necks. Examples include the two EC II Kapsala variety figurines (nos 1977.187.19 a,b) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the unprovenanced Early Spedos figurine in N. Horiuch Collection (Getz-Preziosi 1981, 25; figs 39–42, 54–5). Also, while the early types and their varieties are characterized by the complete separation of the legs from the crotch, the legs of NM171 are not only carved as a single unit with the torso and with each other, but they are unperforated as well. The non-perforation of the leg-cleft is a sculptor's cautious choice made not earlier than the EC II period aiming to reduce the risk of fracture of the legs (Getz-Preziosi 1981, 25). Moreover it is not proper for NM171 to be classed in the group of the EC I–II 'precanonical' figurines, which, as defined by Thimme (1977, 449-50) and Getz-Preziosi (1981, 16), represent the hesitant beginning of the folded-arm position, retaining at the same time features reminiscent of the Plastiras type. For in the arrangement of the forearms it exhibits the classical folded arm type. So it may seem logical to date the Phiondas figurine to EC II and probably at the beginning of an early stage. It is close enough, in almost all important respects, to the unprovenanced Early Spedos variety figurine no. 35.60 in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which has been dated to the EC II on the basis of its typological characteristics (Thimme 1977, 462, pl. 139).

Not previously published.

7. NM172, Ph. 109 (Figs 16.17, 16.18).
EC II. Naxos.

Chance surface find from the Phiondas site or the surrounding area. White marble. Pinkish-brown patina. The head, the neck, and the feet from a little below the knees are missing (in particular only part of the upper calves is preserved). Preserved height: 110mm. Width: 33.1mm (at the shoulders); 32mm (at the thighs). Maximum thickness (in the abdomen): 15.5mm. Folded-arm figurine. Kapsala or Spedos variety. All the breaks occurred in antiquity, for they are patinated and covered by precipitates (Fig. 16.18). The surface is in general in a bad state of preservation: heavily worn, with much pitting, flaking and black stains in places, as well as a few recent chips, on both the front and the back.

Small-sized figurine, distinguished in general by its naturalistic rendering and the plasticity of the volumes. The edges are rounded. The outlines are curved. The breasts are very close to the arms and placed high on the chest. The torso is rather elongated and rectangular. The shoulders are only a little wider than the hips. The upper arms are held close to the sides of the torso and separated from it by means of grooves. Exceptionally the right forearm is folded above the left. The palm of the right hand is hidden under the elbow of the left forearm, which slants downwards. The left thigh is wider at the front and the right at the back. The slightly bulging abdomen is distinguished from the thighs by a horizontal groove. The wide unperforated leg-cleft starts from the pubic area, which is defined by the modelling of the top of the thighs. The lower legs are separated a little below the knees. At the rear, a vertical groove down the back down to the buttocks indicates the spinal column. The buttocks are rendered by protrusions, roundish in profile.

This piece conforms, in general, to the description for the Kapsala variety (Renfrew 1991, 78). So it could be classed in this small group, in which until 1998 only 29 published examples were included (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 140). But, taking into consideration Getz-Preziosi's words that 'the whole notion of separate varieties is to an extent an artificial construction imposed on the material: it is very difficult to assign some works to one or another of the varieties' (quoted by Renfrew 1991, 78), and 'the Kapsala style evolved naturally into the Spedos Style, and the works of some sculptors are difficult to assign to one or the other variety because they seem somehow to partake of both' (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 75), it could also be assigned to the Spedos variety. Indeed other figurines could be characterized, according to the criteria set by each scholar, either as of the Spedos or of the Kapsala varieties. See, for instance, Sotirakopoulou 1998, n. 195: two figurines, which according to Getz-Preziosi (1977, 73, fig. 49) and Renfrew (1991, 79, pl. 53) are thought to be of the Spedos variety and transitional between Kapsala and Spedos varieties respectively,

belong in Sotirakopoulou's opinion to the Kapsala variety.

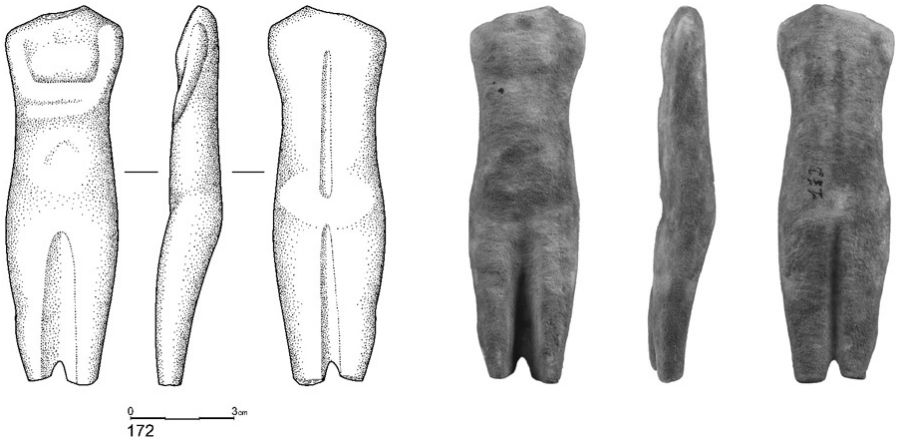

Fig. 16.17 NM172. Folded-arm figurine of Kapsala or Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

As mentioned above, this figurine's left arm is folded below the right (Fig. 16.17), thus exhibiting a significant departure from the canon of the folded-arm figurines (where the left arm is folded above the right). This feature is seen in some Chalandriani figurines and in the typologically related 'non-canonical' figurines (Renfrew 1991, 82–5), and sometimes in the Koumasa variety as well (Preziosi 1977, 74). This figurine from Phiondas constitutes one of the rare examples of the anomalous arrangement of the arms seen in a variety other than those mentioned. Another example is an EC II female figurine of the Late Spedos variety from Paros (Thimme 1977, no. 186). These figurines with anomalous arm positions are generally considered as the final sculptural products of the EC period. In particular 'Renfrew and Getz-Preziosi considered the figurines with abnormal position of the arms (e.g. with left arm below right, with left arm raised and sometimes running diagonally along the thorax, with both arms upraised and set diagonally on the thorax) as the final sculptural products of the EC period, which thus present a relaxation of the rules. Thimme, on the contrary, considered this feature as a deviation from the canonical form and as a basic feature of a special 'postcanonical' group which he dated to EC III period, although he accepted that certain of these figurines may overlap in date with the canonical late Chalandriani variety idols' (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 142). But as noted above, this figurine belongs either to the Spedos variety or perhaps to the earliest of the canonical varieties, the Kapsala variety, so this feature may not be explained by chronological criteria. According to Getz-Preziosi (1981b, n. 50), the right-handed craftsmen would find it easier to execute the arms in the canonical way (folded with the left above the right). Thus perhaps for the left-handed craftsmen the reversed arm arrangement (left below the right) might be more convenient. So it may not be wrong to suggest that the craftsman of this figurine was left-handed.

In the upper part of the chest, and the diagonal break at the base of the neck of this piece there is a small shallow cavity (Figs 16.17, 16.18). Mylonas (1959, 81, no. 2, fig. 163) illustrates an EC II Spedos-variety figurine with a very similar, although perforated, cavity in the same part of the body. This he describes as a mending hole, bored from both sides. Sotirakopoulou (1998, 145–6, fig. 9, pl. 14a–d) illustrates a similar hole, bored from the back to the front in the right thigh of a Plastiras-type figurine 6820 from Akrotiri. She considers this an unfinished repair hole. In our case the cavity could be interpreted as an unfinished hole bored from front to back. If that is correct the Phiondas figurine would be the fifth known example of a 'false start.' For beside figurine 6820 from Akrotriri, there are three other examples: (a) slightly above the repair hole at the back of the right calf of a Louros-type figurine found in grave 26 of the eponymous cemetery; (b) on the left buttock of a male Plastiras figurine of unknown provenance, above the beak at the left thigh; (c) just above the break at the base of the neck of an unpublished Spedos-variety figurine from Keros (all the

examples are cited in Sotirakopoulou 1998, 146).

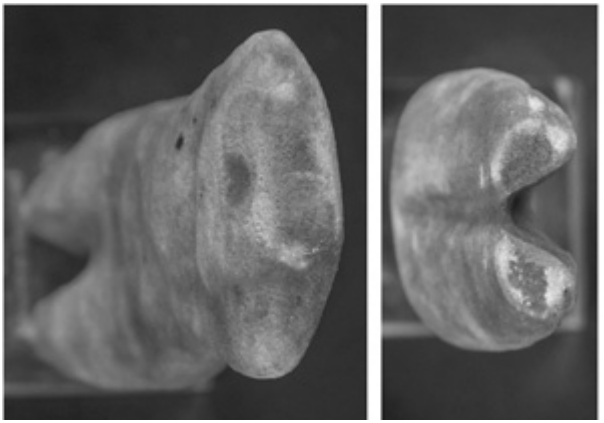

Fig. 16.18 Details of NM172. Not to scale.

The soft, rather 'cheesy' marble of which the Phiondas sculpture is made together with the conditions in which it was exposed are responsible for its heavily worn state of preservation. But it should also be noted that it is not clear whether or not this figurine was ever completed. So one might conclude that it is either an unfinished object or a reject (cf. Doumas 2000, 196, fig. 330), although the mending hole rather weakens both these alternatives (for why would someone bother to repair something that that he did not intend to complete or intended to throw away?). Given also that unfinished stone objects from the EC period – figurines and vessels – are extremely rare (Getz-Preziosi 1981b), it is virtually impossible to tell.

Not previously published.

Unearthing the truth about the Phiondas figurines

Bibliographical references to the Phiondas site and its figurines

1 The first reference, from the late '40s, to the EC graves at Phiondas and Spedos on Naxos is cited in the *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1948* (Amandry 1949, 533):

> 'Naxos. – Une vingtaine d'idoles cycladiques, des vases de marbre et des épées de bronze ont été trouvés dans des tombes, en deux points de la côte S.-E. de l'île, à Phiodas et à Spedo. Sur le second de ces sites, M. Condoléon signale que d'autres tombeaux préhistoriques avaient été précédemment découverts'
>
> (Twenty Cycladic idols, marble vases and bronze daggers have been found in graves at two areas of the southeast coast of the island, Phiondas and Spedos. In the second of these areas Kontoleon reports that other prehistoric graves were previously discovered).

2. In the *Gazetteer of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Sites in the Cycladic Islands*, Renfrew (1972, 519, no. 27) presents Phiondas as follows:

> ‘When visiting the Pyrgos tou Cheimarrou on 17/7/63 I was informed by the local inhabitants of cist graves excavated at Phiondas (? Philonda) and at Kamino. The peasants spoke of a “Royal Family” grave at Phiondas, with marble finds, which may refer to the discovery of a group of figurines in the Goulandris collection (cf. Doumas 1969, nos. 308, 309, 312, 328 reputedly from Spedos)’.

3. Fotou (1983, 37) is the first to report *looted* cemeteries at Phiondas and Spedos citing the two above references (that is, Amandry 1949 and Renfrew 1972), although neither explicitly indicates illegal excavations at these two sites:

> Des information sur des tombes pilées au lieu-dit Phiondàs, situé au S-O de la région de Chimarrou, entre celle-ci et Spédos, ont été données par N. Kontoléon et C. Renfrew. D’ après une communication de N. Kontoléon (publiée dans le BCH 1949) “une vingtaine d’idoles cycladiques, des vases de marbre et des épées du bronze ont été trouvés dans des tombes en 2 points de la côte S-E de l’île, à Phiondasss et à Spedho. Par ailleurs, C. Renfrew mentionne le témoignage des paysans de la région de Chimarrou, suivant lequel des tombes à ciste ont été fouillées clandestinement sur les sites de Phiondas et de Kamino. D’après le même témoignage, il semple qu’une des tombes de Phiondas, appelée par les paysans “la tombe de la famille royale”, a fourni des objets en marbre: il s’agit probablement de la découverte d’un groupe d’idoles de la collection Goulandris. Ces deux témoignages se réfèrent apparemment à la même découverte, mais ils sont trop vagues et incomplets pour permettre des conclusions sur l’importance de ce cimetière ou sur la datation. Aucune exploration officielle n’a eu lieu sur se site, non plus que dans toute la région de Chimarrou et jusqu’à Spèdhos (où le dernières fouilles étaient celles de Stèphanos).

4. The Phiondas figurine NM166 is mentioned, for the first time, by Preziosi, in the catalogue of the exhibition *Art and Culture of the Cyclades* (*Kunst der Kykladen*) at the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe, with the comment that it ‘was found in Kontoleon’s excavation at Phionta on Naxos’ (Preziosi 1977, 87).

5. However ten years later Preziosi states that: (a) figurine (NM166) and another (NM168) in the Naxos Museum, both attributed by her to the Bastis Sculptor: ‘were found in 1948 in the cemetery of Phiondas in southern Naxos where Kontoleon confiscated the contents of a number of graves just after they had been opened by looters (unfortunately, it is not known if the two figurines were found in the same grave)’ (Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 112–13), and (b) the figurine NM169 ‘was found in 1948 by grave robbers at Phionta’.

6. The same archaeologist in 2001 mentions one more figurine from Phiondas (NM167) among those already known (NM166, NM168 and NM169) as ‘confiscated from looters in 1948’ (Getz-Gentle 2001, 159, 166, 169 respectively).

7. Finally it should be noted that Phiondas figurine NM167 which, according to Preziosi was a product of seizure, was published in the exhibition catalogue *Cycladic Civilization. Naxos in the 3rd Millennium BC* (Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens) labelled

'Kontoleon's excavations, 1948' (Marangou 1990, 152, fig. 158). But Lambrinoudakis (1990, 25-6) made no mention of an excavation by Kontoleon in 1948 in his introduction to the same catalogue.

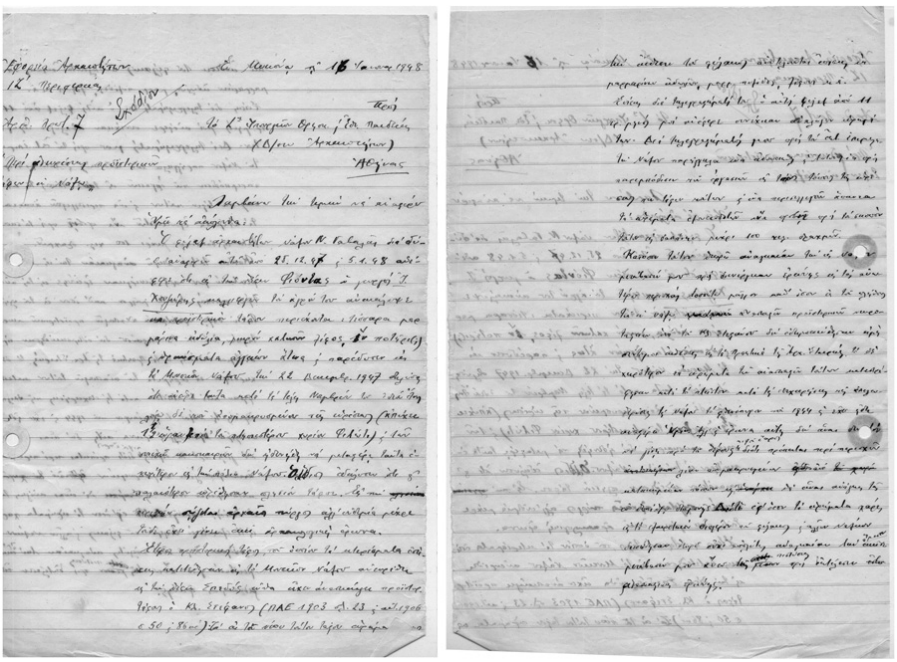

Fig. 16.19 Kontoleon's manuscript (draft of a formal letter to the Department of Antiquities of the Ministry of Education and Religious Aff airs).

In search of the true story of the recovery of the Phiondas figurines: documents, testimonies, data

The bibliographical references for the Phiondas cemetery do not clarify whether it had been excavated or looted. Nor do they offer clear information about the circumstances of the acquisition of the seven Phiondas figurines. On the contrary, one could say that the above somewhat contradictory versions are rather confusing.

We were fortunate enough to find among the records and documents kept in the archives of the Naxos Museum the preliminary draft of a formal letter written by Kontoleon on January 16, 1948, to the Department of Antiquities of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs (Fig. 16.19). In this manuscipt, Kontoleon makes reference to the discovery of graves containing gravegoods found at Phiondas and at Spedos and to his transfer of their contents to the

Naxos Museum in Chora, the capital of the island.

The translation in English is as follows (see Appendix for the transcription in Greek). Note that:

1. A question mark in brackets indicates that the word used is illegible.
2. The words underlined or erased in Kontoleon's manuscript are indicated.
3. 'Potiri' ('ποτήρι') means water vessel. It is also the Greek word for a beaker: i.e. a lidless vessel. The question mark in parenthesis after the word 'potiri' is in Kontoleon's manuscript.
4. Praktika Arch. Etairias = PAE (Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας)
5. In the phrase 'But this research cannot be done before the summer or spring because the areas are uninhabited very far from the village' the original word in the manuscript means 'remote'. There is also an illegible word after the word 'remote' which is erased in the manuscript.
6. In the last sentence ('I find my immediate transition there not entirely necessary, without finance to conduct excavation') one illegible word after the word 'without' and another one after the word 'carrying' are erased in the manuscript.

Draft
Department of Antiquities IZ Periphery
Pr. No. 7

'About finding prehistoric graves on Naxos'

Mykonos, January 16, 1948

To
The Ministry of Religious Affairs and Nat. Education
Directorate of Antiquities Athens

I have the honour to report to you the following:
The guard of antiquities in Naxos N. Gavalas by two reports of his own on 25.12. 47 and 5.1.48 stated that at Phiondas site the farmer I. Houzouris while ploughing his field discovered one prehistoric grave containing: four mar ble figurines, a small copper dagger, one 'potiri'(?) and potsherds which he presented to the Museum of Naxos on 22, Decemr. 1947 stating that he had found them in late November of the same year but because of the remoteness of the discovery (it is situated 1 ½ hour from the nearest village Filoti) and the continuous bad weather he was not able to transfer them earlier to the city of Naxos. He himself stated that previously graves have been found

nearby. In the proximal region an ancient tower survives but hitherto there has been no archaeological research.

Another prehistoric grave, whose offerings also have been presented to the Museum of Naxos was found at the site of Spedos where Cl. Stephanos had excavated preh. graves (PAE 1903 p.23; ibidem 1906 p. 50, 86 ff). The finds of this new tomb, according to
[PAGE CHANGE]
the guard's report, also consist of marble figurines, marb. pyxis, dagger etc Also, the same phylax sent me a telegram on the 11th of this month stating the continuity of relevant finds. By a telegram of mine to [?] trustee on Naxos I ordered the police to be notified in order to impede the operations in the places where the graves have been found and all of the finds to be collected giving him the authorization to carry out, for this purpose, expenditure up to 100,000 drachmas.

Consequently, I consider it necessary to go to Naxos to carry out research in the above areas mainly because of the numerous prehistoric excavations of prehistoric cemeteries on Naxos by Cl. Stephanos, only brief excavation reports have been published in the Praktika Arch. Etairias, and, to make matters worse, the finds of these excavations were destroyed for the most part during the operations of the release of Naxos in autumn of 1944 as I have already reported to you . But this research is not possible to be done before the summer or spring because the areas are uninhabited very far from the village the inhabited areas and there is will be necessary to stay outdoors. Whereas, since the finds were rescued thanks to the great interest of the phylax and other Naxians I find my immediate transition there not entirely necessary, without finance, to conduct [?]excavation.

The Naxos Museum Catalogue

In the Naxos Archaeological Museum the catalogued objects reported to have come from Phiondas, apart from the seven figurines, are:

1. Nine marble bowls: NM174 (Ph. 84), NM175 (Ph. 85), NM176 (Ph. 114), NM178 (Ph. 115), NM173 (Ph. 116), NM177 (Ph. 200), NM181 (Ph. 201), NM182 (Ph. 202), NM183 (Ph. 203).

2. One marble footed vessel (bowl or kylix; NM179, Ph. 113).
3. One foot of a marble vessel (NM180, Ph. 113a).
4. One marble wedge (NM186, Ph. 112).
5. One spearhead (NM185; there is no Phiondas inventory number).
6. Two clay pyxides (the one globular: NM184,Ph. 90; the other cylindrical: NM187; there is no Phiondas inventory number).
7. Pottery sherds (NM188; there is no Phiondas inventory number).

Yet it should be noted that according to Marangou (1990, 66, fig. 45) the marble grinder (pestle) NM190 also comes from Phiondas. Although the provenance of the pestle is not recorded in the museum catalogue, nor on the object itself, it is most probable that it comes from Phiondas, given that it is stored inside the marble bowl NM178, whose Phiondas provenance is not disputed.

Of all the catalogued objects with a Phiondas provenance, only five out of the seven figurines (namely NM166–70) are listed in the catalogue as 'Kontoleon's find. 1948' ('εὕρημα Κοντολέοντος. 1948'; Fig. 16.20). Another find, the bronze spearhead NM185 (which we failed to locate in the Museum) is inventoried as 'from the same find. 1948, Κοντ' ('ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὑρήματος. 1948, Κοντ'; Fig. 16.20). On the other hand, the bronze dagger and the *potiri* (beaker) mentioned in Kontoleon's manuscript, are not listed in the museum catalogue nor found in its storerooms.

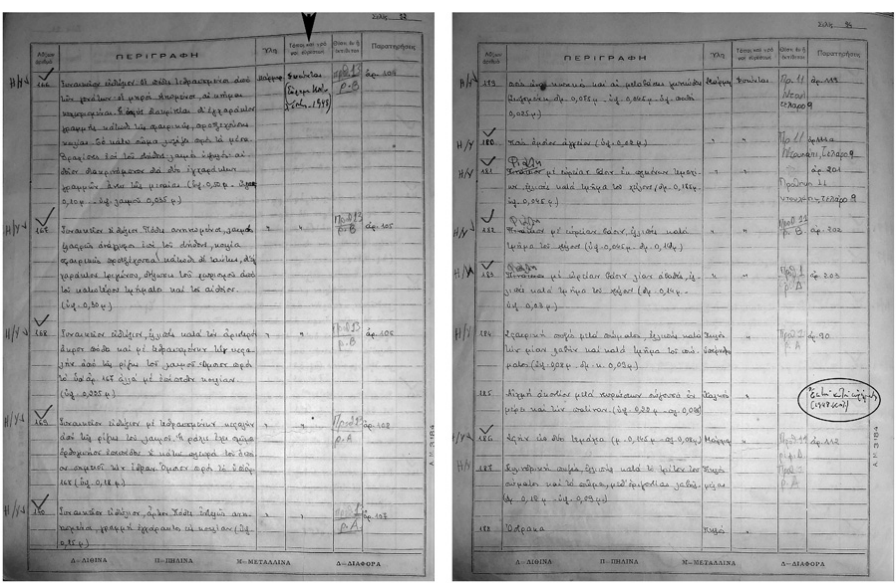

Fig. 16.20. Naxos Museum catalogue entries for Phiondas material.

The testimony of Giorgos Houzouris

In order to banish the confusion which surrounds the discovery of the Phiondas figurines (for instance the register entry is somewhat ambiguous about whether Kontoleon actually found the figurines himself in the course of a systematic excavation or exploration of the site or found them in someone's possession at the site) we visited the son of Ioannis Houzouris (the peasant mentioned in Kontoleon's manuscript) namely Giorgos Houzouris, the only member of Houzouris's family who could give us some information since the peasant and his wife (Giorgos Houzouris's father and mother) had passed away 8 and 5 years ago respectively. Our first meeting took place at the Houzouris's family farm on Phiondas, on the 6 October 2013. The second was at Giorgos Houzouris's house on Philoti, on the 23 February 2014. The Houzouris family has always lived at Philoti. Phiondas is their *exohi* ('εξοχή'), that is, their farm with the fields and cattle and the *mitatos* ('μητάτος' – shepherd's lodging). Ilias Promponas, archiphylax at the Naxos Museum, attended both meetings.

Giorgos Houzouis, aged 63, was born in 1951, that is to say 4 years after the discovery of the Phiondas figurines. He stated that he felt as if he had himself been present when the events occurred, so vividly did his father narrate them to him. Nevertheless, although we have no intention to call into question the honesty and truthful intentions of Giorgos (who has no financial or other benefit by lying to us about the Phiondas sculptures), it is important to keep in mind, with regard to the degree of the credibility of his testimony, that what is presented here is more what he remembers he had heard from his father than what he himself experienced. Furthermore he has had the opportunity, over almost seventy years, to recollect and embellish his memories of his father's story. 'In such circumstances, individual observations can become merged and details elaborated' (Papamichelakis & Renfrew 2010, 183). Therefore the following narrative has to be treated with caution.

At any rate, Giorgos claims to be absolutely sure that the five 'similar' figurines currently in the Naxos Museum and a bronze *xifaki* ('ξιφάκι' – small dagger), come from this grave which his father discovered by chance, some meters away from their *mitato,* at the end of November 1947, while ploughing. The grave, approximately 0.40 × 0.40m or 0.50m, was constructed with *antralikes* ('αντράλικες' – the stones that define the periphery of the threshing floor) and found

sealed ('with no trace of soil at all under the capstone'), almost level with the surface of the ground. The grave contained nothing except for the figurines and the *xifaki* – not even skeletal remains. As soon as the grave was unsealed the figurines showed up, standing in a row, being propped up against one side of the grave. They were quite similar, but varying in size. So his father considered that the two biggest represented the parents (father and mother – the latter was pregnant, carrying her second child), while the smallest was their child, and the other two, medium-sized figurines, were interpreted as the grandfather and the grandmother.

This picture of the married couple and their child and the grandmother and grandfather, all in the same place, reflects a typical Greek family of the time, the members of which lived under the same roof. Thus it is easily understood why Ioannis Houzouris thought the figurines were members of the same family and named them, because of their imposing appearance, 'the Lords of the village'. Giorgos Houzouris also told us how amazed his father was: he kept talking about how robust and masculine the 'mother was' and how slim and tall the 'father', his height exceeding the diameter of the 'trimoni'. The τριμόνι or δριμόνι is the round sieve used to clear the grain from straw residues and its diameter is about 400mm. The 'father' – NM166 as described in the catalogue, is a female figurine probably represented as pregnant (with a height of 498mm). It is also interesting to note that in Greek villages a pregnant women is often called 'διπλή' (double). Giorgos Houzouris was counting the pregnant woman with the unborn child she was carrying as two, as he kept talking about six figurines. It took some time until Promponas, the phylax, and I realised the reason for the discrepancy.

One of the workers on Ioannis Houzouris's farm had the nickname *asvoliaris* (from the word 'ασβολιά' which means 'sooty', because of his black hair). He informed the police about the discovery of the grave, because Ioannis Houzouris would not agree to pay him 150 *zoules* (goats) in return for keeping the discovery quiet. Soon the police arrived at Phiondas and took away the figurines but not the *xifaki* - because Ioannis Houzouris had hidden it inside a *trohalo* (τρόχαλο – pile of stones). They returned to get it a few days later. This second time, Ioannis Houzouris, fearing that the police would come again, gave them this and some other 'humble and broken' EC objects, including a clay *potiri*, picked up on the farm, not from the grave.

About 3 months later the State offered Ioannis Houzouris 70 drachmas as a reward for the finds. However this was a small amount

of money, even for those times (corresponding to a labourer's daily wage), so he did not bother to go to the police station, because of the trouble and expense of travelling to the Chora of Naxos where the police station was. After 20 days he received a notice indicating that declining to accept the money was an act of disrespect towards the Greek state. Thus Ioannis Houzouris felt obliged to take the legal reward.

A couple of months 'or maybe more', after his father had given the finds to the authorities, two ('or, maybe, three') employees of the Greek Archaeological Service visited the Phiondas site. Giorgos Houzouris cannot recall the names, but remembers his father describing one as very important, so we assume that he must have been Kontoleon. The other two were probably the phylax (the Archaeological Service's guardian of antiquities, Nikolaos Gavalas) and a colleague. The representatives of the Archaeological Service asked Ioannis Houzouris to show them the grave where he had found the figurines and the *xifaki*, as well as the other graves on his farm. He guided them all over the area. Giorgos Houzouris claimed that they questioned the existence of a prehistoric cemetery at Phiondas (aiming, we suppose, to prevent illegal 'investigations', before the Archaeological Service would have the chance to conduct formal research).

Giorgos Houzouris insisted that neither Kontoleon nor any other archaeologist had ever conducted any kind of research at Phiondas. The *archaiokapiloi* (illicit diggers) started plundering the site from a couple of years after Ioannis Houzouris had handed over the figurines to the State (somewhere between 1950 and 1953) until at least 1960. Obviously the graveyard did attract the looters' interest as soon as the news got out, but taking the necessary precautionary measures postponed their operations at Phiondas for some time. They did not need to hurry anyway, since there were many EC burial sites throughout the island as targets for their clandestine digging. The *archaiokapilia* (heavy looting) on Naxos and in the Cyclades in general reached its peak during the period of the fifties and sixties. Getz-Preziosi (1987b, 84) reports that at this time private collectors began to take an interest in Cycladic art and 'the 1960's especially saw a burgeoning in both the availability of objects of high quality, primarily on the European antiquities market and an expanded awareness and interest in them'. In general, as Doumas (1977, 28) informs us:

> the decade of the 1960s heralded a revival of interest in and examination of Cycladic cemeteries. Much of this work has been promoted by the Greek Archaeological Service as a measure to try and combat the large-scale destruction of Cycladic cemeteries and the

damage wrought by nefarious excavators during the 1950's.

Giorgos Houzouris remembers, as if it were today, a summer night when he was 6–7 years old, listening to them digging, 'their voices and laughter sounded far away and they lit fires so they could see in the dark, without any fear at all, such was their effrontery'. For the looters worked only during the summer, because there is greenery then and thus their pits are not apparent, while in the winter without the greenery, the pits are obvious even from a distance. Phiondas, over an hour from Filoti, is a remote area, difficult of access even nowadays, and the Houzouris family farm is in the middle of nowhere.

Giorgos Houzouris told us that judging from the looters' pits and the remains of the destroyed graves, the prehistoric cemetery extended to an area of approximately 150–200 sq m, and it must have been dense and rich. It is of significance that Getz-Preziosi's report that the namepiece of the Bastis Master (i.e. figurine no. 64.149 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York) 'is said to have been found on Naxos also'. She adds the information that the patina found on the Metropolitan Museum figurine is the same as that which covers all the figurines that come from Phiondas (Preziosi 1987, n. 84; see also in the catalogue above Preziosi's comment on the same discoloration seen on NM167 and a figurine in the Harmon Collection).

In response to our questions to Giorgos Houzouris about the statement attributed to his father in Kontoleon's manuscript, that in the past other graves also have been found nearby ("Ο ἴδιος ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι κ΄ παλαιότερον ἐυρέθησαν πλησίον τάφοι') Giorgos answered that there is no way that his father would have said that, in order to avoid further trouble with the police. What he might have said to the policemen ('and the *phylax* probably misunderstood it') is that he had seen other *antralikes* as well in the past, but that he had not understood that they belonged to the graves of an ancient cemetery. Giorgos Houzouris told us once again that the only grave ever accidentally opened up by his father was this one, containing the figurines and the *xifaki*.

We need to make clear, here, that 'anecdotal evidence from nonspecialists about important archaeological discoveries, always carries with the risk of misinformation. This is particularly the case when the finds are concealed from professional archaeologists at the time of discovery' (Papamichelakis & Renfrew 2010, 181). As noted above, Giorgos's father tried to keep secret the ancient objects (including the sculptures and the *xifaki*) found within his property. In this case he may well have deliberately concealed the real facts of their recovery and invented this 'fiction' story about the one and only

grave and its unique furniture that maximized the possibility of a good offer by the State on the one hand, while, on the other, precluded the possibility of his prosecution for illegal excavations.

In the following years, however, Ioannis Houzouris continued to pick up ancient objects every now and then, from the surface of his land at Phiondas and the surrounding areas. These were mostly of clay and broken, with some of marble including two more marble statuettes, 'but not as beautiful or as big as the first ones', which he presented to the Naxos Museum. Admittedly Giorgos Houzouris could not recall in which year those finds entered the Naxos Museum collection, but he was sure that a Greek police officer, Farmakis, persuaded his father to give them up and even escorted him and his brother, Konstantis, to the museum. That last piece of information was crucial support for Giorgos Houzouris's words, because a note was found in one of the objects kept in the Naxos Museum (in particular within the clay globular pyxis NM184) with the toponym '*Phiondas'* on one side and the phrase 'K. V. Houzouris Filoti 1953' on the other ('K. Β. Χουζούρη Φιλῶτι 1953' V, the Greek letter 'Β', is the first letter of their father's name Vasilis or Βασίλης: Fig. 16.21). Furthermore, Ilias Promponas confirmed that an officer with the surname Farmakis had served in the Naxos police department in 1953. Regrettably both Farmakis and Konstantis Houzouris have since passed away.

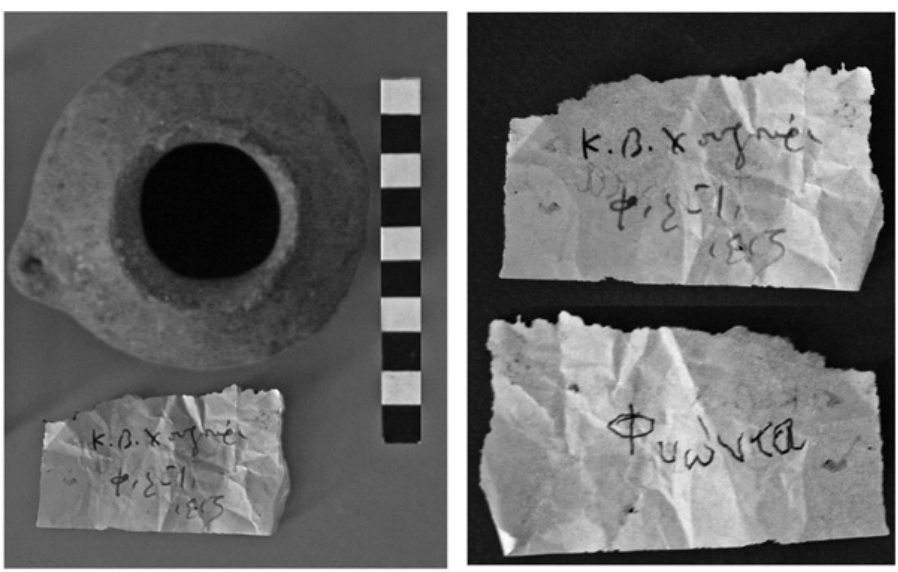

Fig. 16.21 Clay pyxis NM184 with note inside: on one side 'Phiondas' and the phrase 'K. V. Houzouris Filoti 1953' on the other.

It is worth mentioning that during our visit to Phiondas, Giorgos

Houzouris not only indicated the findspot of the particular cist grave which contained the figurines (Fig. 16.22), but he also showed us where the cemetery had been located. The existence of the Cycladic cemetery is still, after more than half a century, attested by the slabs from the plundered graves incorporated in various modern structures or dispersed within the farm. He also drove us to the *glisoures* site ('γλεισούρες' – piles of stones) approximately 100 m away from the cemetery, where remains (ruined walls) from the adjacent associated settlement can be seen. He also indicated to us in another more distant, part of his land a large quantity of 'bizarre stones', as he characterised them, with which he played when he was a boy. If our assessment that they are slags is proven correct, they constitute clear indication of metal working in the area. It may be that the presence of slags a few metres away from the EC cemetery is not coincidental, especially as all the figurines which are documented as coming from the Phiondas site or are reported to do so, have, as Getz-Preziosi mentions, 'a reddish surface, indicating probably that they were buried in iron-rich soil' (Getz-Preziosi 1987a, n. 84).

No doubt there is something 'elusive' about this Phiondas grave and its assemblage, and we must never underestimate the possible attempt of Giorgos Houzouris's father to veil, for his own reasons, the real source of the objects under discussion. Nevertheless, from the combination of the discussion we had with Giorgos Houzouris and the archival sources (the Kontoleon manuscript and the Naxos Museum catalogue), it may follow that the five figurines 'almost identical in form and appearance' accompanied by a *xifaki*, come from a single 'sealed' cist grave or cenotaph, accidentally recovered by the peasant Ioannis Houzouris while ploughing.

It may be that the bronze dagger listed in Kontoleon's manuscript and the *potiri* are actually the bronze spearhead NM185 and the clay pyxis NM187 respectively. Our conjecture about the bronze spearhead is reinforced by the fact that it is inventoried as 'from the same find. 1948, Kont'. (Fig. 16.20). We also believe that the *potiri* is in fact the clay pyxis NM187, because: (a) there is no beaker among the Phiondas finds in the Museum, and (b) within this pyxis a piece of paper was found with the toponym 'Phiondas' ('Φυώντα') written on it (Fig. 16.23). The 'pottery fragments' which are also referred to in Kontoleon's manuscript could be the sherds, NM188. Probably both the *potiri* and the potsherds are not designated as 'Kontoleon's finds. 1948', (Fig. 16.20) because the person who compiled the museum catalogue characterised as such only the grave offerings, and not the further group of objects given by Ioannis Houzouris in 1948. It is

apparent from Giorgos Houzouris's testimony that Nikolaos Gavalas, the *phylax* who submitted the reports on the basis of which Kontoleon wrote the letter to the Ministry, was not present at either of the two police visits to the farm of Ioannis Houzouris. As a result he may erred in citing those finds which were grave furnishings and those that were not. Unfortunately Gavalas's reports have not been found nor is he alive to help us sort out this puzzle.

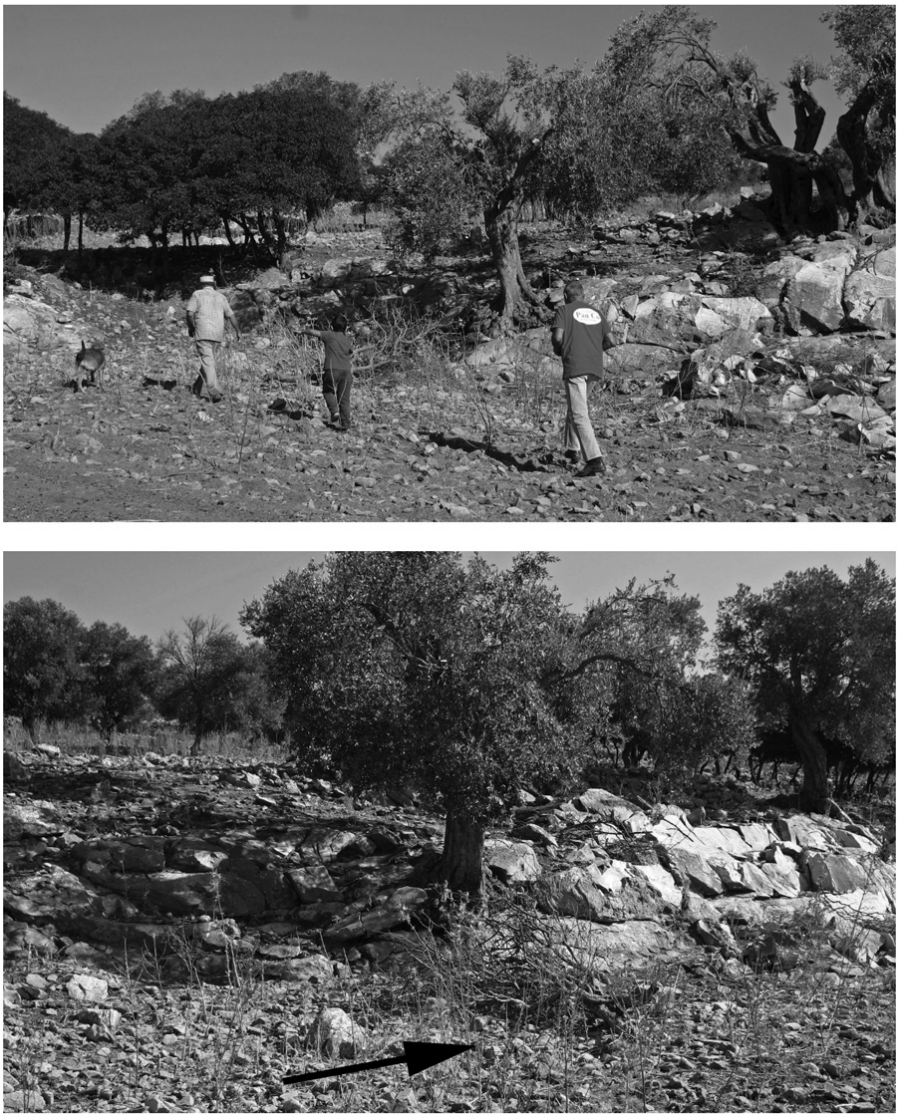

Fig. 16.22 Phiondas. The location of the cist grave.

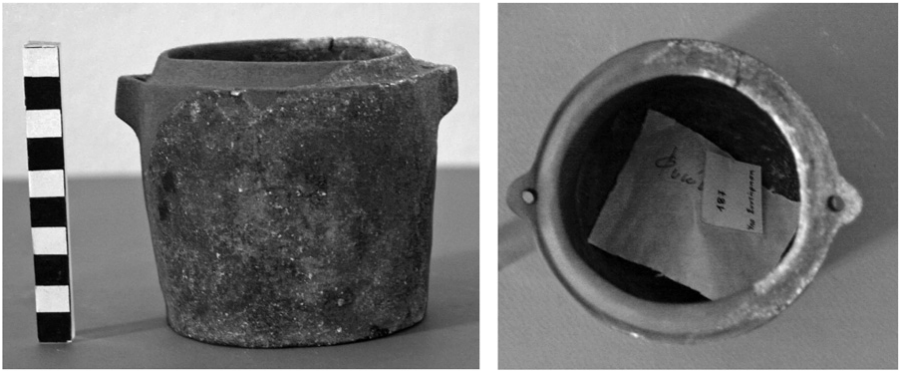

Fig. 16.23 Clay pyxis NM187 with paper with toponym 'Phiondas' written on it. Not to scale.

The other objects from Phiondas (including the figurines NM171 and NM172) in the Naxos Archaeological Museum are pick-ups from the surface of the site and its vicinity, presented by Ioannis Houzouris and his brother, Konstantis, in 1953. We believe that at least some of these objects (especially the clay ones) most of which are broken and restored in the Museum labs, were probably overlooked or discarded by the looters who naturally will have taken away the 'best' pieces and may have dumped several others in the course of careless and hasty digging. Yet we must keep in mind Renfrew's remark that:

> while some damage to individual pieces may indeed sometimes occur during the looting process, there is in fact little evidence to suggest that looters are in general so clumsy as to break marble vases, nor so careless as to leave many of the pieces behind, should breakage of complete vessels occur (Renfrew 2007, 407).

The question remains as to why Kontoleon refers to four – not five – figurines in his manuscript. This may be due to incorrect information from the *phylax* or simply a clerical error by Kontoleon himself. Giorgos Houzouris's description and enumeration of the figurines corresponds to the five (not four) figurines labelled in the Naxos Museum catalogue as 'Kontoleon's find. 1948'.

We are also quite confident that Kontoleon (who, as he himself writes in his manuscript, was in Mykonos when the grave furnishings from Phiondas and Spedos were found and brought to the Naxos Museum) never conducted excavations at Phiondas. In his manuscript letter he was asking for permission to travel to Naxos in order 'to do research in the above areas' ('Κατόπιν τούτου θεωρῶ ἀναγκαίαν τήν εἴς Νάξον μετάβασίν μοῦ πρός διενέργειαν ἐρεύνης εἴς τάς ἀνωτέρω περιοχάς').This is clear in view of two factors: (a) the lack of excavation notebooks or any kind of notes relating to Phiondas, and (b) the lack of any published work concerning research at Phiondas in *PAE (*where Kontoleon submitted quite detailed annual reports on his excavations at Grotta and his research in other areas) or in any other

journal. (See also Fotou 1983, 36: 'Aucune exploration officielle n'a eu lieu sur se site, non plus que dans toute la région de Chimarrou et jusqu'à Spèdhos (oú le dernières fouilles étaient celles de Stèphanos'). Unfortunately Giorgos Houzouris, after a search made at our request, could find no written documents or police notices relating to these issues.

Discussion

This paper so far is actually more an endeavour to reconstruct, to the extent possible, the assemblage of a 'single grave at Phiondas which Ioannis Houzouris had accidentally uncovered'. One could question the integrity of this reconstructed assemblage, even raise concerns about the authenticity of the finds (although the style and the surface condition of the figurines give no explicit ground for suspicion). We would argue that, of course, no reconstruction can ever replace the original and now forever lost archaeological context, yet the integration of the available background information offered by Giorgos Houzouris with the archival sources and the information written in the museum catalogue, reinforce the possibility that the EC figurines NM166–70 did actually come solely from one grave.

On the basis of the observations made on these EC figurines (NM166–70), certain questions need to be considered. These pertain to the typology and chronology of the grave, the graveyard and the accompanying settlement, issues in relation to the recognition of 'Sculptors' or sub-varieties, the condition of the figurines, the possible paint ghosts preserved on some of them, and the potential symbolism of the sculptures, if read from a different (gender-focused) point of view.

Comments on the typology and the chronology of the grave, graveyard and settlement at Phiondas

Giorgos Houzouris's testimony and our short survey at the site in October 2013 resulted in the determination of the cemetery's location as well as the identification of the settlement to which the cemetery most probably belonged. The cemetery consisted of cist graves, possibly closely spaced, although their spatial organisation (meaning, for instance, whether they clustered into small individual groups etc.) is not clear, It must have been approximately 150–200 sq. m in extent, occupying a flat area, like Phyrroges and Mnimouria on Naxos, Kampos on Paros and, perhaps also Chalandiani on Syros. Note that

the majority of Cycladic cemeteries occur on sloping ground and often at the foot of the slope. It is very rare for flat areas to be utilized (Doumas 1977, 30).

The adjacent settlement must have been well developed judging both by the surviving foundations, the ruins of its stone walls and its metallurgical activities as indicated by the slags, if they actually are such, located on the surface nearby.

The grave, opened up accidentally by Ioannis Houzouris in 1947, was apparently like most EC graves covered with stones that lay so close to the surface that it was uncovered by the plough of the farmer. It was a plain box (cist), approximately 0.40 × 0.40 to 0.50m, probably trapezoidal in plan and constructed of stone slabs. There were no skeletal remains. It was furnished with a bronze spearhead (or dagger, see above) and five figurines. They are carved in the same marble and exhibit the same surface weathering, evidence in support of their common provenance and context.

Four of the figurines (NM166, 167, 168, 169) belong to the Late Spedos variety. Figurine NM167 could be classified as either a transitional form between the Spedos and Dokathismata varieties, or as a Late Spedos example bearing some traits of the Dokathismata variety. But even if we accept Getz-Preziosi's appraisal that NM167 is of the Dokathismata variety (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 213), the circumstance that it was in the same grave with the Late Spedos figurines, suggests, as Preziosi herself notes, that 'is not much later in date than the Spedos variety' (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 213). Getz-Preziosi (1987b, 213) concedes that in the past she failed to recognise that NM167 seemed later than the other Late Spedos figurines. On the other hand, figurine NM170, is an early version of the Spedos variety. It also exhibits a hallmark of the Late group: the unperforated leg-cleft.

Hence it seems more likely that these subdivisions within the Spedos variety are not chronologically distinct. Furthermore the coexistence of Late and Early Spedos figurines in this single grave reinforces the speculation that categorisations of this kind are related rather to technical issues. As Renfrew (1991, 92) pointed out, 'these distinction, seem perfectly plausible. But should we be clear that there is no absolutely no independent evidence for it. It is simply a statement of what today would seem typologically convenient'. Getz-Preziosi (1987b, 160) also stresses that the artisans were individuals and the execution of every single detail was ultimately a matter of personal choice. Besides, all the canonical folded-arm figurines found in the Cycladic islands within a clear cultural context belong to the

Keros-Syros culture and to the EC II period. There is no reliable way of deciding which of the folded-arm figurine varieties are early and which are late: 'To do this properly would require abundant, well-documented finds, with adequate associations, so that we could judge which pottery forms were long lasting, which early, and which late, and identify the sculptural varieties that accompanied them'. So the distinction between 'early' and 'late' forms within the EC II period is based on purely typological arguments. It might be better to avoid the clear-cut evolutionary picture, as far as varieties within the canonical varieties are concerned, and think rather in terms of overlapping durations (Renfrew 1991, 87, 90).

Furthermore not only do the five figurines under discussion belong to this culture, but so do (the majority of) the Phiondas surface finds: the figurines NM171 and NM172 and the objects in the Naxos Museum (see, for instance, NM190, the marble pestle, and NM178, the marble bowl, which are dated to the EC II period: Marangou 1990, 66, nos 45 and 44). Not only was the Phiondas burial ground in use during the floruit of the Keros-Syros culture, as other archaeologists had already proposed (Hope-Simpson & Dickinson, 1979, 331; Doumas 1990, 23), but the neighbouring settlement was in use at the same time.

Reflections on the identification of individual sculptors (or sub-varieties)

Getz-Preziosi proposed in an article in 1966 the existence of individual artisans. In two monographs (Getz-Preziosi 1987a; Getz-Gentle 2001) she isolated the hands of specific sculptors whose work is seen not only in the figurines found together in graves but also in many others not found together, whether from systematic excavations or scattered among the various museums and private collections around the word. Her criteria for doing this are the recurring complex of characteristics that define a sculptor's style, such as the outline contours, the treatment of specific forms and the manner in which certain details are executed (Renfrew 1991, 119; Sotirakopoulou 1998, 148). In the case of the Phiondas figurines, Preziosi focusing on the resemblances between NM166 and NM168, assigned both to the Bastis Master. She further attributed NM167 to the Berlin Master and NM169 to the Naxos Museum Master.

Preziosi considers NM166 and NM168 to be 'quite alike in subtle ways', such as the angle of the shoulders and the proportions of the upper body, the similar profile contour, the presence of the spine and

the very prominent nose (Getz-Preziosi 2001, 95). But dissimilarities are also clear: NM168, for instance, is short and stocky with an unperforated leg-cleft between the calves, while NM166 is tall and refined and the legs are perforated below the knees. Yet, these differences, according to Preziosi, are due to the fact that the figurines were carved in different phases of the artistic evolution of the sculptor. She concludes: 'the identifications I regard as early and mature as the products of the same hand is supported by the fact that the only early work and the one of two mature works were found in the same cemetery (and possibly even the same grave) on Naxos' (Getz-Gentle 2001, 95).

For figurine NM167, Preziosi confesses that although known it had been known to her for many years, she failed, at first, to attribute it to the Berlin Master, because it is 'so different from the images already ascribed to him that, on first inspection, the reader would be quite justified in viewing me claim with strong scepticism'. Yet 'not long after … it occurred to me' that it 'must be also from his hand, but from an earlier period of his development' (Getz-Preziosi 2001, 10).

Preziosi characterises NM169 as the smallest and earliest work of the Naxos Museum Master. Nevertheless, whereas in the same article she claims that 'within its lumpy, undifferentiated forms and its slack outlines one can discern the untried hand of the individual who went to carve much more carefully formed and finished images', a few lines below she points out that:

> if the smallest and largest figurines were the only extant images from the hand of the Naxos Museum Master one might easily recognize them as the work of one man. This is not surprising since they were probably carved many years apart. But with the aid of the intermediary pieces, the connection between appear to be his earliest and latest surviving works becomes evident (Getz-Preziosi 1984, 51).

The above extracts leave room for considerable doubt as to whether we may justifiably speak of 'the hand' of the 'Sculptor' or 'Master' since the basic criterion (a really close identity between the figurines) which Preziosi herself set, fails. Many scholars have put forward their reservations and argued that 'a specific degree of typological similarity' reflects sculptural traditions that evolved within restricted chronological or local contexts (workshops), rather than the handiwork of specific artisans (Renfrew 1991, 110–16. See also Marthari 1999, 33 & n. 12 for bibliographical references to articles arguing against Preziosi's 'Masters' theory and for criticism of her treatment of the Cycladic sculptures as works of High Art). Getz-Preziosi (1984, 48) countered their criticism:

> Quite apart from the fact that the archaeological record will not support anything more elaborate than a master-apprentice (father-son) relationship, the notion of a workshop in which several sculptors worked together, mutually influencing one another, is an

unnecessary hypothesis. There are good reasons why, at least at times, a sculptor would not or could not have repeated himself. Indeed, if one stops to consider the factors involved, one should perhaps be more surprised if two works by one artist are nearly identical than if they exhibit noteworthy differences.

For all the arguments given in detail by Renfrew (introduction, this volume, Chapter 1), we shall dissent from Preziosi's and support Renfrew's view that the 'Sculptors' or 'Masters' must not be considered as identifiable individual artisans or sculptors, but as 'sub-varieties', that is 'the work of "traditions" (implying that the form of one piece has influenced the form of another) or "workshops" (implying that the makers were in some way associated)'. At any rate, we also agree with Renfrew (this volume, Chapter 1) that the major contribution of the Preziosi's 'Masters or Sculptors' taxonomic system (even if her practice of naming many of the 'sculptors' after collectors is disagreeable), regarding the classification of the Early Cycladic Sculptures, is the establishment of 'more detailed categories or sub-varieties among the already recognized varieties of the canonical folded arm figure type'.

The 'reality' of the three named Sculptors to which Preziosi attributes the four of the five figurines of Phiondas, along with their possible 'origin' and potential interrelationships are addressed in the following paragraphs. Of the 21 or 22 pieces attributable, up to 2001, to Preziosi's 'Naxos Museum Master' (Getz-Preziosi 2001, 81 and 159–61), at least a dozen are complete: four have been unearthed in cemeteries in Naxos (Phyrroges, Phiondas, Aplomata), four are said to have come from Naxos, at least seven reputedly belong to the 'Keros Hoard', and the remaining six are of unknown provenance. This 'group' contains more than the two documented sculptures needed, according to Renfrew (Introduction, this volume), for a 'Master' (or 'Sculptor') to pass the 'authenticity test', so its validity cannot be doubted. Yet we must be cautious as far as the unprovenanced pieces are concerned which constitute the vast majority.

It may be relevant to refer to another find, although it is not directly related to the figurines from Phiondas: Getz-Preziosi (1987a, 98) reports that around 1947 a Naxian farmer, while ploughing his field, found and presented to the Naxos Museum, the figurines now catalogued as NM194 and NM195. Although the find place of these figurines is not inventoried in the Museum catalogue, the fact that: (a) at least as far as we know the only figurines found by chance in the late forties come from Phiondas and Spedos; and (b) NM194, NM195 are definitely not from Phiondas, the assumption that NM194 and NM195 have a Spedos provenance seems logical. If that is the case, then the number of Naxian cemeteries furnished with figurines by

Preziosi's 'Naxos Museum Master' is increased to four. Of the other two figurines assigned by her to the 'Naxos Master' and are said to have come from Naxos, NM4676 belonged to the group of illicitly obtained objects confiscated in 1965 (Zapheiropoulou 1980), and the other is currently in the Goulandris Collection.

Preziosi's 'Bastis Master' is known from seven works (Getz-Preziosi 2001, 166–7). Two (NM166 and NM168) were found together in the same Phiondas grave, two more are said to have been found on Naxos. One, catalogue no. 64.149 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is possibly from Phiondas cemetery as well, as indicated by its patina, while two others allegedly belong to the 'Keros Hoard'. As already noted (see catalogue), on the basis of Renfrew's criteria (Introduction, this volume) the validity of this sub-variety is rather doubtful.

Preziosi's 'Berlin Master' is recognised in seven works. One piece (NM167) comes from Phiondas (Getz-Gentle 2001, 169) and another one, which is actually its replica, from Polichni (Papazoglou-Manioudaki, this volume, Chapter 21). Then there are the almost identical figurine in the Harmon Collection and one piece possibly from the 'Keros Hoard'. The place of discovery of the remaining three works is not known (Getz-Gentle 2001, 169). As stated above (see catalogue), the sculptures from Polichni and Phiondas match the criteria set by Renfrew (see this volume, Chapter 1) to establish a sub-variety (which could be named the 'Polichni' or 'Phiondas' sub-variety, after the site where each was recovered). This sub-variety may be related to the 'Berlin Sculptor'. Yet, it would be prudent to omit the rest of the pieces attributed to this 'Master' from this sub-variety

It is of considerable interest to note that the pattern of distribution of all the works (both documented and unprovenanced) of the three aforementioned Preziosi's 'Sculptors' shows a relationship. For not only are they represented and (in some cases documented) in the finds from other sites on Naxos, but they are also connected with the 'Keros Hoard'. Specifically: the 'Naxos Museum's Master' works have been recovered by archaeologists from three (Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 95) or, in our opinion, four Naxian cemeteries. Indeed this is the only 'Sculptor' whose products have been found at so many different documented sites on one island. So we can be reasonably certain that this sub-variety was developed on Naxos (see also Getz-Preziosi 2001, 81). As for the other two 'Masters', 'Bastis' and 'Berlin' (NM166 'tallies' the first with the Kavos sub-variety, while NM167 along with the 'Polichni sculpture with the 'Polichni' or 'Phiondas' sub-variety proposed here), they can also be tied to Naxos. The available

information suggests that many of the works ascribed to them come from this island, while three sculptures were recovered from the Phiondas cemetery. It seems clear then, that the most probable production centre of these sub-varietes was Naxos, although no workshops (in the sense of settlements) have yet been discovered.

It is also worth recalling, at this point, that according to Getz-Preziosi (1987a), NM169 and NM166/NM168, namely works of her 'Naxos Museum Master' and 'Bastis Master' respectively, date around the middle of the EC II phase. These sculptures were found, as Giorgos Houzouris assures us, in close association in the same grave at Phiondas, with a work (NM167) of Prezosi's 'Berlin Master', which she dates to the end of the EC II period, and with an Early Spedos-variety figurine (NM169). The points mentioned here suggest an essential interrelatedness and perhaps contemporaneity or overlap of all these 'Sculptors' or sub-varieties.

If, the assemblage of the figurines NM166–70 is taken for granted, an aspect that needs to be addressed is the placing of four figurines of different 'Sculptors' (sub-varieties) in the same grave. This assortment in the Phiondas cemetery does not seem, at first, to be unique. For according to Getz-Preziosi (1987a, 64) a number of 'sculptors' carved the popular seated figurines found at the Aplomata cemetery on Naxos (Kontoleon 1970, pl. 194; 1971a, pls 211b, 214–5; 1972a, pl. 137) or, we shall say now, more than one subvariety can be recognised among the seated sculptures at the Aplomata cemetery. Nevertheless we are not in a position to argue whether this was a common practice or something unorthodox, given that most of the figurines ascribed by Preziosi to specific 'Masters' are 'orphans' (i.e. lacking any archaeological context) since they have not come from systematic authorised exploration. So the only certainty at present in summarising the figurative finds from the Phiondas grave group (if in fact all of them were in the same grave and one person was the owner of all these works – something that is far from clear) is this: he or she, along with the owner(s) of the disputed grave 13 at Aplomata (Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 66), would have the distinction of being the first true collector of Early Cycladic art.

In addition, given (a) that the figurines NM166 and NM168 are considered by Preziosi to belong to different chronological phases and (b) that figurine NM170 is slightly earlier, while, NM167 is probably the latest of all the figurines in the grave, then this association of figurines does not seem to have been carved as companion pieces. They were probably acquired at different points during the lifetime of

their owner or owners. A similar explanation is proposed by Getz-Preziosi (1987a, 65–6) for the figurines in grave 13 at Aplomata, and for the two figurines found in grave 10 at Spedos, which she feels may be 'considered the production of a single hand, but they were carved at different times', and also for the two figurines in the possible cenotaph on Ano Kouphonisi.

The possible presence of painted (or other) decoration

Among the five figurines reportedly found in the same Phiondas grave (NM166–70), possibly once painted were NM166 and NM168. In the first case (NM166), the painted representation of hair at the back of the head is inferred from the slightly different colour of an approximately triangular area on the surface of the marble (Fig. 16.4). In the other example, NM168, the faint traces of round incised (?) eyes (Fig. 16.10) may suggest that these could have been originally painted. Sherratt (2000, 131) notes that even in the case of the clearest of the incisions, they seem too light to have stood on their own without further painted enhancement. So these were presumably incised to provide guidelines for the placing, size, and shape of the features during the application of pigment. Preziosi (1966, 107, no. 3 & n. 18) also, notes that 'incised eyes and mouths, although not normal in the Cycladic Sculpture, are nevertheless well attested' but does not necessarily correlates the incisions with the painting of the figurines.

It should be emphasised, however, that these traits on the two Phiondas figurines are highly elusive, so it remains open to question whether they are genuine or merely an impression when viewed from a certain angle or light. Painted decoration, not only for the representation of features but also for additional ornaments, is particularly associated with folded-arm figurines, especially those of the Kapsala and Spedos varieties (Renfrew 1991, 117), yet, as Preziosi (1966, n. 18) stresses, it is not at all certain that all the figurines had painted features. Note also that some glossier areas observed on the surface of NM166 (see above, catalogue, and Fig. 16.4), could be interpreted either as painted decoration or as the result of wrapping with some kind of perishable material.

Last, but not least, it would be a serious omission not to mention that the black stains in places on both sides of NM169 are actually traces of metacinnabar (a black form of mercuric sulphide produced by the corrosion of cinnabar), then this figurine becomes, perhaps, of great importance. For 'cinnabar, a bright red pigment, exotic and valuable due to its origin outside the Aegean, would have given

particular value to the objects bearing it' (Birtacha, this volume, Chapter 35).

Concerning the completeness and condition of figurines NM166–70

Four of the five figurines are complete, while one (NM168, Figs 16.8, 16.9) is missing the left foot. Of the complete figurines, one is intact (NM170, Fig. 16.13), while the remaining four are mended at the neck (NM167, NM168, NM169, Figs 16.6, 16.9 and 16.11 respectively) and at the knees (NM166, Fig. 16.4).

Getz-Preziosi (1987b, 122–3) notes that a break will appear old whether it has been exposed to the elements for five millennia or only for a century or so. Thus even if in most cases the damage is old, it is not clear *how* old. This issue is discussed in detail in Renfrew 2007. She adds that whether damage occurred a long time ago or only very recently is usually no longer apparent after recent mending and restoration.

The same may hold true in our case. Yet if Giorgos Houzouris's statement that the figurines were all found undamaged is considered accurate (as we have no reason to doubt), then it is most likely that the breakages at the necks of NM167–9 and the knees of NM166 occurred sometime during or after their recovery. At the same time, the patina on the epidermis of the damaged part of the left foot of NM168 implies that this figurine was either placed already broken in the grave or broke during the process of its burial.

The burial of broken figurines, and, in general the presence of figurines found in a broken or fragmentary condition in other contexts, is an issue much debated by scholars. Numerous interpretations of this phenomenon have been proposed (for a synopsis see Sotirakopoulou 1998, 156–8). Two of them are cited here, since they could be applied to our case: (a) idols missing parts of their body inside graves may have had an apotropaic function – that is to ward off ill luck (Renfrew 1991 95); and (b) some fragmentary figurines in graves might have been recycled from earlier burials (Davis 1984, 19). If we reject these as likely explanations, we are still left with several possibilities, none of which can adequately be tested with the available archaeological data.

A number of peculiarities in a single grave

If the context of the Phiondas grave is not the result of a post hoc 'invention', then that it presents indeed a number of peculiarities.

Generally speaking, rich graves are very few in the EBA Cyclades where poorly furnished graves constitute the norm (Doumas 1977, 60). As Renfrew (1984, 26) has further pointed out 'there is no recurrent pattern indicating that only a single figurine should accompany the dead'. Yet, 'the upper limit in a single grave for folded arm figurines of canonical form seems to be two'. (A list of the known graves in Naxos where more than one folded arm figurine is found buried together is given by Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 60–1 and Renfrew 1984, 26).

The group composition of the five figurines NM166-70 – which were not necessarily originally intended as companion pieces, as hinted above – is therefore an extremely rare if not unique occurrence. Indeed the only known grave containing more than two canonical figurines is grave 13 at Aplomata cemetery which yielded, along with other finds, 13 figurines (two Kapsala variety, several examples of the Late Spedos variety, three seated female figurines and also two schematic, Apeiranthostype figurines: Kontoleon 1971, T. xiii, 178–9, pls 211a,b & 214–5; Doumas & Lambrinoudakis, this volume, Chapter 15; Marthari, this volume, Capter 20). However it must be stressed that the contents of the Aplomata grave were found heaped together in a pit in the foundations of a late Roman building. Thus the excavator (Kontoleon) thought it more possible that this *was* indeed an undisturbed grave rather than an accumulation of the grave finds of EC graves which was been destroyed in the Roman period when the area was reoccupied ('Θα ἦτο βεβαίως δυνατόν να ὑποθέσωμεν ὅτι ἡ συσσώρευσις ἔγινε κατά τὴν μεταγενεστέραν ἀναταραχήν καί καταστροφήν τῶν κυκλαδικῶν τάφων, ἀλλ' ὅμως πρόκειται σαφῶς ενταῦθα περί τοῦ μόνου παραμείναντος ἀδιαταράκτου τμήματος τοῦ τάφου': Kontoleon 1971, 178–9), Renfrew (1984, 26) doubts that it was a looter's hoard, while Getz-Preziosi (1987a, 60) is more willing to accept as plausible the second explanation offered by Kontoleon. Nevertheless, she notes that it is not clear whether or not grave 13 contained multiple burials.

The fact that schematic figurines are known to occur in much greater numbers in many burials indicates a systematic difference between the practices (and perhaps beliefs) operating in the Grotta-Pelos culture and in the later Syros group (Renfrew 1984, 26). Could the Phiondas grave, containing five figurines, and all of them folded-arm figurines, refute this view?

A second puzzling feature of the Phiondas grave is the association of five folded-arm figurines with a bronze dagger *or* spearhead. The only published example in which the association between a bronze dagger

and a bronze spearhead with two folded arm-figurines (of the Dokathismata variety) can reliably be asserted, is grave 14 at Dokathismata in Amorgos (Tsountas 1898, 154, pls 12,8; 12,2; 10,2) which Renfrew (1984, 26) used as evidence in support of his proposal that the sculptures may have accompanied deceased males. But in the Phiondas grave if (as may well be the case) we accept Giorgos Houzouris' testimony, the figurines cannot be related to an actual burial, female or male, since the grave had no skeletal remains at all.

Another extraordinary feature in the Phiondas grave is the alleged standing posture of the figurines (based on the description of Georgios Houzouris). Some scholars believe that is more reasonable to view the folded-arm figurines with the toes inclined downwards as lying down (see, for instance, Fig. 16.7). Certainly, many of them have generally been in a prone position, as found in the graves. But as pointed out already, this possibility is contradicted in the case of the Phiondas figurines by the condition of their epidermis which is uniformly worn. Moreover Giorgos Houzouris' testimony, is that the Phiondas figurines were found *standing* in a row (and indeed this grand spectacle, in combination with their different sizes and their typological similarity, prompted his father to name the group the 'Royal Family'). Hence these two factors verify Renfrew's thesis that the figurines, despite their downward-pointed toes, were intended to stand: 'Paradoxically it may have been a more secure arrangement to lean the figurine against the wall than to have is stand upon its own feet vertically, in what would inevitably be a very unstable arrangement' (Renfrew 1991, 94). In other words the recovery of the Phiondas figurines in a standing position constitutes tangible proof for what was, until now, only a well justified but undocumented theory. It demonstrates that the figurines were (at least in some cases) placed upright not only in some special location (eg. an altar, a stand or a home shrine) following their cult use in the course of a household or communal ritual practice within the settlements (Renfrew 1984, 27), and also in relation to funerary practice.

Commentary on the figurines in relation to sex and gender

The question of the religious or symbolic interpretation of the sculptures in the prehistoric Cyclades remains enigmatic and is not considered here. Yet we would like to formulate some initial thoughts in connection with the Phiondas figurines.

On the basis of the representation of the body, the sculptures in the Phiondas grave could be classified as four females and one asexual

figurine. Among the former, the indication of pregnancy seems to be clear in NM167, for the belly is markedly swollen (Figs 16.5, 16.6). It may hold good for NM166, even if the swelling is not marked (Figs 16.3, 16.4). In the other two female figurines, that is, NM168 (Figs 16.8, 16.9) and NM169 (Fig 16.11), the breasts are rather flat, as if they are not fully developed, yet the pubic triangle is clearly depicted. Turning now to NM170 (Fig. 16.13), although the lower body is rather chubby and curved at the thighs, it lacks a representation of the vulva. On the upper body the breasts are almost non-existent, and the impression given is that the faithful rendering of the genitals and of the biological sex was not an important factor.

If we are inclined to see a glimpse of real Early Cycladic people portrayed in these sculptures, the four female forms may represent individuals either in a state of pregnancy (NM166, NM167) or before full maturity (adolescence – NM168, NM169). Figurine NM170, where there is no association with gender on the basis of the anatomy, could be an image of prepubertal age. This interpretation is consistent with the overall physique and height of the five figurines. The older women are larger or taller, the teenage girls are of rather modest height, while the child is the shortest of all. If this holds true, then the figurines in the Phiondas grave somehow represent the three stages of life: childhood, adolescence and maturity.

Such a hermeneutic scheme is, *mutatis mutandis*, close enough to the one proposed by the farmer, Ioannis Houzouris, who saw in the five Phiondas figurines a depiction of the three generations of a family: two elderly individuals, another two in of reproductive age and a single very young figurine – a child. Of course, as already noted, Ioannis Houzouris had mistaken the biological sex of two of the figurines in each pair - believing them to be males, and thus supposing the four of them to be two married couples. But on the other hand, as Goodison (2008, 423) stresses, 'perhaps more crucial than gender or sexuality was the metaphysical status of the figurines' and: 'Consistent with Ucko's suggestion that Early figurines may have been used as vehicles for sympathetic magic, might these represent ancestors, other human dead, ghosts, spirits, or intermediaries with any of those, predominantly but not exclusively visualized as female?' At any rate Houzouris's approach conforms to the theory (as quoted in Renfrew 1991, 95) that the figurines might have functioned as images of the ancestors.

A short evaluation

Every archaeological discovery is very important. Some, however, are

of such considerable interest that any available background detail may be of value. Such is, in our opinion, the case of the Phiondas sculptures, for (amongst other things) they were followed for years either with their hypothetical recovery by Kontoleon or with the 'rumour' of their confiscation. One of the points gleaned from our inquiry to clarify the conditions of their discovery is that none of them is the product of an excavation (either authorized or unauthorised – clandestine digging) but five (NM166–70) were unearthed (most probably by chance) by the farmer Ioannis Houzouris, while two more (NM171–2) were delivered, along with other surface finds now in the Naxos Museum, by the same farmer (and by his brother Konstantis).

The second important issue addressed in this paper is the association of the five figurines (NM166–70) unearthed by Ioannis Houzouris. Namely, whether they constitute the furniture of one or more graves. Obviously they can be securely linked to the Phiondas cemetery. Yet, one could doubt that all come solely from one grave, since they had not been revealed through systematic excavation, or even argue that the Phiondas grave does not really exist and was probably created by Ioannis Houzouris himself or his son, Giorgos, with material collected from their property. Although this possibility cannot be excluded, we firmly believe that the evidence presented is enough to suggest that the Phiondas grave is not a 'phantom' one. In particular, the quote in full of Kontoleon's draft letter has established a secure documentation, while Giorgos Houzouris's testimony offers a picture of rural life in South Naxos in 1947 and the succeeding decades, which makes plausible – even convincing – that the group in question did indeed come from a single grave. Furthermore, the clues assembled both by the museum's catalogues and the indications (labels) on the other Phiondas finds kept in the museum's storerooms justify this position.

It is to be noted that it is not clear whether the Phiondas grave was actually a cenotaph or originally contained a burial or even multiple burials whose bones were not preserved. It must also be stressed that, apparently, none of the explanations currently available accounts satisfactorily for the totality of the features observed in this grave. In other words, if its proposed 'reconstruction' is correct, it seems that this grave is, in many respects, an unparalleled case, and its figurines offer much scope for further study and discussion.

What it is clear, however, is that the localization and identification of the Phiondas settlement, during the one day 'survey' in 2013, prompts the need for the site to be excavated. This task which will be made very difficult by the extensive looting which followed the

discovery of the figurines.

Appendix: transcription of Kontoleon's manuscript

Note that the spelling in Kontoleon's manuscript is retained. The remarks for the transcription of the manuscript into English also apply here:

1. A question mark in brackets is put where word is illegible.
2. The words are underlined or erased as in Kontoleon's manuscript.
3. 'ποτῆρι' means water vessel. It is also the Greek word for 'beaker': a lidless vessel, like the collared jar, which was also designed for suspension and was probably intended as a container for liquids. The Greek question mark in parenthesis after the word 'ποτῆρι' is in Kontoleon's manuscript.
4. In the phrase 'Ἀλλ' ἡ ἔρευνα αὔτη δέν εἶναι δυνατόν νά γίνει πρό τοῦ θέρους ἤ τοῦ ἔαρος διότι πρόκειται περί περιοχῶν ακατοίκητων λίαν ἀπομακρυσμένων…' ('But this research is not possible to be done before the summer or spring because the areas are uninhabited very far from the village') there is an illegible word after the word 'ἀπομακρυσμένων ('remote') which is erased in the manuscript.
5. In the last sentence 'Ὁπότε, ἐφ'όσον τά εὐρήματα χάρι εἴς τό ἐξαιρετικόν διαφέρον τοῦ φύλακος κ΄ ἄλλων Ναξίων διεσώθησαν θεωρῶ οὐχί ἀπολύτως ἀναγκαίαν τήν ἄμεσιν ἐκεῖσε μετάβασίν μοῦ ἄνευ τῆς πιστώσεως πρός ἐκτέλεσιν ἀνασκαφικῆς ἐρεύνης' ('… I find my immediate transition there not entirely necessary, without finanace, to conduct excavation') one illegible word after the words ἄνευ τῆς ('without') and another one after the word ἐκτέλεσιν ('carrying') are erased in the manuscript.

Σχέδιον
Ἐφορεία Ἀρχαιοτήτων ΙΖ΄ Περιφερείας
Ἀρ. πρωτ. 7

'Περί ἀνευρέσεως προϊστορικῶν τάφων εν Νάξῳ

Ἐν Μυκόνῳ τῇ 16 Ιανουαρ. 1948
Προς
Τό Ὑπουργεῖον Θρησκ. κ΄ Ἐθν. Παιδείας
(Δ/νσιν Ἀρχαιοτήτων)
Ἀθήνας

Λαμβάνω τήν τιμήν να αναφέρω Ὑμίν τά ἀκόλουθα:
Ὁ φύλαξ αρχαιοτήτων Νάξου Ν. Γαβαλᾶς διά δύο ἀναφορῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπό 25.12.47 κ΄5.1.48 ἀνέφερε ὅτι ἐν τήν θέσιν Φιόντας ὁ γεωργός Ἰ. Χουζούρης

καλλιεργῶν τόν ἀγρόν τοῦ ἀνακάλυψε ἓναν προϊστορικόν τάφον περιέχοντα: τέσσαρα μαρ μάρινα εἰδώλια, μικρόν χαλκοῦν ξίφος, ἐν ποτῆρι (;) κ΄ θραύσματα ἀγγείων ἄτινα κ΄ παρέδωσεν εἴς τό Μουσεῖον Νάξου τήν 22 Δεκεμβ. 1947 δηλώσας ὅτι ἀνεῦρε ταῦτα κατά τά τέλη Νοεμβρίου τοῦ ἰδίου ἔτους, λόγῳ δέ τοῦ ἀπομακρυσμένου τῆς εὑρέσεως (ἀπέχει 1 ½ ὡραν από τοῦ πλησιέστερου χωρίου Φιλώτι) κ΄ τῶν συνεχῶν κακοκαιριῶν δέν ἠδυνήθη νά μεταφέρει ταῦτα ἐνωρίτερον εἴς τήν πόλιν Νάξου. Ὁ ἴδιος ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι κ΄ παλαιότερον ἐυρέθησαν πλησίον τάφοι. Ἐις τήν πλησίον περιοχήν σῴζεται ἀρχαῖος πύργος ἀλλ’ οὐδεμία μέχρι τοῦδε ἔχει γίνει ἐκεί ἀρχαιολογική ἔρευνα.
Ἕτερος προϊστορικός τάφος, τοῦ ὁποίου τά κτερίσματα ἐπίσης κατετέθησαν εἴς το Μουσεῖον Νάξου ἀνευρέθη εἴς την θέσιν Σπεδός ἐνθα εἴχεν ἀνασκάψει προϊστορ.
τάφους ο Κλ. Στέφανος (ΠΑΕ 1903 σελ. 23 κ΄ αυτ. 1906 σ. 50, 86 κ.έ.). Τά ἐκ τοῦ νέου τοῦτου τάφου εὑρήματα κατά [page change/αλλαγή σελίδας] τήν ἔκθεσιν τοῦ φύλακος ἀποτελοῦνται ἐπίσης ἐκ μαρμαρίνων εἰδωλίων, μαρμ. πυξίδος, ξίφους κ.ά.
Ἐπίσης διά τηλεγραφήματός τοῦ ὁ αὐτός φύλαξ ἀπό 11 τρ. μηνός μοι ἀνέφερε συνέχειαν ἀναλόγων εὑρημάττων. Διά τηλεγραφήματός μοῦ πρός τόν [?] ἐπιμελητήν Νάξου παρήγγειλα ἵνα εἰδοποιηθῇ ἡ Ἀστυνομία πρός παρεμπόδισιν τῶν ἐργασιῶν εἴς τόπους τούτους τής εὑρέσεως τῶν τάφων τούτων καί ἵνα περισυλλεγοῦν ἅπαντα τά εὑρήματα ἐξουσιοδοτῶν ἵνα προβῇ πρός τόν σκοπόν τοῦτον εἴς δαπάνην μέχρι 100 χιλ. δραχμῶν.
Κατόπιν τούτου θεωρῶ ἀναγκαίαν τήν εἴς Νάξον μετάβασίν μοῦ πρός διενέργειαν ἐρεύνης εἴς τάς ἀνωτέρω περιοχάς τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον καθ’όσον ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἔν νάξῳ προϊστορικῶν ἀνασκαφῶν προϊστορικῶν νεκροταφείων ἀπό τοῦ Κλ. Στεφάνου δέν ἐδημοσιεύθησαν εἰμή σύντομαι ἐκθέσεις εἴς τά Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀιρχ. Ἑταιρείας, τό δέ χειρότερον τά εὑρήματα τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν τούτων κατεστρά φησαν κατά τό πλεῖστον κατά τάς ἐπιχειρήσεις τῆς

ἀπελευθερώσεως τῆς Νάξου τό φθινόπωρον τοῦ 1944 καί ἔχω ἤδη ἀναφέρει Ὑμίν. Ἀλλ᾽ ἡ ἔρευνα αὕτη δέν εἶναι δυνατόν νά γίνει πρό τοῦ θέρους ἤ τοῦ ἔαρος διότι πρόκειται περί περιοχῶν ακατοίκητων λίαν ἀπομακρυσμένων από του χωρίου κατοικημένων τόσων κ᾽ υπάρχει θά εἶναι ἀνάγκη τῆς ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ διαμονῆς. Ὁπότε, ἐφ᾽όσον τά εὑρήματα χάρι εἶς τό ἐξαιρετικόν διαφέρον τοῦ φύλακος κ΄ ἄλλων Ναξίων διεσώθησαν θεωρῶ οὐχί ἀπολύτως ἀναγκαίαν τήν ἄμεσιν ἐκεῖσε μετάβασίν μοῦ ἄνευ τῆς πιστώσεως πρός ἐκτέλεσιν [?] ἀνασκαφικῆς ἐρεύνης.

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17

SCULPTURES FROM AGHIOI ANARGYROI AND AVDELI, NAXOS

Christos Doumas

The Early Cycladic II period

On the basis of the typology of artefacts and the settlement pattern, three developmental phases (A, B, and C) can be distinguished in the EC II period (see Table 6.1).

Phase A is known from cemeteries only and is considered to be a transitional one from EC I to EC II associated with Kampos Group pottery (Doumas 1977, 18–20), although some of these cemeteries appear to have been inaugurated in the EC I period (Philaniotou 2008, 196). The cemeteries at Agrilia, Ano Kouphonisi (Zapheiropoulou 2008) and Aghioi Anargyroi, Naxos (Doumas 1977, 100–20), consisting mainly of graves designed to accommodate successive inhumations, most likely members of one family, indicate the tendency of the population to aggregate in small settlements. Taking into account that the estimated population that used the cemetery at Agrilia did not exceed five families (Broodbank 1989, 324), and probably fewer that at Aghioi Anargyroi, the *hamlet* type of settlement proposed by Broodbank (2000, 86) seems to conform to EC II phase A.

Pottery imports from the northeast Aegean islands documented in the cemetery at Agrilia are indicative of the early contacts of the Cycladic islanders with that region, with Lemnos in particular (Zapheiropoulou 2008, 193), where probably they acquired advanced know how in metallurgy. The relatively frequent presence of metal objects among the grave goods both in Agrilia and Aghioi Anargyroi may be associated with such contacts. It is also worth noting that

during this EC II phase A the north coast of Crete from Heraklion to Siteia seems to have been a pole of attraction for Cycladic colonists, as the constantly increasing number of sites indicates (Davaras & Betancourt 2012; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki *et al.* 2007, 88; Galanaki 2006; Xanthoudidis 1918).

The remains of a pyre in the forecourt of grave 29, along with sea pebbles (Zapheiropoulou 2008, 188), suggests a kind of ritual practice, also observed in other cases (e.g. Doumas 1977, 63–4; 2008).

In EC II phase B the family grave seems to have been institutionalized (Doumas 1977, 31 and 44–6), and the extensive cemeteries of this phase indicates the emergence of *villages* (Broodbank 2000, 86). The agrarian economy of these villages is confirmed by the geographical location of the corresponding cemeteries. Nevertheless, bronze artefacts became more common both in settlements and in graves indicating a development in metallurgy.

Typical example of a village of the EC II phase B appears to be the settlement at Markiani on Amorgos, exhibiting communal works such as the defensive wall and the drainage system (Marangou *et al.* 2006, 46; Marangou 2006). Obviously, such works required central planning and coordination. Although the practice of metallurgy at Markiani has been disputed (Renfrew 2006, 251), the frequent presence of what has been described as a 'masklike support for household vessels' among the pottery (Birtacha 2006, 137; Eskitzioglou 2006, 153–4; Karantzali 2006, 122), may indicate minor metallurgical activities, if the interpretation of these objects as accessories of a domestic melting and alloying device is correct (Doumas 2011, 172).

A real boom in metallurgy seems to have occurred in EC II phase C, as the enormous quantities of slag discovered recently suggest (Bassiakos & Philaniotou 2007; Catapotis 2007). The specific knowledge required for such major operations must have led to a strict division of labour in this sector, making the interpretation of the fortified settlement at Kastri on Syros as 'a small camp of people who guarded carefully their specialized knowledge' (Suto 1989, 216) particularly interesting.

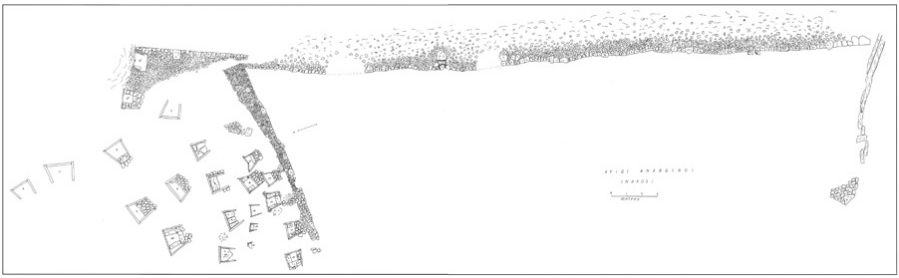

Fig. 17.1 EC II cemetery at Aghioi Anargyroi, Naxos.

Fig. 17.2 EC II cist-grave of type B.

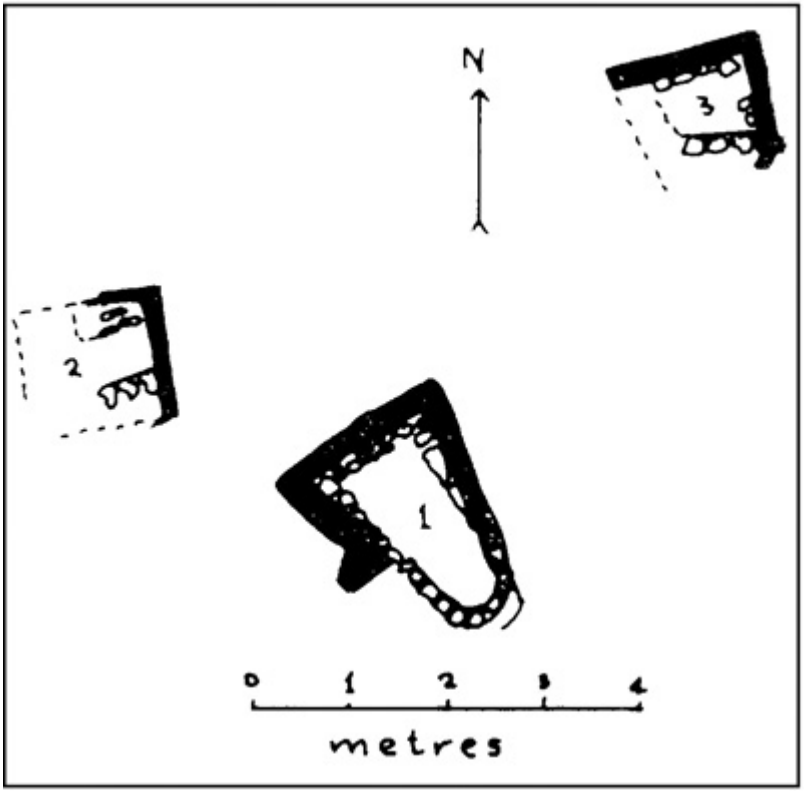

Fig. 17.3 EC II cemetery at Avdeli, Naxos.

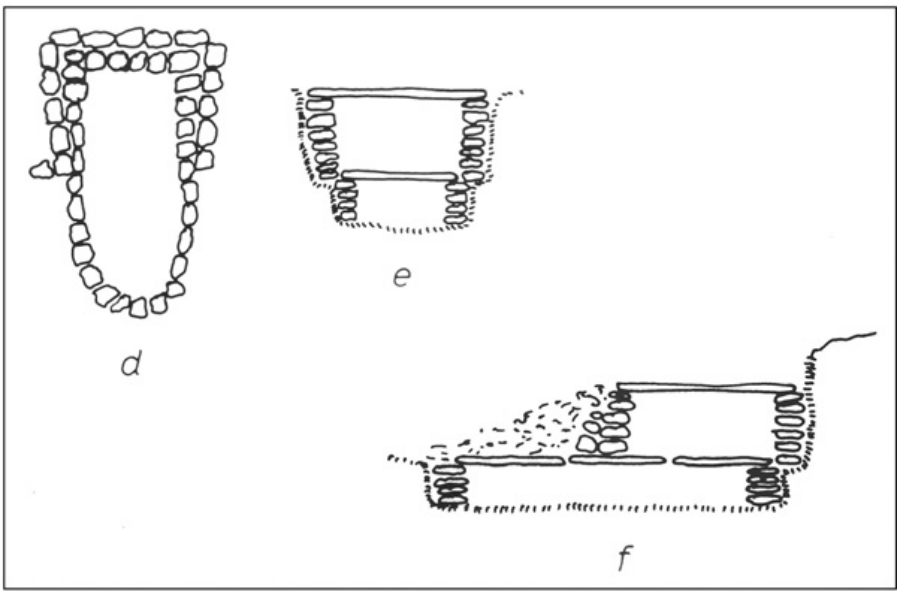

Fig. 17.4 EC II grave of type E.

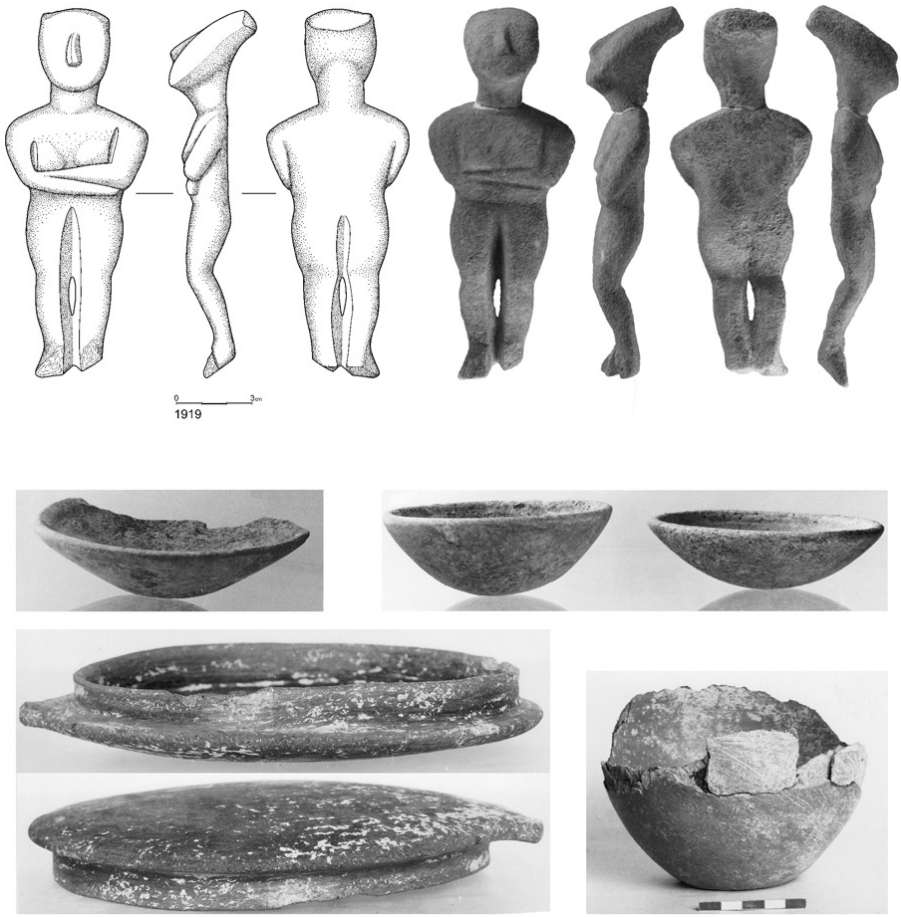

Fig. 17.5 The context of grave 21 at Aghioi Anargyroi, Naxos.

Concerning the settlement pattern, in EC II phase C a remarkable decrease in the number of sites is observed, parallel with the emergence of large *nucleated villages*, preferably near the coast. The settlements of Korphari ton Amygdalion at Panormos on Naxos (Angelopoulou 2014) and Skarkos on Ios (Marthari 1997; 2008), both exhibiting strong evidence for intra-Aegean maritime trade, seem to belong in this category. The rapid advances in the secondary sector of economy (mining, metallurgy) and the need for transporting either raw mineral or final products gave rise to the tertiary sector (provision of services) with fast developments in shipbuilding and navigation. Perhaps it is not accidental that representations of Cycladic ships became very popular in this phase. With these rapid changes the Early Cycladic society was prepared for a city life, thus entering in the

Middle Bronze Age. What we considered so far as the EC III seems to dispose more Middle Cycladic than Early Cycladic features.

Sculptures from Aghioi Anargyroi and Avdeli, Naxos

In the course of the author's excavations during the 1960s, two Early Cycladic II cemeteries were investigated at Aghioi Anargyroi and at Avdeli, both on Naxos. The cemetery at Aghioi Anargyroi (Fig. 17.1), consisting of type B cist-graves (Fig. 17.2) and having produced mainly Kampos Group pottery, can be classed in EC II phase A (Doumas 1977, 100–20). Grave 21, the only grave in the context of which a marble figurine is included, can be ascribed to EC II phase B. The cemetery at Avdeli (Fig. 17.3) with graves of type E (Fig. 17.4) was undoubtedly of EC II phase B (Doumas 1977, 122–8)

Aghioi Anargyroi, grave 21 (Fig. 17.5).
A three-storey grave containing skeletal remains of at least 12 individuals: one in the lowest compartment, at least nine in the middle one, and two in the upper level. The penultimate burial was accompanied by a marble canonical figurine and the last burial by an obsidian blade. The rest of the grave goods were found mixed with the skeletal remains in the middle level (Table 17.1; Doumas 1977, 112–4).

Avdeli, grave 1 (Fig. 17.6).
Only the lower space, which served as an ossuary, was found undisturbed (Table 17.2).

Table 17.1 Material from grave 21 at Aghioi Anargyroi.

	Grave context	Type & variety	Fig.	Reference in Doumas 1977
I	Marble figurine (NM1919)	FAF, Spedos	17.5	113, pl. xxxviii, j
II	Marble bowl (NM1917)		17.5	113, pl. xxxvii, f
III	Marble bowl (NM1916)		17.5	113, pl. xxxvii, e
IV	Marble bowl (NM1918)		17.5	113, pl. xxxvii, d
V	Clay 'frying-pan' vessel (NM1920)		17.5	112–3, pl. xxxvii, g–h
VI	Clay deep cup (NM5000)		17.5	113, pl. xxxvii, k
VII	Nine obsidian blades		–	113–4, pl. li, a, c, d

Table 17.2 Material from grave 1 at Avdeli.

	Grave context	Type & variety	Fig.	Reference in Doumas 1977
I	Marble figurine (NM2018)	FAF, Spedos	17.6	125, pl. xlix, l
II	Head of figurine (NM2019)	FAF, Spedos	17.6	125, pl. xlix, k
III	Clay footless jar (NM2022)		17.6	124, pl. xlix, j
IV	Clay small bowl (NM2016)		–	124, pl. xlix, e
V	Clay small bowl (NM2021)		17.6	124, pl. xlix, m
VI	Silver pin (NM2023)		17.6	125, pl. xlix, h
VII	Eight obsidian blades		–	125–6, pl. li, b
VIII	Spondylus shell		–	126

Concluding remarks

From the analysis of the archaeological data available so far, especially in Chapters 6, 15 and 17, the following remarks can be made concerning the context in which Early Cycladic sculpture was created.

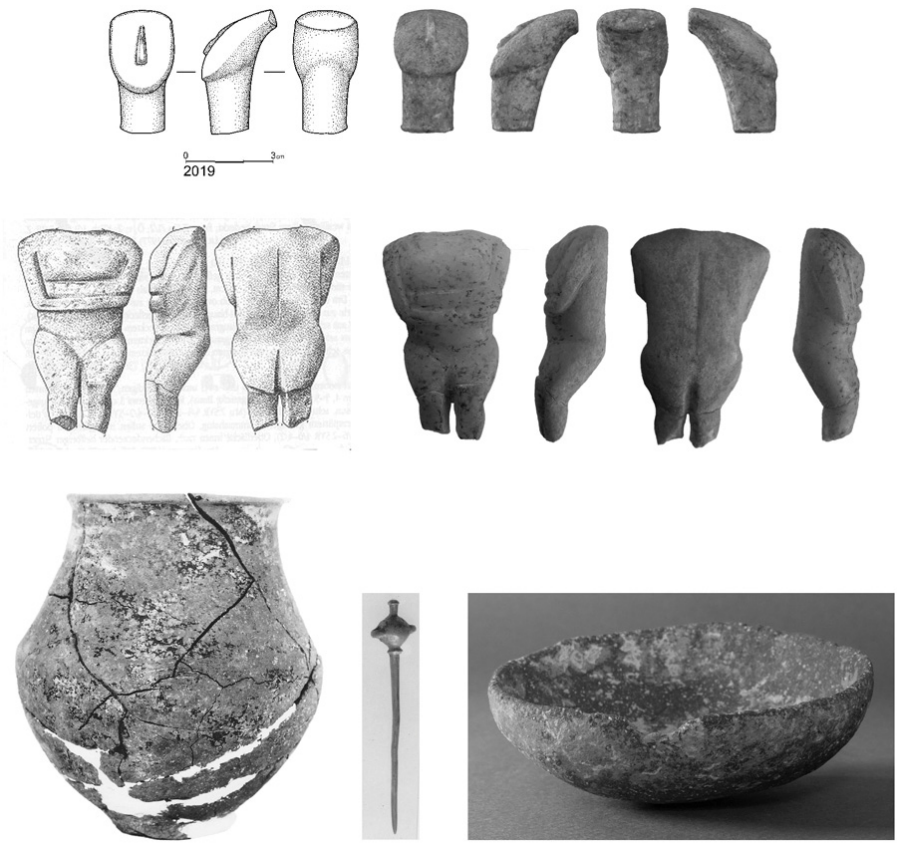

Fig. 17.6 The context of grave 1 at Avdeli, Naxos.

Archaeological context

a) From their strictly archaeological context it is clear that Early Cycladic figurines are recorded mainly as grave goods; their discovery in settlements seems to be circumstantial and fortuitous.

b) All grave goods, including figurines, received the same treatment without discrimination or any particular care.

Chronological context

Figurines were used as grave goods throughout EC I and during phases A, B and C of EC II as follows:

a) EC I phase A: schematic figurines of various types (pebble-shaped, bipartite, tripartite and violin-shaped)

b) EC I phase B: naturalistic figurines of Plastiras type

c) EC II phase A (Kampos group pottery): Louros (abstract) and Precanonical folded-arm figurines

d) EC II phase B: wide spread of canonical figurines, a form which 'more than anything else typifies for us the art of the Cyclades' (Renfrew 1977, 60).

e) EC II phase C: figurines of the Chalandriani variety and schematic figurines of the Apeiranthos type indicate the gradual loss of interest and inspiration of the Cycladic artists.

f) The coexistence of different types of figurines in the same grave is evidence for continuity in the use of the graves and cemeteries.

Community context

a) EC I figurines were used by people living in isolated farmsteads.

b) The abstract figurine of Louros type and the Precanonical folded arm figurine served people living in hamlets (EC II phase A).

c) All varieties of folded-arm figurines are associated with communities living in villages (EC II phase B).

d) With the emergence of nucleated villages (ECII phase C) the interest in sculpture gradually evaporated, as the dramatic decrease in production and the degenerated Chalandriani variety and the Apeiranthos schematic figurines seem to indicate.

Economic context

a) Marble figurines were produced and used as grave goods as long as the Cycladic communities were involved almost exclusively in the primary sector of economy (farming and pastoral activities).

b) The metallurgical 'revolution' in EC II phase C, accompanied by a shift of the economy from the primary to the secondary and tertiary sectors, seems to have led to transformations in the structure of society which sought other means of expression than sculpture.

Ideological context

a) The preference for female figures is perhaps indicative of the status women enjoyed within the Early Cycladic rural or pastoral

communities (Walker & De Laet 1981, 106).

b) The limited number of male figures (no more than 5%: Barber 1984, 13; Getz-Preziosi 1981, 5; 1985, 24–6; 1987, 9), representing men in specific roles or actions, may reflect a specific status which was reserved for these individuals.

c) Since figurines were deposited as grave goods along with other personal belongings of the deceased, perhaps they had some importance in his or her lifetime, unless they were sculpted only for funerary use.

d) The deposition of figurines in the grave without any specific care differentiating them from the rest of the grave goods (see Figs 6.10, 6.11) seems to rule out old theories about them representing divinities, servants, concubines, etc.

e) All grave goods, including figurines, as personal possessions of the dead, were probably thought as being polluted by death, in which case their burial along with their owner was perhaps a measure of protection for the living (Doumas 2008, 174–5).

f) If Daskalio Kavos on Keros operated as a 'symbolic attractor' (Renfrew 2007), transitory special 'depots' would be needed near the coast before the grave contents were transferred to their final destination. The peculiarities observed in the cemetery at Aplomata on Naxos might due to such a role of temporary 'depot'.

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18

FIGURINES FROM THE CEMETERY OF TSIKNIADES, NAXOS

Olga Philaniotou

The area

An overview of this excavation was presented at *Horizon. A colloquium on the prehistory of the Cyclades* held in Cambridge in 2004 (Philaniotou 2008, 195–207). Here are published all the figurines found in this cemetery.

Tsikniades, or Tsiknias, is situated west of the village of Kato Sangri, on the southeast slope of a rocky hill that dominates the largest and most fertile valley of Naxos. The site is in the area of – or may even be equated with – Afendika, where Clon Stefanos excavated one of the largest known EC cemeteries, consisting of 170 graves (Doumas 1977, 43; Philaniotou 2008, 195). The well-known 'Naxos harpist' and a stone axe were the only finds reported from this excavation (Papathanasopoulos 1962, 108, 148–9, pl. 76d, 79a, b, 80a, b; Demakopoulou 1990, 115, no. 111).

The Tsikniades cemetery extends over a long, narrow strip of land (length 140m, max. width 20m), with a northeast–southwest orientation (Fig. 18.1). On the west side it is bordered by a rocky outcrop, while on the east there is an abrupt drop, 20 m in height, to the arable land below. Our work revealed 122 graves, although it is clear that there are more, which could not be investigated, as the excavation was interrupted shortly before completion for reasons beyond my control.

The ground slopes from north to south and the tombs were densely set in clusters separated by rock outcrops. The majority (about 70)

were looted. Twenty of them were almost totally destroyed.

The most common type of grave was B1, according to Doumas' classification system (Doumas 1977, 41–5): three sides lined by standing slabs, while the entrance is blocked by dry-stone walling. Less common was Type A, in which all four sides are lined by standing slabs. There were, however, a further two or three types. The unplundered graves generally had capstones and were covered by small heaps of stones, which functioned as grave markers. In some cases, the stone heaps were spiral-shaped (Philaniotou 2008, 196–8, figs 20.4, 20.7).

Fig. 18.1 The cemetery from the west.

Burial offerings

Of the 51 unplundered graves, only 27 had any offerings, with the

majority yielding only one or two. Their presence was not related to the construction method: some well-built graves did not contain anything, while one of the largest (grave 24), located at the highest point of the slope, was an ossuary. In none of the unplundered graves were the bones found *in situ* (Philaniotou 2008, 197, 198, figs 20.4–6).

Figurines

Only five graves contained figurines, with or without other offerings. Another three figurines were found away from the graves, while one fragment of a schematic or violin-shaped figurine had been embedded in the heap of stones that functioned as a grave marker (NM9933). All the figurines were made of white marble (presumably Naxian, although the material has not been analysed) except NM9072, which was of yellowish limestone.

Figurines found in graves

Grave 5

NM9072, Schematic figurine (Fig. 18.2).
Ht 69mm; width 51mm.

Limestone, eroded on one side, with thick incrustation on the other. It is a headless, schematic figurine with an almost cylindrical neck and flat 'torso' which becomes thinner and tapers downwards to a point. Two triangular projections (unequal in size) indicate the arms and shoulders.

This asymmetrical figure resembles an item from Skarkos (Marthari, this volume, Chapter 12, Fig. 12.24, 3771), although not corresponding in date. The latter is assigned by the excavator to the Apeiranthos type, while the context of our Grave 5 points to a date in the transitional ECI–II period.

Specifically, the other offerings found in grave 5 (Fig. 18.3) were a marble shallow bowl (NM9068), a small marble 'palette' (NM9069), and a fragmentary clay ellipsoid pyxis with incised linear decoration (NM9123), the incisions filled with a red substance. The closest parallels for the shape of the latter may be sought in some chlorite schist pyxides (cf Rambach 2000, pl. ix.6). The decoration and, mainly, the red substance, reminiscent of LN crusted ware, places the vase in ECI (Hadjianastasiou 1988, 19).

Grave 17

NM9066, Schematic figurine (Fig. 18.4).
Ht 55mm; width 17mm.

Intact. The front is smooth and white. The back is thickly encrusted.

Rectangular head, on a relatively long, thick neck and rectangular body. Two thin horizontal incisions on the abdomen might indicate the folded arms. Straight profile. The legs are rendered as two unequal triangular terminals.

The head is similar to that of Louros type figurines (Thimme 1977, 238, 443, no. 84, 243, 447, no. 101). The triangular legs are reminiscent of those of the Agios Onouphrios examples, dated to EM II (Renfrew 1969, 27 and ill.1 A.O). Cf also Thimme 1977, 228, 432, no. 49, dated to EC I, which, according to the author, recalls Neolithic idols; 240, 445, no. 94 and 229, 434, no. 56. For the latter Thimme observes that 'the diminutive size suggests that the idol had an amuletic function'.

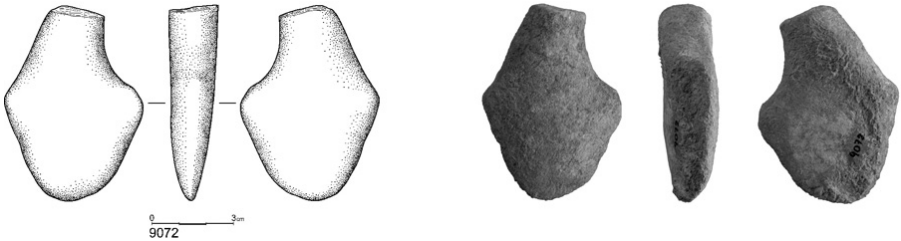

Fig. 18.2 Schematic figurine NM9072 from grave 5. Scale 1:2.

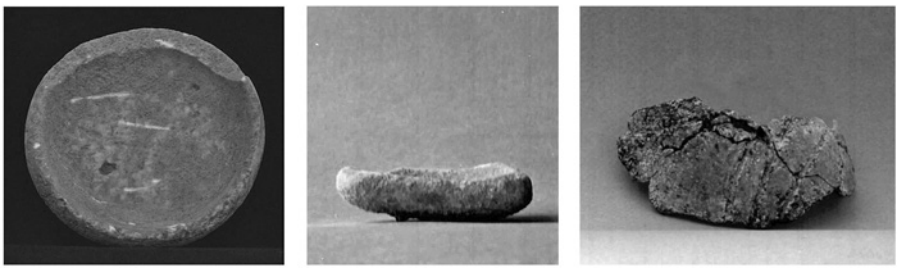

Fig. 18.3 Marble shallow bowl NM9068, rectangular palette NM9069 and clay pyxis NM9123 from grave 5. Not to scale.

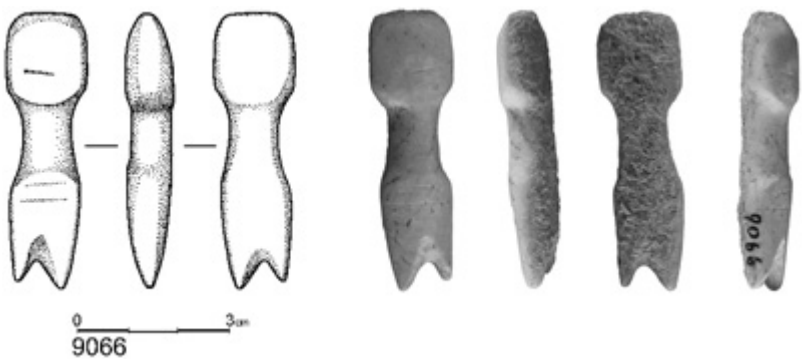

Fig. 18.4 Schematic figurine NM9066. Scale 1:2.

The whole figurine may be considered an utterly schematised rendering of the Louros type (cf. Getz-Preziosi 1987, 140. no. 12), or as a hybrid.

NM9067, Fragment of figurine of the Louros type (Fig. 18.5).
Ht 90mm; width 48mm.

The figurine was broken in antiquity at the upper part of the torso and at the knees. Ancient abrasion on the front chest area and on the back of the left thigh. Small recent abrasion on the front join of the right thigh to the body. The front is smooth, while there is thick incrustation on the back.

The torso is elongated, tapering upwards, with no indication of arms or other features. At the front, the thighs are separated by a deep groove and differentiated from the abdomen by their raised and rounded upper surfaces, which define the pubic area. The back of the

figurine is flat, with no indication of the spine or leg separation, a feature known from schematic figurines (but cf also Getz-Preziosi 1987, 220–1, no. 64).

The elongated torso, with no suggestion of arms, and the roundness at the join of the thighs to the body recall Louros type figurines (Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 70b, EAM6140.9). Both these features, however, also occur in Spedos variety figurines (Doumas 1983, 141, no. 174; Stambolides & Sotirakopoulou 2007, 138, no. 33) and examples of the Kapsala variety (Doumas, this volume, Fig. 31.13, AKR6816). In this sense, this fragment could also be considered a hybrid.

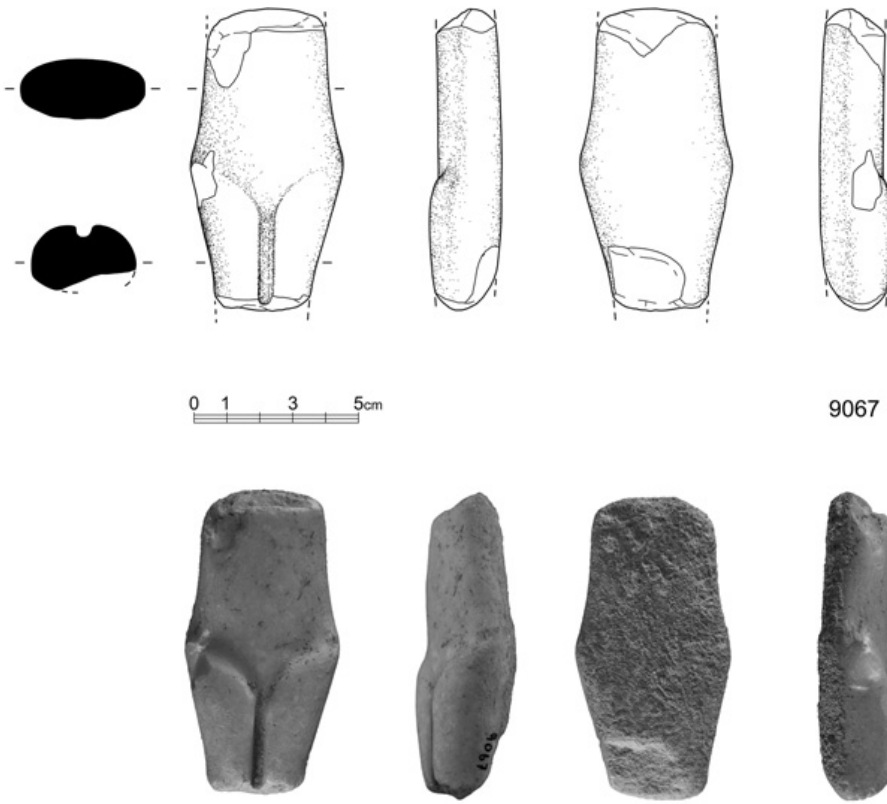

Fig. 18.5 Torso of Louros type figurine NM9067. Scale 1:2.

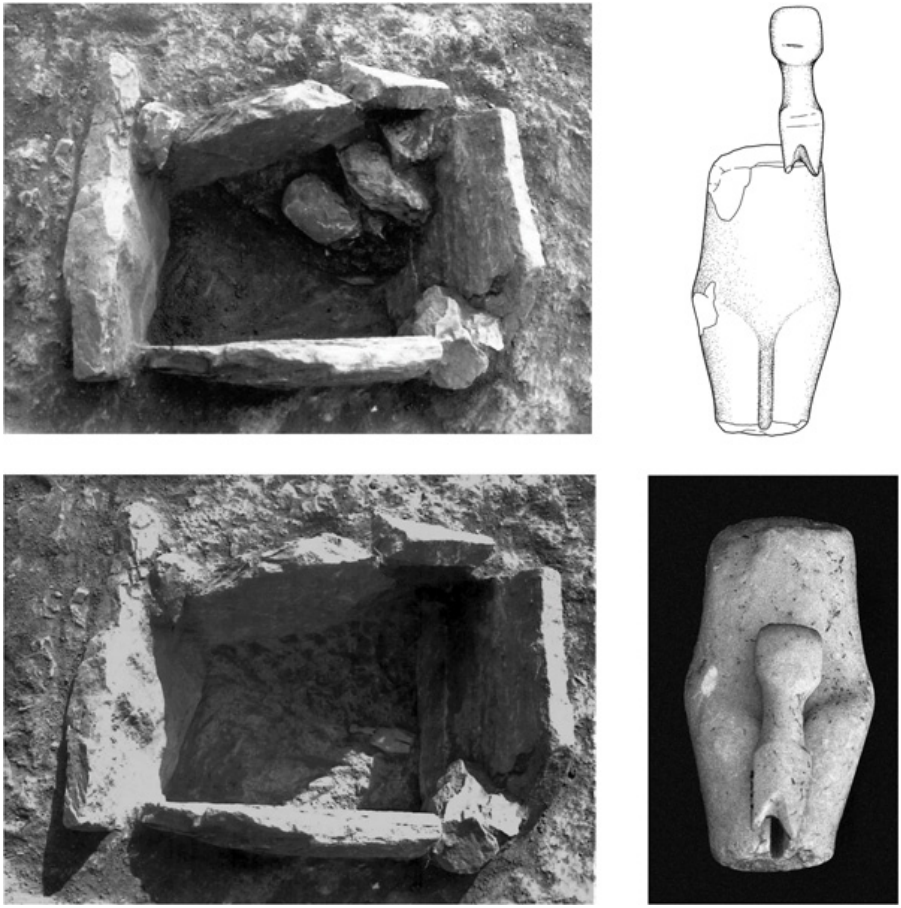

Fig. 18.6 Grave 17. Top left: stone heap in the northeast corner, under which figurine NM9067 can barely be seen. Bottom left: figurines NM9066 and NM9067 *in situ*. Top right: drawing showing the spatial relationship between the figurines as they were found. Not to scale. Bottom right: possible original position in grave 17 of figurines NM9066 and NM9067.

The deposition of fragmentary figurines or vases in graves is not unusual (Doumas 1977, 62; Rambach, this volume, Chapter 7). However, the two aforementioned types – both found in grave 7, a Type A cist grave which contained no other offerings and no bones – are rare. Even more interesting is their disposition together in the grave, under a small pile of stones, with the smaller placed on top of the larger (Fig. 18.6), not unlike the form of 'double' figurines (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 64). The arrangement may suggest a mother-child relationship, or perhaps a birth (Doumas 2000, 191, no. 323; Getz-Gentle 2001, 36–7, fig. 18, pl. 26c; Stambolides & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 78. Cf also some EBA figurines from Cyprus, in which a larger figure wears a tiny one as an amulet: Thimme 1977, 418, fig. 185).

Grave 90

NM9139, Schematic figurine (Fig. 18.7).
Ht 42mm; width 22mm.

Headless. One side (the front?) is eroded, the other has thick incrustation. In profile it tapers to a pointed end. Wide indentations on the left and on the right denote the waist. The arms/shoulders are rendered as triangular projections.

This piece belongs to the ECI 'shouldered' type of schematic figurines (Renfrew 1969, 5, ill. 1, I.c; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 52–3), although its lower end is not rectangular, but rounded as

in the case of violin-shaped figurines, or the LN schematic examples from Saliagos (Renfrew 1969, pl. 2c) or Strofilas (Televantou, this volume, Fig. 5.10. Cf Sotirakopoulou 2005, 92, no. 2, fig. 5.134).

A larger, better worked example made of higher quality marble (NM10760), with traces of red paint on the back, was recovered from Kouphonisi (Philaniotou, this volume, Chapter 14, Fig. 14.14).

Fig. 18.7 Schematic figurine NM9139. Scale 1:2.

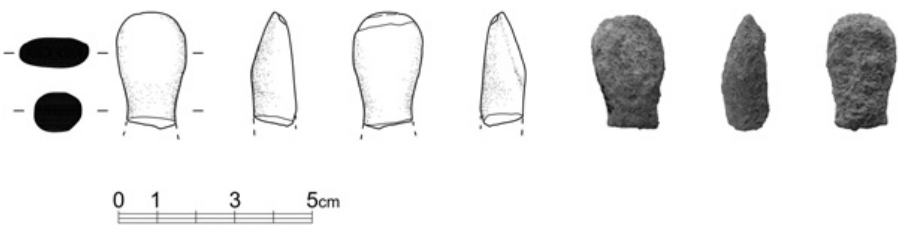

Fig. 18.8 Head of schematic figurine NM9140. Scale 1:2.

NM9140. Head of a schematic figurine (Fig. 18.8).
Ht 28mm; width 12mm.

It survives to the base of the neck. The front is eroded, and there is incrustation on the back. Flat, with no features, except for a lightly rendered chin. Rounded upper contour. Seen from the side, it tapers upwards.

Cf. Thimme 1977, 434, no. 58, assigned to the Apeiranthos type and dated to EC I–II. Also Papadopoulou, this volume, Figure 11.14: Apeiranthos type, from mixed levels in the settlement of Akrotiraki (Pitti's plot). Here, its association with NM9139 in grave 90 points to an earlier date.

Grave 90, of type B1, may have either been destroyed by ploughing or looted and the figurines overlooked, as there was no capstone and the upper layers contained loose earth while, in the lower, it was compacted. There were no other offerings and no bones.

Grave 113

NM9145, Schematic figurine (Fig. 18.9).
Ht 62mm; width 28mm.

Intact, with very small chips on the left front side. The front is relatively smooth, while there is thick incrustation on the back. Flat, with trapezoidal body and elongated neck. The only defined feature is the squared head with a triangular chin.

A hybrid figurine with a Louros-type head and a spatula-like body. The 'spatula' is a rare type, with 9 examples of known provenance: Paros, Attica, Ag. Onouphrios, Marathon and Aplomata (two tiny specimens believed to be made of lead: Sotirakopoulou 2005, 73; Stambolides & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 73), but in fact made of bone.

It was found together with a bead of green steatite (Fig. 18.9; NM9146) and a clay cylindrical pyxis (NM9153, Fig. 18.10; Philaniotou 2008, 201, fig. 20.10) with incised decoration, consisting of three horizontal zones with diagonal lines. Because of its form and context the figurine may be assigned to ECI or the transitional ECI–II phase.

Grave 113, a type B1 grave, had no capstone while, inside, the upper layers consisted of loose earth – probably as a result of ploughing rather than looting.

Grave 121

NM9157, Pre-canonical figurine (Fig. 18.11).
Ht 104mm; width 38mm.

Intact. There is thick incrustation on the left part of the back, which continues to the right part of the front. The rest of the surface is slightly eroded.

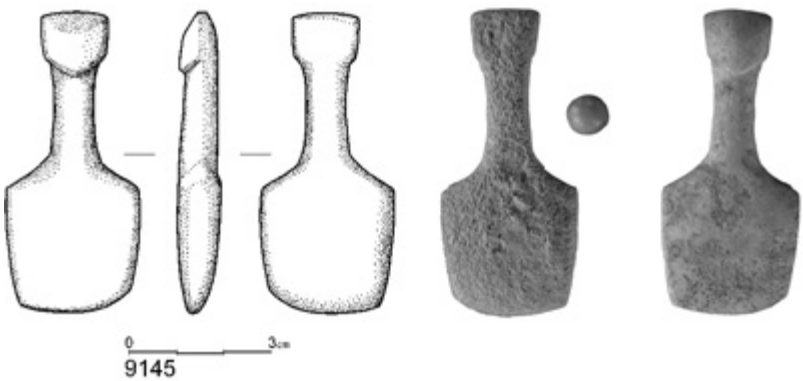

Fig. 18.9 Schematic figurine NM9145, with bead NM9146. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 18.10 Grave 113. Schematic figurine NM9145, covered by clay pyxis NM9153.

The head is ovoid and tilted backwards, with the nose clearly shown.The arms are not on top of each other but meet on the abdomen, where they are separated by a diagonal groove. The legs are separated by deep grooves at the front and back. That at the front extends to the

feet, which are horizontal. There are no traces of toes.

The similarity of this figurine to an item in a private collection dated by Thimme (1977, 450, no. 112) to EC I, is so close as to suggest a closely related source (Philaniotou 2008, 202, fig. 20.23).

The carving of the arms recalls the precanonical figurine from Aplomata (grave XIII, NM5470; Doumas & Lambrinoudakis, this volume, Fig. 15.10), where however the diagonal groove separating the arms has the opposite orientation, as is the case with the hybrid figure from Chalandriani (EAM6169.8, Papazoglou-Manioudaki, this volume, Fig. 21.9), and the piece from Akrotiraki, Siphnos (Papadopoulou, this volume, Fig. 11.6,). Papadopoulou assigns this figurine to an early (ECI–II) phase of the folded arm type, on the basis of similarities to the Kapsala variety (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 138). Indeed, on the Akrotiraki example the size of the slanting groove does seem like an early attempt at placing the left arm over the right.

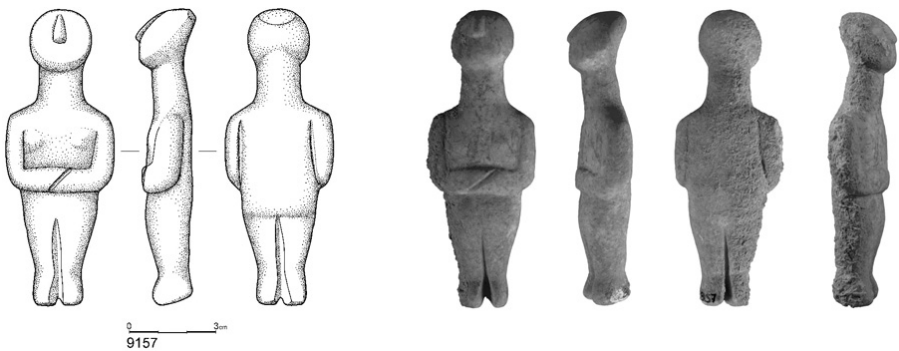

Fig. 18.11 Pre-canonical figurine NM9157. Scale 1:2.

For the leg join see Sotirakopoulou, Renfrew & Boyd (this volume, Chapter 23).

The only other find in grave 121 (a two-storey B1 type grave, the upper storey destroyed by ploughing or looting, Fig. 18.12) was a fragmentary thick-walled clay conical cup with brown burnished surface (NM9930, Philaniotou 2008, 198, fig. 20.13). It belongs to a type known from Pyrgos, Paros and Kato Akrotiri, Amorgos (Tsountas 1898, 174, 166–7, pl. 9.39; Rambach 2000, pl. 72.4), Markiani II (Karantzali 2006, 113, fig. 7.4.4). Larger and coarser is NM4852 from Aplomata (Kontoleon 1970, 151). The shape also occurs in marble (Getz-Gentle 1996, fig.70a, dated to ECII).

Precanonical figurines are assigned to the transitional ECI–II phase on typological grounds (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 56; Stambolides & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 74–5). Their association with Kapsala type figurines at Akrotiri (Renfrew 2007, 282) may extend their lifespan to the end of this phase. The presence in Tsikniades grave 121 of a conical cup of transitional ECI–II, or early ECII date provides further proof for the dating of this type of precanonical figurine.

Fig. 18.12 Grave 121 with figurine NM9157

Figurines not found in graves

NM9037, Folded-arm figurine (Fig. 18.13).
Ht 125mm; width 50mm.

This was found on the second day of the excavation (3-10-89), almost on the surface, next to a heap of stones resulting from the looters' activity, between two graves (1 and 12). The head of the figurine is missing, while its legs survive up to the knees. The marble is crystalline, with a very eroded surface.

The torso is long, while the area of the thighs is slightly rounded. The rounded arms are in the 'canonical' position – left over right. Fingers are not indicated. The breasts are rendered in low relief. The pubic area is defined by a curved shallow groove at the lower end of the abdomen and by the raised contours of the upper thighs at their junction with the torso. On the back, the spine is indicated by a long groove and the buttocks, slightly curvaceous, are defined by a curved horizontal shallow groove. A deep groove separates the thighs. On the same side, the left arm clearly protrudes from the body, while the existence of the right is indicated merely by a slight curvature on the side of the torso.

The straight profile of the figurine and the relatively narrow shoulders (not wider than the thighs) can be related to phase B of the early Spedos variety, or to the late Spedos variety, dated to the mature EC II period and known mainly from Naxos and its wider area, Amorgos and Keros (Getz-Gentle 2001, 38-39, table II. Sotirakopoulou 2005, 58). Certain features however (long torso, relatively narrow shoulders, and slightly curved thighs) are reminiscent of some specimens of the Kapsala variety, or even the Louros type (Renfrew pers. com.); it may therefore be placed earlier rather than earlier in the typological development of EC figurines.

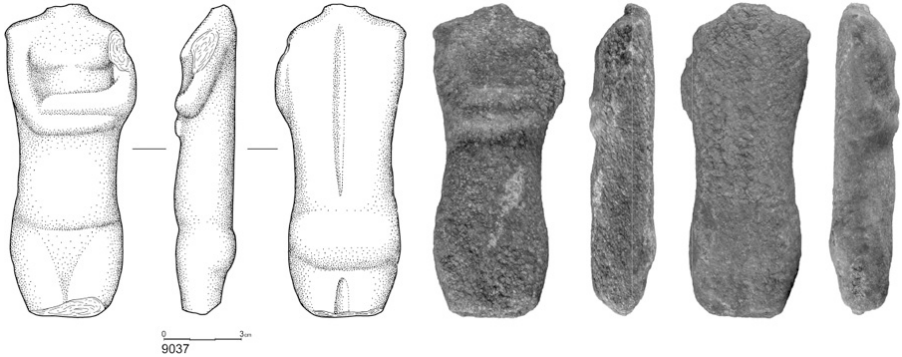

Fig. 18.13 Folded arm figurine NM9037. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 18.14 Head of Louros type figurine NM9065. Scale 1:2.

NM9065, Head of EC figurine of the Louros type (Fig. 18.14).
Ht 65mm; width 50mm

Found face downwards, near graves 13 (plundered) and 14 (unplundered). It survives to the base of the neck, which has an oblique break (ancient). On the break are visible shallow lines, either fortuitous or produced by some kind of tool. The front surface is eroded; the back is smooth and white.

The head is trapezoidal in shape, with a wider upper part, while the chin is square. There are no facial features. The trapezoidal shape is reminiscent of that of some Louros-type examples (cf Thimme 1977, 237.83, 'from Naxos', 238.84, from Antiparos).

NM9141, Schematic figurine (Fig. 18.15).
Ht 53mm, width 20mm.

Found in the vicinity of looted graves 28, 29 and unplundered graves 27, 30. 32.

Joined from two fragments. The surface is eroded.

Two flat surfaces. The body, rudely defined, is roughly ellipsoid in outline. The head-neck is a flat rod, of equal thickness to the body, slightly bent towards one side.

It does not seem to belong to any of the known schematic types. Its closest parallels appear among some figurines from Skarkos (Marthari, this volume, Figs 12.17, 3767; 12.18, 3780; 12.20, 3766, 3855), assigned by the excavator to the Apeiranthos type.

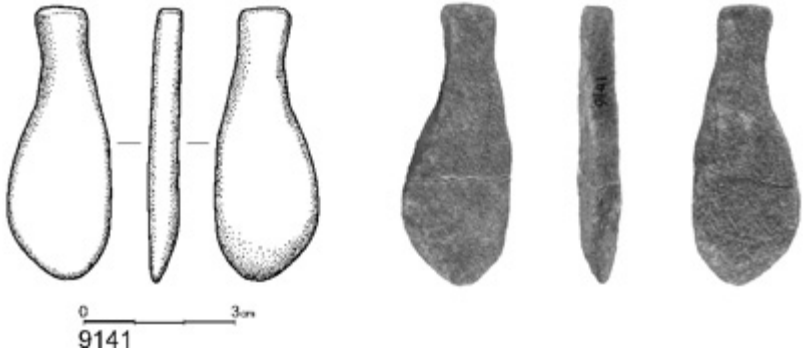

Fig. 18.15 Schematic figurine NM9141. Scale 1:2.

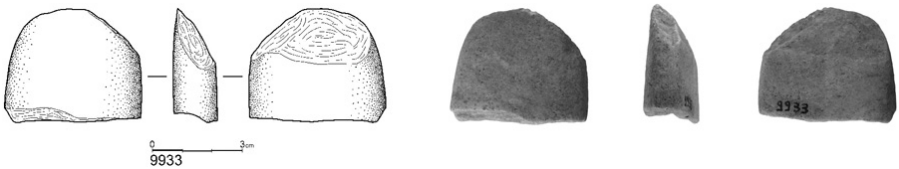

Fig. 18.16 Fragment of schematic figurine NM9933. Scale 1:2.

NM9933, Fragment of a schematic figurine (Fig. 18.16).
Ht 38mm; width 44mm.

Found in the heap of stones covering (unplundered) grave 15, which contained no offerings.

The curved lower part of a schematic body is preserved. Large oblique break on the 'back'.

Its fragmentary condition does not permit secure identification, although it could have been violin-shaped or have belonged to the Apeiranthos variety (Renfrew, pers. comm.).
Insert Figs 18.15–18.16

General remarks

The Tsikniades EC figurines form an interesting assemblage, as almost all belong to unusual or rare types. As Renfrew notes (pers. comm.) this is probably because most of them pre-date the development of the full folded-arm figurine of EC II. Some have similarities with EC I schematic figurines, and the presence of a torso of the Louros type (NM9067) is particularly significant, since such figurines have only been found in a secure context at Louros itself. Significant is also the presence in a secure context of the 'pre-canonical' figurine NM9157.

It is noteworthy that another rare form, the seated musician, was found in the neighbouring cemetery of Afendika (see above).

Acknowledgements

My warmest thanks to Prof. Renfrew for kindly reviewing the catalogue of both Tsikniades and Potamia figurines in my original papers and offering valuable comments on each piece, as well as some general observations on the Tsikniades items. Many thanks are also

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19

MARBLE FIGURINES FROM SITES ON EPANO AND KATO KOUPHONISI

Giorgos Gavalas

Introduction

Seventeen marble figurines and one unique plaquette with a relief figure have been found on Epano Kouphonisi; one more comes from Kato Kouphonisi.

These were found in the course of salvage excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service conducted between 1969 and 1970 by Photeini Zapheiropoulou, then Epimelitria of Antiquities in the Ephorate for the Cyclades of the then Greek Archaeological Service; they were initiated after visits following rumours about extensive looting on these islands. Significant finds were located in three different areas on Epano Kouphonisi (Fig. 19.1): in Agrilia, in Alonistria Chousouri, and in the area of Loutra, where burials were found (Zapheiropoulou 1970a; 1970b; 1971). All of them are at the southern part of the island, and close to the village of Kouphonisi, facing Keros and the islet of Dhaskalio. One figurine comes from Kato Kouphonisi, possibly from the area of Nero at the southwest, opposite Dhaskalio.

On Epano Kouphonisi at a distance of about 500-600m to the north of the village, a large cemetery was found in the area of Agrilia (Ἀγριλιὰ), on Moscha Symidalas' property (Ἀγρὸς Μόσχας Συμιδαλά). In an area extending 50m east– west by 75m north–south, 72 tombs were investigated; further away another 22 were located plundered and damaged (Zapheiropoulou 1970a; 1970b; 1983; 2008). The tombs were cut into the limestone bedrock and composed of two parts: an open fore-pit of trapezoidal or ellipsoid plan, and a second

funerary chamber of similar plan cut in the bedrock, where the deceased was placed, with a large upright slab blocking the entrance. Most of the graves were arranged in two rows and faced north or northwest. In Agrilia tomb 9, the stone plaquette (cat. no. 1) was found, and in tomb 68 the head of a figurine (cat. no. 2).

In the area of Alonistria Chousouri (Ἀλωνίστρια Χουζούρη), in the vicinity of Epano Mylos, near the coast, in the property of Eudokia Skopelitis (Ἀγρὸς Εὐδοκίας Σκοπελίτου), situated at the northwestern end of the village, evidence of looting was obvious. Only nine ellipsoid pits cut in the bedrock were found and excavated, most of them partly disturbed by cultivation. The rest of the area was full of damaged pits with many finds including broken pottery (Zapheiropoulou 1970a; 1970b; 1983; 2008). Sixteen figurines in total were found at Alonistria Chousouri; two complete examples (cat. nos 3 and 4) were found together in rock cut pit 5, while another 14 were found elsewhere. Six pieces were found within the excavated pits (cat. nos 5–8, 16 & 17); eight more fragments (cat. nos 9–15 & 18) were found in the trenches, excavated in between them in mixed deposits with many other finds and some broken pottery.

The third area investigated was a large field to the northwest of, and outside, the modern village, on a low hill above a promontory separating the two bays of Loutra (Λουτρά) and Parianos (Παριανὸς), and a field called Potamia (Ποταμιά), in the property of Ioannis Tsavaris (Αγρός Ιωάννη Τσαβαρή). There evidence of looting was also attested; in the highest level of the field three cavities were found undisturbed, cut into the bedrock, with many finds including marble vessels. At a lower level, towards the foot of the low hill, in a flattened area, an inhumation burial consisting of disturbed skeletal remains and many burial offerings was found, placed directly on the bedrock and covered by stones piled to create a small heap. At the southwestern end of this a stone placed upright may have served as a marker (séma), while a small low wall (now a single row of stones) enclosed the area at its northern end (Zapheiropoulou1970b; 1971; 1983; 2008). No figurine fragments were found there during these investigations. Recent investigations in the area below and nearby by O. Philaniotou have revealed some burials and several fragments of marble figurines (Philaniotou, chapter 14, this volume). The figurine from Kato Kouphonisi (cat. no. 19) was surrendered (παράδοση) with some other complete finds to Zapheiropoulou by Nikitas Prasinos during a survey walk (περιοδεία); at the time she observed evidence of looted graves in the area of Nero (Zapheiropoulou 1970a, 429–30, fig. 373a–s).

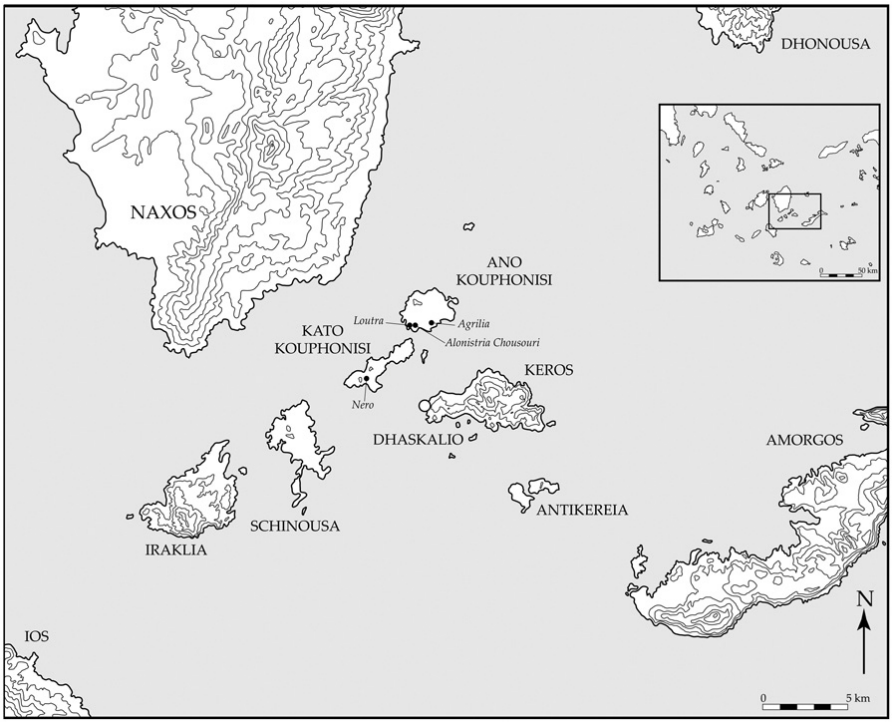


Fig. 19.1 Map of the Amorgian Islands between Amorgos and Naxos in the southern Cyclades, with the two Kouphonisia and the location of the areas investigated in 1969 and 1970.

Material and preservation

All the figurines (Table 19.1) are of white marble of good quality. The two complete ones (cat. nos 3, 4) are of very fine grained and transparent marble. Most are of coarse grained, relatively transparent marble. The plaquette with the relief figure (cat. no. 1), is of grey marble.

Of the 18 figurines only two (cat. nos 3 and 4) are complete. These were found in good condition, covered by a shallow bowl. The remaining 16 are fragmentary: a headless torso with legs (cat. no. 19), three head and neck fragments (cat. nos 2, 5 and 18), one neck (cat. no. 6), two torsos with neck (cat. nos 7 and 8), and two waists and pelves (cat. nos 9 and 10). The remainder are fragments of legs: four thighs (cat. nos 11–13 and 17) and three lower legs (cat. nos 14–16)

Table 19.1 Kouphonisia: the Early Cycladic marble figurines.

Cat. & inv. no.	Find location	Description & preservation	Fig.
1 NM4620	Agrilia, Tomb 9	Complete plaquette with relief figure	19.2
2 NM4632	Agrilia, Tomb 68	Fragmentary head & neck	19.3
3 NM4569	Alonistria Chousouri, rock cut pit 5	Complete folded-arm figurine	19.4, 19.5
4 NM4570	Alonistria Chousouri, rock cut pit 5	Complete folded-arm figurine	19.6, 19.7
5 NM4571	Alonistria Chousouri, Tomb 3	Fragmentary head & neck of folded-arm figurine	19.8, 19.9
6 NM4577	Alonistria Chousouri, Tomb 1	Fragmentary neck of folded-arm figurine	19.10
7 NM4578	Alonistria Chousouri, Tomb 9	Fragmentary neck & torso of folded-arm figurine	19.11, 19.12
8 NM4580	Alonistria Chousouri, Tomb 9	Fragmentary neck & torso of folded-arm figurine	19.13, 19.14
9 NM4574	Alonistria Chousouri, Trench 1, east part	Fragmentary waist, pelvis & thighs of folded-arm figurine	19.15
10 NM4601	Alonistria Chousouri, Trench 1, east part	Fragmentary waist & pelvis of folded-arm figurine	19.16
11 NM4579	Alonistria Chousouri, surface deposit south of Tombs 6 & 7	Fragmentary thighs of folded-arm figurine	19.17
12 NM8572	Alonistria Chousouri	Fragmentary thighs of folded-arm figurine	19.18
13 NM4575	Alonistria Chousouri, Trench 1, east part	Fragmentary thighs & lower legs of folded-arm figurine	19.19
14 NM4572	Alonistria Chousouri, Trench 1, west part	Fragmentary lower legs of folded-arm figurine	19.20
15 NM4573	Alonistria Chousouri, Trench 1, west part	Fragmentary right lower leg of folded-arm figurine	19.21
16 NM4581	Alonistria Chousouri, Tomb 9	Fragmentary left lower leg of folded-arm figurine	19.22
17 NM4576	Alonistria Chousouri, Tomb 1	Fragmentary left thigh & lower leg of a figurine	19.23
18 NM4607	Alonistria Chousouri, Trench 1, east part	Fragmentary head of schematic figurine	19.24
19 NM4547	Kato Kouphonisi, Nero tomb, donation by A. Prasinos	Fragmentary neck, torso & feet of folded-arm figurine	19.25

Most of the breaks are ancient but there are also recent scratches and other damage. In three cases recently broken pieces have been joined to restore three different objects: the plaquette with the relief figure (cat. no. 1), the complete figurine (cat. no. 4), and the fragment of a left lower leg (cat. no. 16).

Catalogue

Epano Kouphonisi, Agrilia

1. Plaquette with a relief figure, NM4620 (Fig. 19.2).
Grey marble.
Dimensions of the plaquette: maximum height 38mm, length 135mm, width 90mm.
Dimensions of the figure: total height 104mm, maximum width 38mm, maximum thickness 15mm. Preservation: broken during excavation and restored: now complete. The surfaces are well preserved.

This is a roughly rectangular plaquette with a flattish, slightly concave lower surface. On the upper surface there is a complete carved schematic figure in high relief. The upper surface is smooth and lightly convex as are also the side walls.

The figure is carved as if lying on a bed; it is slightly off-centre along the long axis. The head is broad, somewhat triangular with curvilinear outline and has a length of 25mm. It has the same width as the arms (maximum width 38mm), and is carved as if it is lying on the upper surface of the plaquette, while the chin is pronounced; this suggests that the head is carved as if it is leaning back. The neck is long, conical and protrudes above the head; this

was intended to provide more space under it for the cylindrical perforation (maximum diameter 6mm) carved on the back of the neck and into the upper surface of the plaquette, creating a long concave groove. The torso is of lozenge shape and has a length of *c.* 30mm. The arms are extended from the rounded shoulders crossing the vertical axis of the figure at a 90° angle. Their ends are straight and they cover the same width as the forehead.

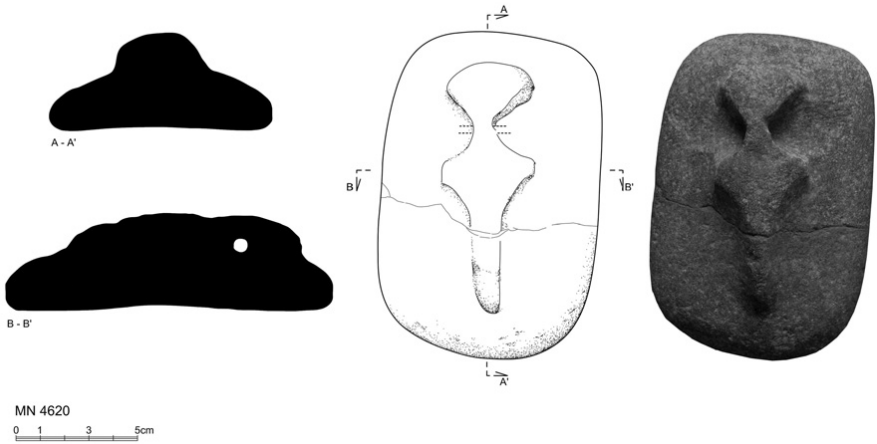


Fig. 19.2 NM4620. Plaquette with a relief figure. Scale 1:2.

The torso at its lower part becomes narrower and the legs are carved as a long, nearly cylindrical continuous shape, which in its curvilinear end, becomes even narrower. This is 40mm long and 17mm wide. As with the head, both torso and legs are carved as if they are lying on the upper surface of the plaquette.

2. Head and neck of a figurine of Louros type, NM4632 (Fig. 19.3).
White marble.
Dimensions: maximum height 38.5mm, maximum width 20.5mm, maximum thickness 12.5mm.

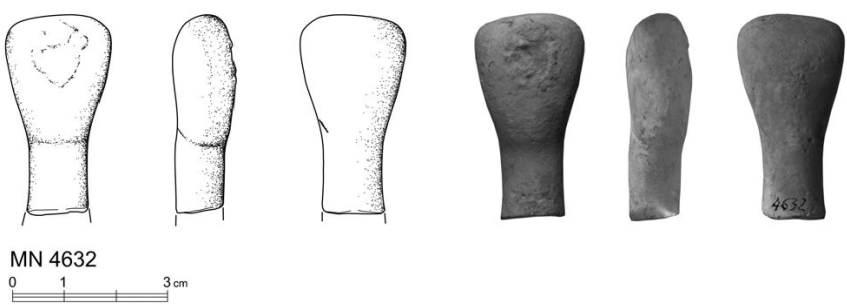


Fig. 19.3 NM4632. Head of a figurine of Louros type. Scale 1:2.

Preservation: there is a break in the middle of the face. The break on the neck is rather sharp. The surfaces are well preserved.

The head has triangular shape and a height of 25mm. It is broader at the forehead (maximum width 20.5mm) which is rather flat and rounded at the corners. The crown is narrower and has a slightly pointed edge when seen in profile. The chin is rounded and it projects slightly from the neck. Its maximum thickness in the middle of the face is 12.5mm. No other

anatomical features of the face such as the nose have been rendered. The head is placed straight on the neck without any inclination. At the transition to the neck at the rear there is a slight incision. The neck is cylindrical and long.

Epano Kouphonisi, Alonistria Chousouri

3. Female folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety, NM4569 (Figs 19.4, 19.5).
White marble.
Dimensions: height 218mm, maximum width 75mm, maximum thickness 31mm.
Preservation: complete; the surfaces are very well preserved with no trace of weathering or exposure to natural conditions. Some chipped edges on the crown and at the back of head.

The head is tilted back at the crown, which is nearly straight; it is placed on a low cylindrical neck at an angle of 145° from the vertical axis. It has a rectangular long oval shape, dimensions: height 59mm, width 31mm, thickness 23mm. The surfaces have been carved flat, but are rounded at the top. It is broader and more voluminous below the nose. The crown is flat at the top (width 4mm); below which it curves gently at the rear of the head. The chin is rounded and broad, with an angle below to the neck. A long rectangular nose is placed at the centre of the face 9mm above the chin and 15mm from the forehead; it is gently projecting from the surface and carved in low relief (length 21mm, width 5mm). Its two edges almost meet at the top. Its profile follows the curvature of the face. A small straight incision is visible below the nose, probably a trace of working.

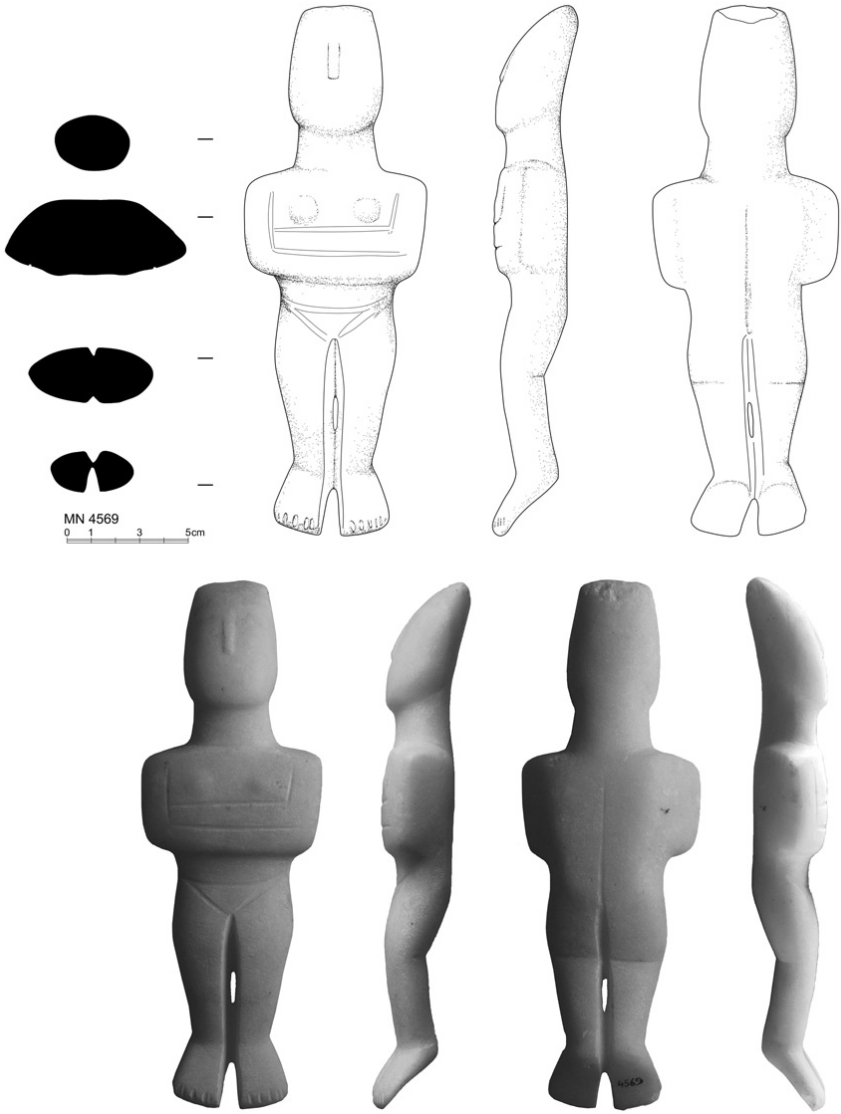


Fig. 19.4 NM4569. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Traces of the upper outline of the right eye with the pupil are faintly visible. Traces of a further two eyes, the one above the other, are faintly seen. Most of the forehead seems also to have been covered by a band of paint (Fig. 19.5)

The neck is relatively voluminous, conical, and slightly truncated. Thinner than the head, it is flattened at both front and back; its outline is curvilinear and it has a height of 16 mm and a width between 32–4mm, and maximum thickness 24mm. It is clearly defined from the shoulders at the points of junction: at the lower part in front, by a continuous curvilinear incision, and at the back, by two small straight oblique incisions.

The torso is clearly separated into two parts: the larger broader area of the chest with the folded arms, and the slimmer lower waist. The upper torso is flat and low, and has a rounded rectangular shape; its height from the shoulders to the elbows is 45mm. Its widest point, at the height of the arms, is 75mm and its maximum thickness, at the breasts, 31mm. The slope

of the ‘fleshy’ strong shoulders is gently rounded; their surface at the top is wide and they are flat at the front and rounded to the rear. The width at the shoulders between the upper arms is equal to the width between the elbows. The upper arms are defined by shallow vertical incisions; the folded forearms, of equal width, set left above right, in the canonical position, are defined by two horizontal parallel incisions. Fingers are not denoted on either hand. The breasts have been carved as slightly pointed rounded volumes, are placed high with some distance between them.

Fig. 19.5. NM4569. Detail of head, showing paint ghosts. Not to scale.

The area of the waist is flat, cylindrical and narrower than the chest. The pubic triangle is clearly marked with three shallow incisions: one horizontal indicating its upper boundary with the lower part of the belly, and two oblique incisions, which meet at the narrow deeply curved groove at the top of the legs.

The legs are bent at the knees at an angle of 149°, and separated by the groove, which

gradually becomes deeper and wider. The length of the thighs to the knees is 30mm, maximum width 51mm, with thickness 24mm at the buttocks. The outline of the thighs is curvilinear and broader than the waist. In the groove, above the knees starts there is a narrow oval perforation separating the legs (maximum length 12mm, width 3mm). There is a clear bend at the knees, accentuated at the front by a gentle curve and at the back by shallow straight incisions; the angle is 133°. The straight lower legs (maximum length 39mm, width 38mm, thickness 18mm) are also marked at the curved ankle by a smooth transition. The trapezoidal, thin feet (length 42mm, width 86mm, thickness 31mm), joined at the ankles and separated at the toes, slant down outwards at the tip; five wide, shallow-grooved incisions indicate six toes on each of them.

On the back, markedly angular sides form a flat, straight rectangular surface; the vertical groove of the spinal column continues to form a cleft to the buttocks separating the legs in the same way as in front. The buttocks are not separately indicated, save by the angle of the legs below the torso. The torso is thicker in the middle and narrows markedly toward the edges. In profile the figure is markedly angular.

4. Female folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety, NM4570 (Figs 19.6, 19.7).
White marble.
Height 143mm, maximum width 43mm, maximum thickness 18mm.
Preservation: complete; broken in two at the neck and restored. The surfaces are very well preserved with no trace of weathering, only some recent scratches.

The lyre-shaped head is tilted back at the crown, worked to a slightly curvilinear edge at the top; it is placed on a high neck at a steep angle measuring 127° from the vertical axis. It has a broad hemispherical shape at its lower end, with dimensions height 30mm, width 27mm, thickness 20mm. Somewhat flat in profile, the surfaces are slightly rounded and the crown projects on each side from the thinner forehead. The head is broadest at the lower cheeks. At the back the crown is flat and ellipsoid at the top, with a width of 6mm; it leans back at a strong angle. The chin is rounded and broad. A trapezoidal broad conical nose is placed low at the centre of the face, at a height of 9mm from the chin and 11mm from the forehead; it is carved in high relief (length 10mm, width 5mm); its two edges almost meet at the top. Its profile follows the curvature of the face projecting considerably at the lower end. Traces of the upper outline of the right eye with the pupil are faintly visible, as seen in Figure 19.7.

The relatively high and slender neck appears cylindrical from the front and narrows in profile toward the shoulders. It is thinner than the head. It has a height of 15mm and a width between 15mm at the base of the head and 14mm at the junction with the torso, and a maximum thickness of 16mm. It is clearly defined at the base of the head, to the rear, by two thin incisions, which follow its outline; it is similarly defined at the shoulders: in front, by a continuous curvilinear incision marking its base, and at the back, by two small oblique incisions, which meet at an angle and join with the vertical incision of the spinal column.

The torso is carved as a continuous trapezoid which is a little broader at the shoulders and slimmer at the waist. The shoulders are markedly tilted back and slope strongly; they are thin and elegant. The torso, consisting of the chest and folded arms, is voluminous; its height from the shoulders to the elbows is 35mm. Its widest point, at the shoulders, is 44mm wide, and its maximum thickness, at the breasts, is 18mm. The width at the shoulders is broader than between the elbows; the elbows project at the sides. The upper arms are defined by deep vertical incisions, and the lower arms by two horizontal, nearly parallel incisions; they are folded in the usual position, above the waist, left above right; the left arm seems to lean slightly down. Fingers are not denoted on each hand. The ‘fleshy’ breasts are placed as expected; they are shaped as gently rounded projecting volumes, which are pointed, nearly conical in profile.

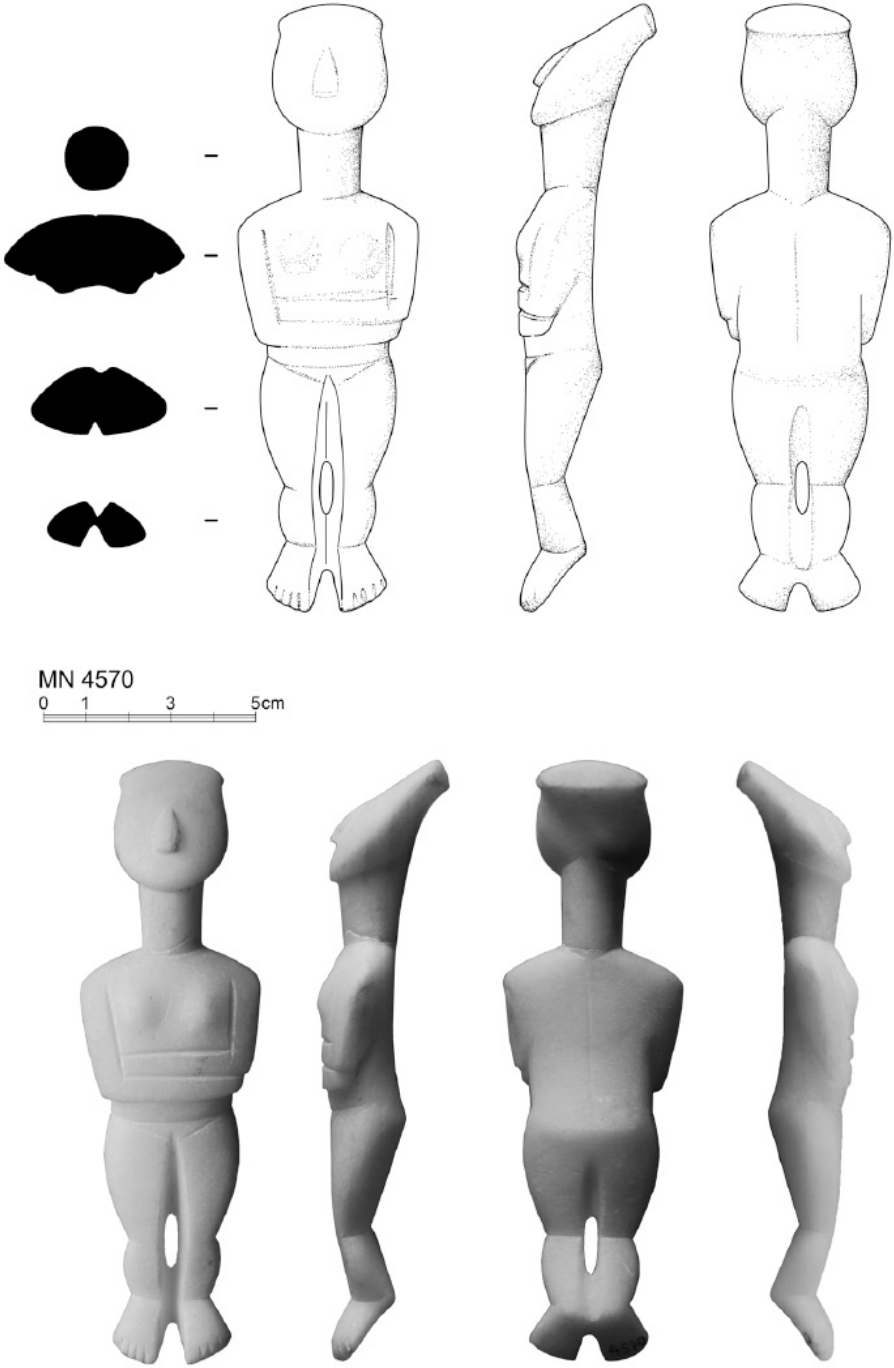


Fig. 19.6. NM4570. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 19.7. NM4570. Detail of head, showing paint ghost. Not to scale.

The waist is low, flat and cylindrical and it has the same width as the chest. The pubic triangle is clearly marked with three shallow incisions: one horizontal, indicating its upper boundary and continuing to the whole width of the waist, and two oblique incisions, which meet at the narrow, triangular, deeply curved groove at the top of the leg. The inner sides of the groove are straight, and vertical at the front; at the back, the groove is shallower and smoothly carved.

The legs are bent at the knees at a strong angle of 147° and separated by the groove, which gradually becomes deeper and wider. The outline of the thighs is curvilinear and broader than the waist. The length of the thighs to the knees is 30mm, their maximum width is 32mm, and their thickness 18mm at the buttocks. A little above the knees begins a narrow oval perforation (maximum length 13mm, width 4mm). There is a clear bend at the knees, accentuated at the front by horizontal shallow straight incisions, which continue at the rear. The lower legs (dimensions: maximum length 15mm, width 23mm, thickness at the ankles 11mm) end at the swollen ankle joints. The feet are inclined at an angle of 135°. The trapezoidal, voluminous feet (length 16mm, width 28mm, thickness 13mm), joined at the ankles and separated at the toes, slant down outwards at the tip; four wide shallow grooved incisions indicate five toes on each.

The back forms a flat straight rectangular surface; the vertical groove of the spinal column continues through the buttocks to the groove separating the legs. The buttocks are prominent. The torso is thicker in the middle and narrows markedly toward the edges. The bottom surface of the feet is slightly curved. In profile the figure is markedly angular.

5. Head and neck fragment of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety, NM4571 (Figs 19.8, 19.9). White marble.

Maximum height 62mm, maximum width 37mm, maximum thickness 28mm.
Preservation: the head is complete and preserved nearly to the base of the neck. The surfaces are weathered with a yellow patina. There are small breaks at the chin and at the left side.

The head is voluminous, tilted back at the crown, which is worked to a nearly straight edge; it is placed on a long cylindrical neck at a markedly steep angle, of 126°, leaning back. It has a long oval shape (dimensions: length 36mm, width 37mm, thickness 28mm). It is broader at the middle of the face. The surfaces have been carved rounded at the sides on the top. At the back the crown is carved a little flat at the top, with a width of 9mm. The chin is broad and rounded; its lower part projects strongly from the neck. A trapezoidal flat and long nose is placed at the centre of the face, 17mm from the chin and 15mm from the forehead; its lower end projects strongly from the surface; it is carved in high relief (length 21mm, width 8mm at the lower end, 4mm at the top). Its profile follows the curvature of the face.

Traces of the upper outline of both the right and left eye level with the top of the nose are clearly visible. Another pair of eyes placed lower is also faintly visible. Moreover on the left there is a relief ghost of the outline of one more eye (Fig. 19.9)

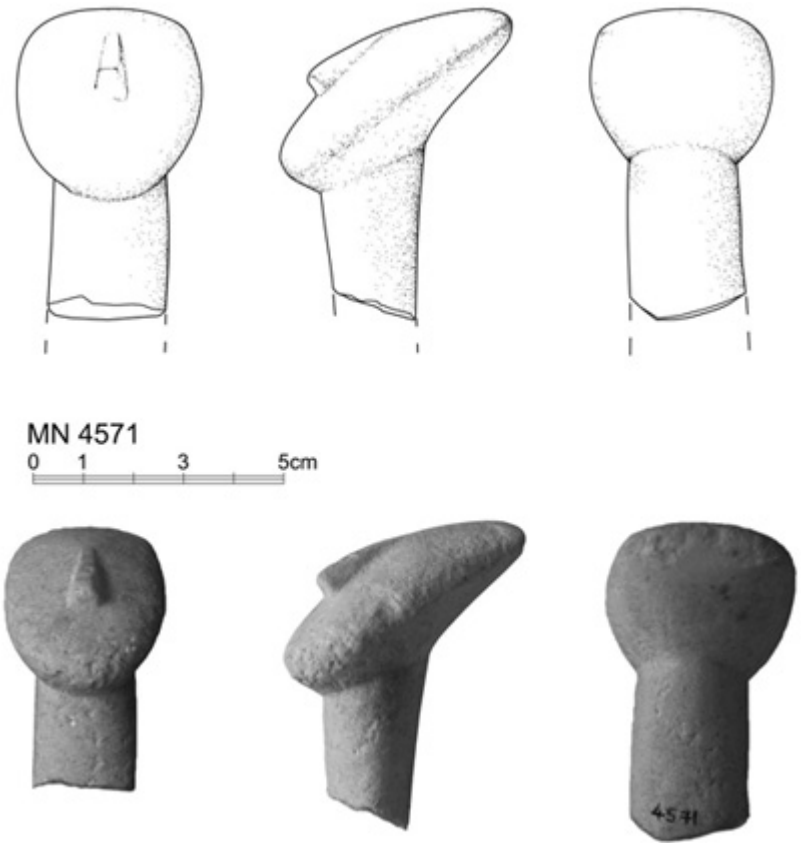


Fig. 19.8. NM4571. Head of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 19.9 NM4571. Detail of head, showing paint ghosts. Not to scale.

The neck is cylindrical from the front, cylindrical in profile and high. It is thinner than the head, flattened at the front and back. It has a preserved height of 22mm and width 23mm, maximum thickness 20mm at the top. It is clearly defined from the head at the points of junction, by a deep carved smooth transition; at the back, there are two small incisions at the sides and between them a smooth transition between the neck and the head.

6. Neck of a figurine of Spedos variety, NM4577 (Fig. 19.10).
White marble.
Maximum height 68mm, maximum width 47mm, maximum thickness 44mm.
Preservation: the neck is preserved nearly to the base. The surfaces are strongly weathered and a light yellow patina is consistently present. The breaks are round and eroded.

The neck is voluminous, cylindrical from the front, conical in profile and high. The surfaces are somewhat flattened on both front and back sides. It has a height of 68mm and a width of 42–3mm, and maximum thickness 44mm. At the back, at the right shoulder, there is a small oblique incision; in the front at the lower part, there is a continuous smooth transition which

is partly preserved.

7. Neck and torso of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety, NM4578 (Figs 19.11, 19.12).
White marble.
Maximum height 120mm, maximum width 113mm, maximum thickness 48mm.
Preservation: fragment, from the neck and the upper torso to below the breast; the neck is broken at an oblique angle at the base of the head. The surfaces are not weathered; they are lightly patinated and a light yellow incrustation is seen in places. Surface damage is seen at the back of the neck, at the right arm and right breast. These ancient breaks are rounded and eroded. Recent damage is also present on the chest and neck in the front.

The high voluminous neck is cylindrical to conical in shape. It is inclined slightly to the front and has a height of 58mm, with a width between 45mm at the base of the neck and 39mm at upper preserved edge, and a maximum thickness of 37mm. The head seems to have been placed on it tilted back at a strong angle as its width in profile indicates. It emerges from the shoulders in front in smooth transition; at the back two thin oblique incisions meet at an angle and join with the deeper vertical groove of the spinal column.

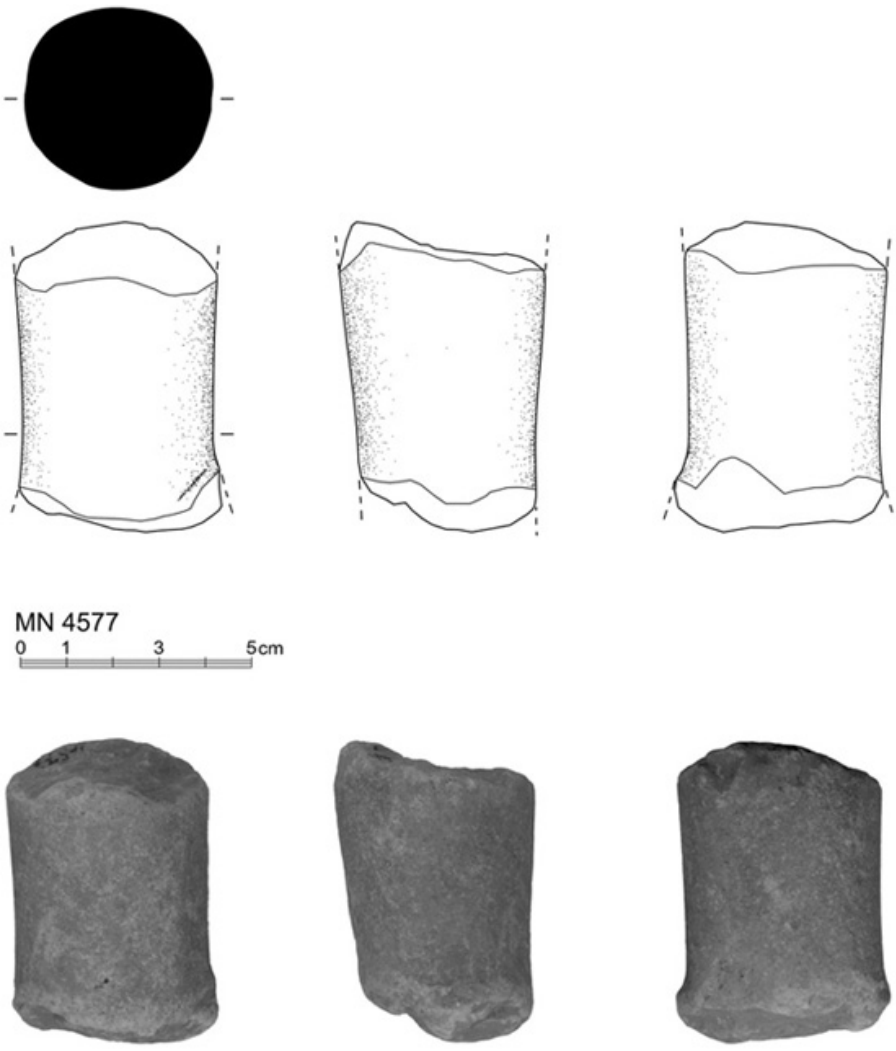


Fig. 19.10 NM4577. Neck of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

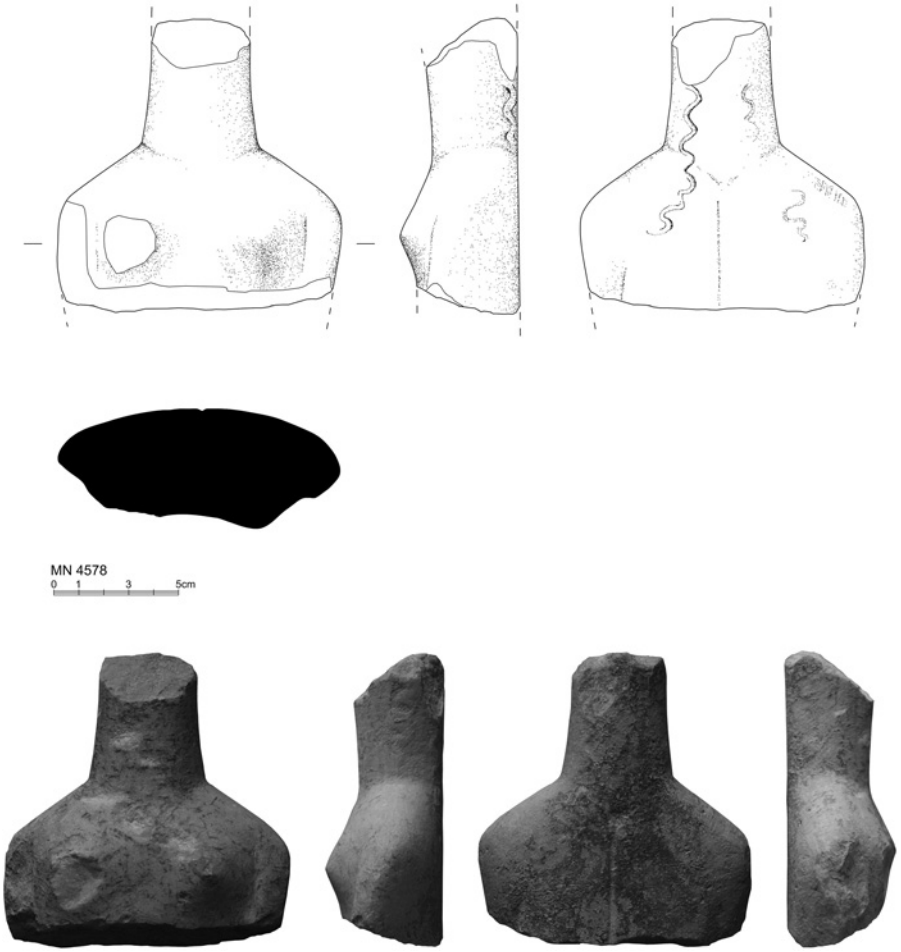


Fig. 19.11. NM4578. Neck and upper torso of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2

The upper torso is formed as a continuous trapezoidal shape, which is a little broader at the shoulders. The voluminous shoulders are tilted back and strongly slope downward. The chest is broad and similarly voluminous. The preserved maximum height of the upper torso from the shoulders to a nearly horizontal line under the breasts is 55mm. Its widest point, at the breast, is 113mm, and its maximum thickness, again at the breasts, is 48mm. The upper arms have a rounded outline; they are defined by smooth shallow grooves which are not quite parallel. The 'fleshy' breasts are placed in position; they are gently rounded and projecting, conical in profile. At the back, the surface is flat; the spinal column is indicated by a deep incision beneath the neck.

Fig. 19.12 NM4578. Detail of neck and torso, showing paint ghosts. Not to scale.

Traces of two long vertical curls at the left side of the neck and at the back are clearly visible in low relief. Another two are faintly visible at the other side (Fig. 19.12).

8. Neck and upper torso of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety, NM4580 (Figs 19.13, 19.14).
White marble.
Maximum height 121mm, maximum width 104mm, maximum thickness 45mm.
Preservation: fragment, from the lower part of the neck to the line under the left folded arm. The surfaces are weathered, patinated and a light yellow incrustation is present. The breaks are rounded and eroded. Recent scratches are seen on the back and on the neck at the front.

The neck is voluminous and conical. The sides are rounded; it has a height of 31mm and a width between 45mm at the torso and 40mm at the upper preserved edge, and maximum thickness 35mm. It is defined at the shoulders by a continuous curvilinear smooth groove around its base, which continues at the back.

The torso is carved in a trapezoidal shape, which is a little broader at the shoulders and slimmer at the elbows. The rounded, voluminous shoulders are tilted back and slope downward. The upper torso is 92mm high; its widest point, at the shoulders, is 103mm, and its maximum thickness, at the breasts and at the folded arms, is 45mm. The elbows project at the sides. The upper arms are defined by deep and broad grooves; the left forearm is carved in low relief and would have been parallel to the right (not preserved); it is folded in the usual position, above the waist, left above right. Fingers are denoted on the hand by four thin and long parallel incisions. The 'fleshy' breasts are gently rounded in shape, forming truncated cones in profile; they are placed in the expected position. At the back a broad shallow vertical groove indicates the spinal column.

Traces of two long curls at the left side of the neck and at the back are faintly visible in low relief. Another two are faintly visible on the other side (Fig. 19.14).

9. Waist, pelvis and thighs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety, NM 4574 (Fig. 19.15).
White marble.
Maximum height 114mm, maximum width 67mm, maximum thickness 23mm.
Preservation: fragment, preserving most of the waist, the pelvis and the thighs, to above the knees. The surfaces are weathered and patinated. The breaks are sharp but eroded. Recent scratches are present on the waist and at the back.

The lower edge of the right folded arm defines the area of the waist, which is flat and high; height 30mm, maximum width at the waist 67mm, thickness 21mm. The pubic triangle is clearly marked by three shallow incisions. The lower apex of the triangle meets the narrow, shallow groove between the legs, slightly off axis, to the left. The groove on both sides is broad and its inner sides are straight.

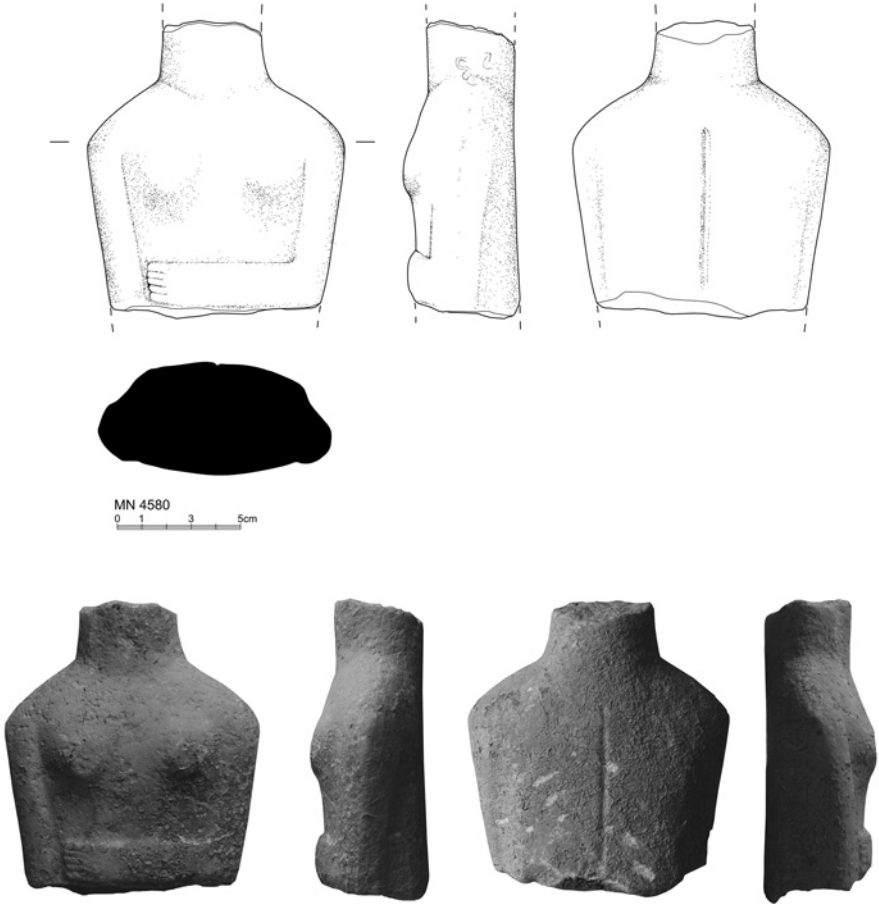


Fig. 19.13 NM4580. Neck and upper torso of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 19.14. NM4580. Detail of neck and torso, showing paint ghosts. Not to scale.

To the rear the legs are bent forward at the buttocks and separated by the groove, which gradually becomes deeper and wider. The length of the thighs to the knees is 78mm, with maximum width 63mm, and thickness 23mm at the buttocks. The outline of the thighs is slightly curved and slimmer than the waist. It seems that the legs were bent at the knees. At the back a shallow vertical groove indicates the spine; this meets the deeper groove of the legs, again off axis at the right. The buttocks project in low relief. The profile is thin and narrow.

10. Waist, pelvis and thighs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety, NM 4601 (Fig. 19.16).
White marble.
Maximum height 35mm, maximum width 30mm, maximum thickness 17mm.
Preservation: fragment preserving most of the waist, the pelvis and part of the thighs. The surfaces are patinated and weathered; some light yellow incrustation covers the front. The breaks are rounded and eroded. Ancient scratches and surface damage are seen on the waist and at the buttocks.

The voluminous waist looks slightly swollen; it is preserved just under the folded arms and has a concave outline. The maximum height of the waist is 14mm, with maximum width 26mm, and maximum thickness 16mm. The pubic triangle is set in slightly lower relief; it is clearly marked with three shallow incisions: one horizontal indicating its upper boundary and the lower part of the belly, which continues across the lower waist, and two oblique incisions, which meet at the narrow, triangular and deep groove at the top of the leg. The inner sides of the front groove are rounded, whereas the rear groove is fairly shallow.

The thighs are bent forward at the buttocks. They are carved in a slightly higher relief than the pubic area; they are separated by the groove which gradually becomes slightly deeper and wider. The preserved height of the thighs is 30mm, with maximum width 32mm, and thickness 18mm at the buttocks. The outline of the thighs is nearly straight. The back is carved as a rounded surface and the spine is indicated by a very shallow, faint vertical groove. The figurine is voluminous in profile.

11. Thighs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety, NM4579 (Fig. 19.17). White marble.
Maximum height 95mm, maximum width 113mm, maximum thickness 56mm.
Preservation: fragment of the thighs, preserved nearly to the knees. In the front only the right thigh retains the original surface; the left is broken. The surfaces are weathered and patinated. The breaks are rounded and eroded. At the back there is a small chip missing at the top of the left thigh. Recent scratches and a break are seen on the right thigh at the front.

The voluminous, flattened thighs are separated by the groove which gradually becomes deeper and wider. The outline of the thighs is somewhat straight and broader at the upper preserved part. The knees are indicated at the front by slight projections; at the back there is a horizontal straight incision. The groove at the front is deeper than that at the back. The sides of the groove at the front are vertical and straight while at the back they are more rounded.

12. Thighs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety, NM8572 (Fig. 19.18).
White marble.
Maximum height 72mm, maximum width 50mm, maximum thickness 25mm.
Preservation: fragment preserving part of the pubic area, and part of the thighs to the knees. The surfaces are weathered and some light yellow patina is present. The breaks are rounded and eroded. Surface damage and some small recent scratches are seen on the right thigh.

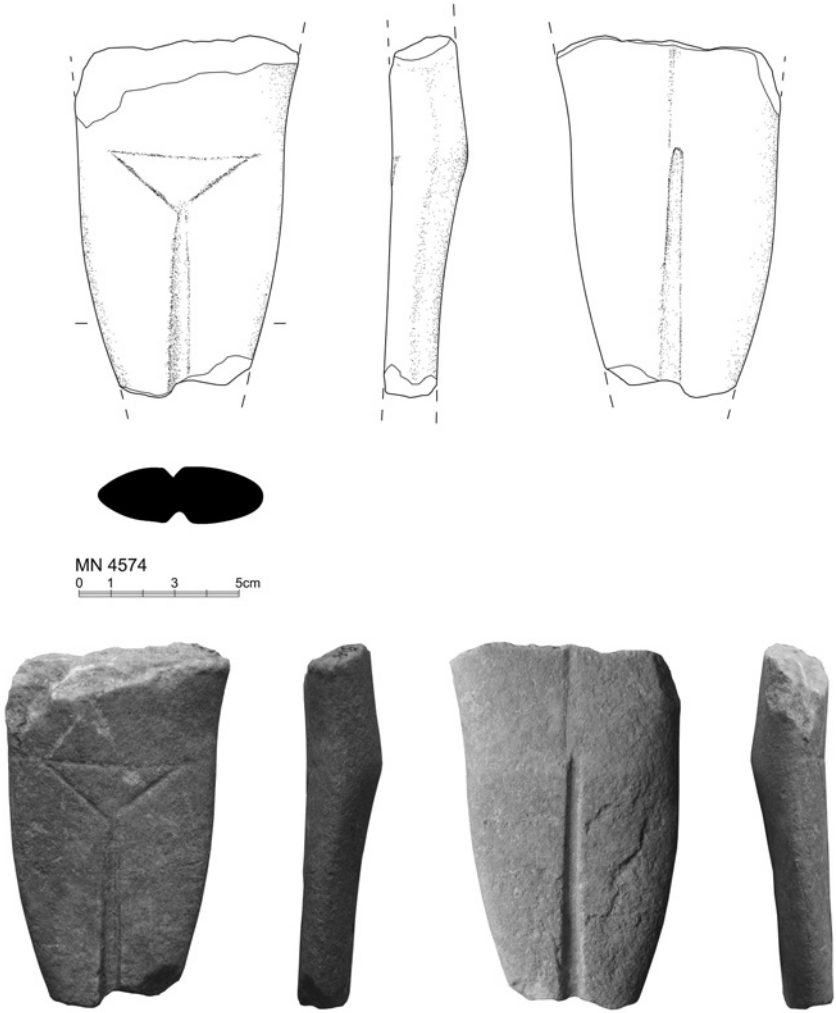


Fig. 19.15. NM4574. Lower torso and thighs of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

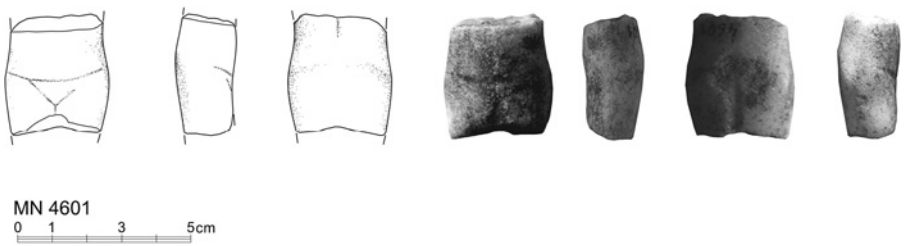


Fig. 19.16. NM4601. Lower torso and thighs of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

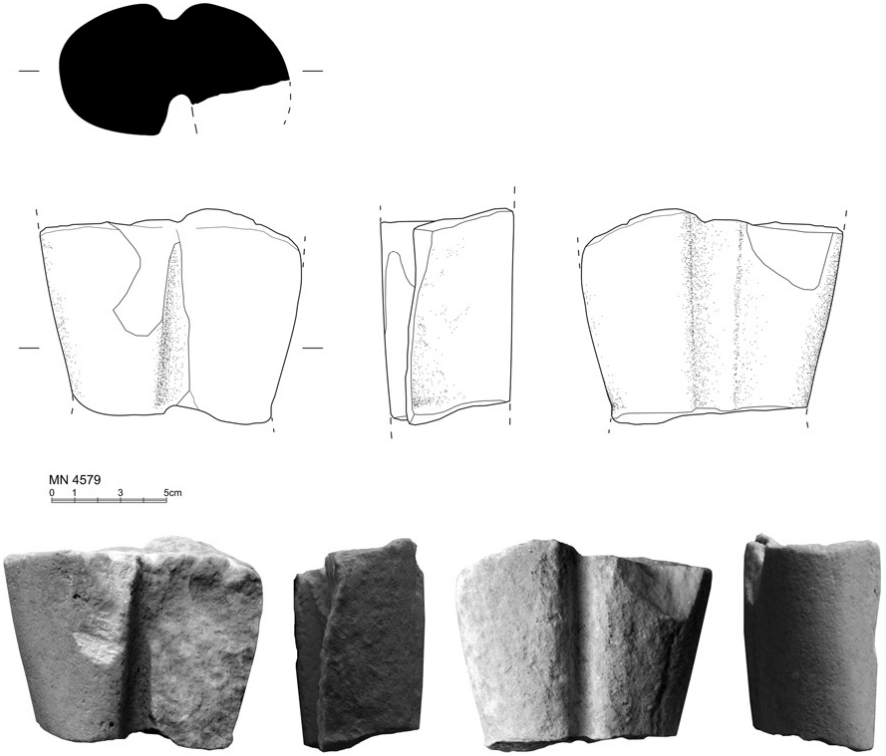


Fig. 19.17 NM4579. Thighs of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

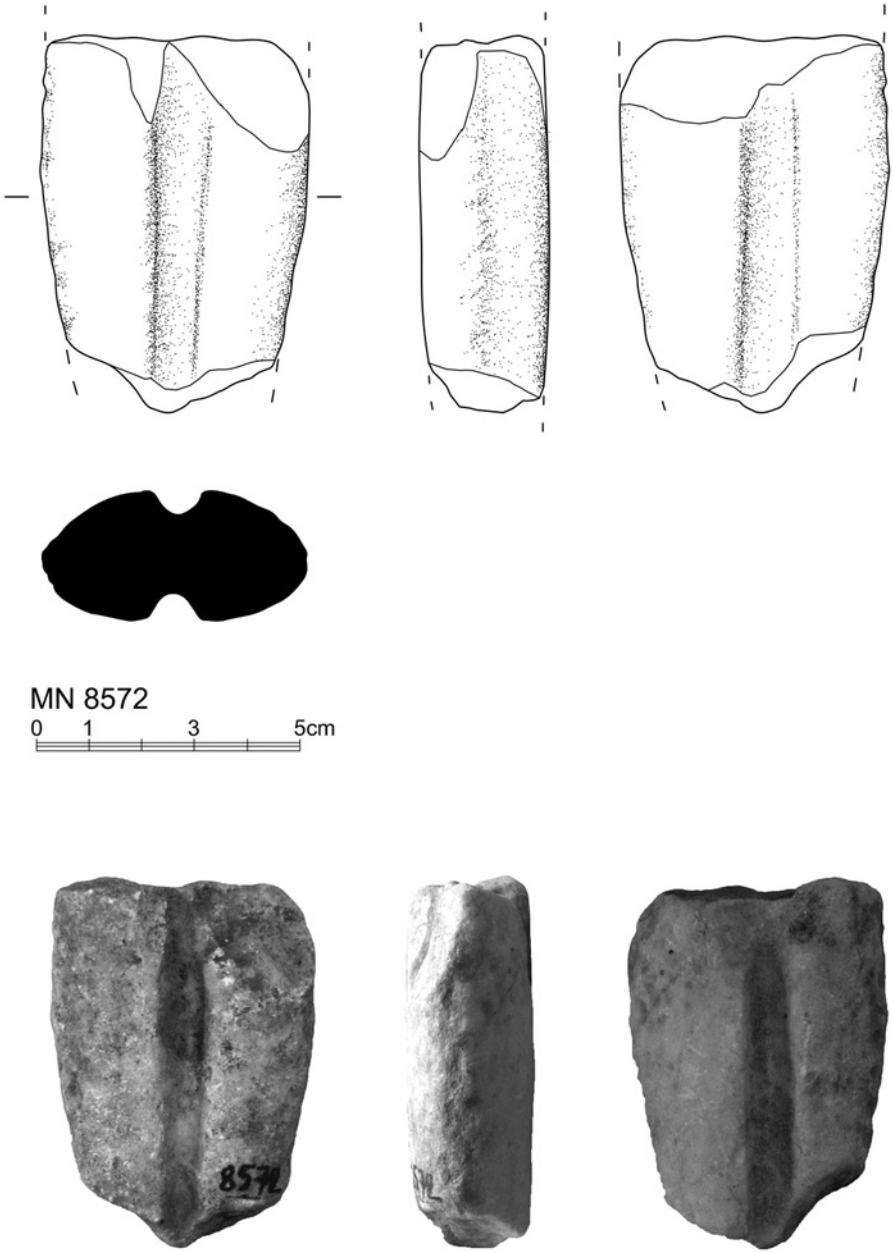


Fig. 19.18 NM8572. Thighs of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

The thighs are voluminous and long; they are separated by the groove, which gradually becomes deeper and wider. The preserved part of the pubic area suggests that the apex of the pubic triangle was carved in lower relief. The outline of the thighs is slightly curved and broader at the pelvis. There is a slight bend at the knees indicated by a slight projection in front, accentuated at the back by horizontal, shallow, straight incisions.

13. Thighs and calves of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety, NM4575 (Fig. 19.19).
White marble.
Dimensions: Maximum height 74mm, maximum width 43mm, maximum thickness 20mm.

Preservation: fragment, from the middle of the thighs, including knees and calves, nearly to the ankles. The surfaces are patinated and weathered. Recent scratches and surface damage are present at the back and at the left thigh.

The legs are bent at the knees and separated by the groove, which gradually becomes deeper and wider. The preserved length of the thighs to the knees is 26mm, and their maximum width is 43mm, and thickness 17mm. The outline of the thighs is curved; they are broader at the top and narrower at the knees. The bend is clear; the knees project at the front, and are indicated by an oblique incision at the side. The long lower legs (maximum height 49mm, width 35mm, thickness 18mm) become narrower at the ankles.

14. Knees and calves of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety, NM4572 (Fig. 19.20).
White marble.
Maximum height 111mm, maximum width 74mm, maximum thickness 35mm.
Preservation: fragment, from the middle of the knees nearly to the ankles. The surfaces are well preserved, with some incrustation at places. The breaks are sharp, and some ancient scratches are seen in the front along the left lower leg.

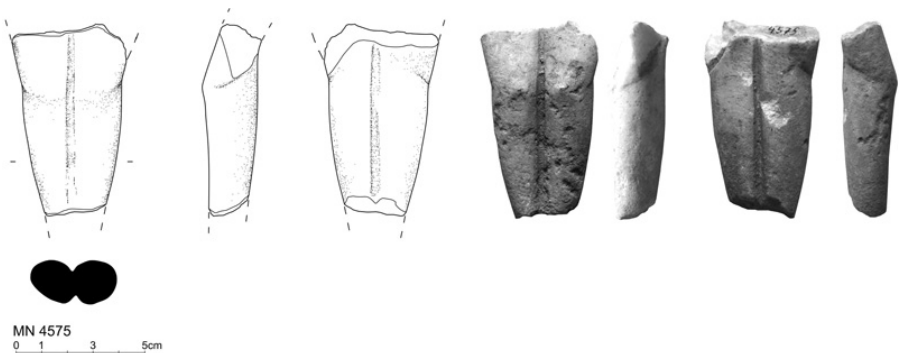


Fig. 19.19. NM4575. Thighs and calves of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

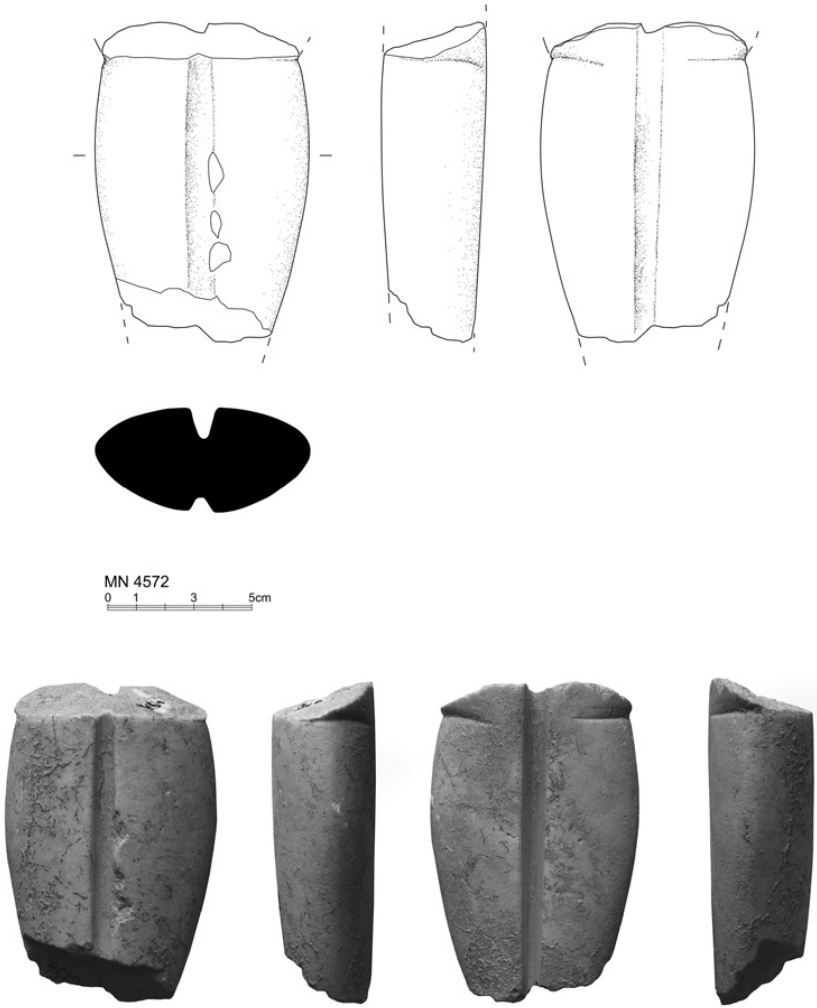


Fig. 19.20. NM4572. Knees and calves of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

These lower legs of a large figurine are separated by deep groove. The preserved length of the calves from the knees is 99mm, where the maximum width is 72mm, with thickness 34mm in the middle. The outline is markedly curved and broader at the centre, narrower at the knees and towards the ankles. The area of the knees is accentuated by horizontal shallow incisions at the sides which continue at the back. No bend in the knees is visible.

15. Calf of a folded-arm figurine of the Spedos variety, NM4573 (Fig. 19.21).
White marble.
Maximum height 83mm, maximum width 37mm, maximum thickness 36mm.

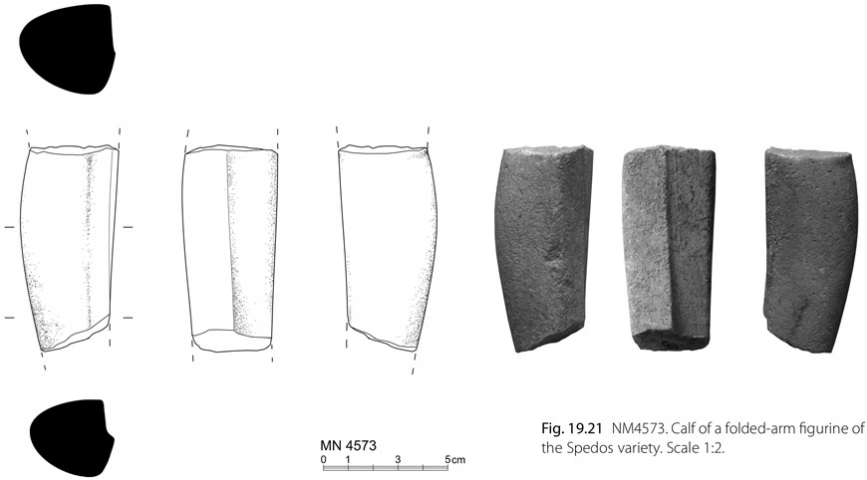


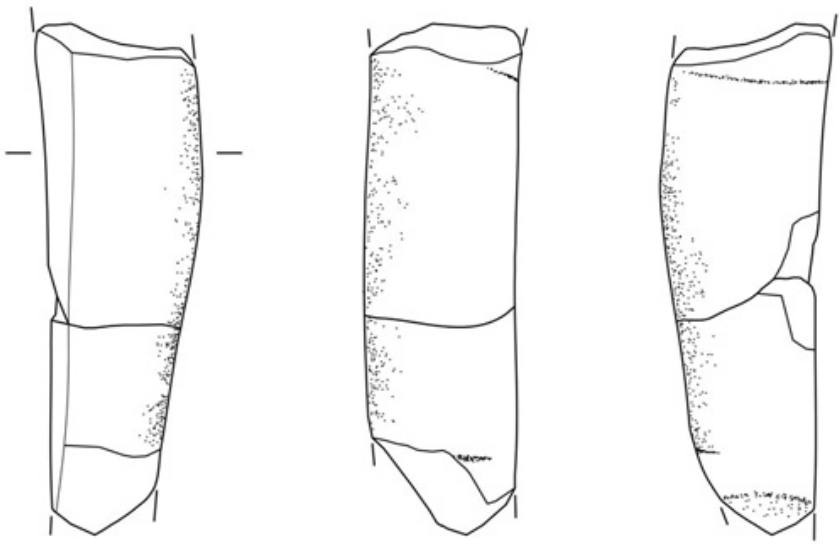
Fig. 19.21 NM4573. Calf of a folded-arm figurine of the Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Preservation: fragment of the right calf, from the knee nearly to the ankles. The surfaces are well preserved, and patinated. The breaks are sharp, and some ancient scratches are seen on the front.

This is the right curved lower leg of a large figurine. At the inner side a narrow vertical projecting edge indicates the traces of the perforation that separated the legs (maximum length 73mm, width 2mm). The area of the knees is accentuated by horizontal, shallow, oblique incision at the side and the back.

16. Calf and foot of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety, NM 4581 (Fig. 19.22).
White marble.
Maximum height 76mm, maximum width 22mm, maximum thickness 23mm.
Preservation: fragment restored from two joining pieces, preserving the knees and the left calf to the ankles, with part of the heel. The surfaces are well preserved and patinated. The breaks are rounded. Some recent breaks resulted from excavation.

This is the left lower leg separated by a groove which was deep and wide. The calf (dimensions: maximum height 58mm, width 22mm, thickness 23mm) is curved in outline and broader at the middle. A little below the knees there is a narrow oval perforation that separated the legs (maximum length 13mm, width 4mm); the projecting trimmed edge of it is clearly seen. There is indication of the knees, accentuated at the side by horizontal shallow incisions which continue at the back. Incisions are also marked at the swollen ankle joints. The foot slants down; the sole is flat.



MN 4581

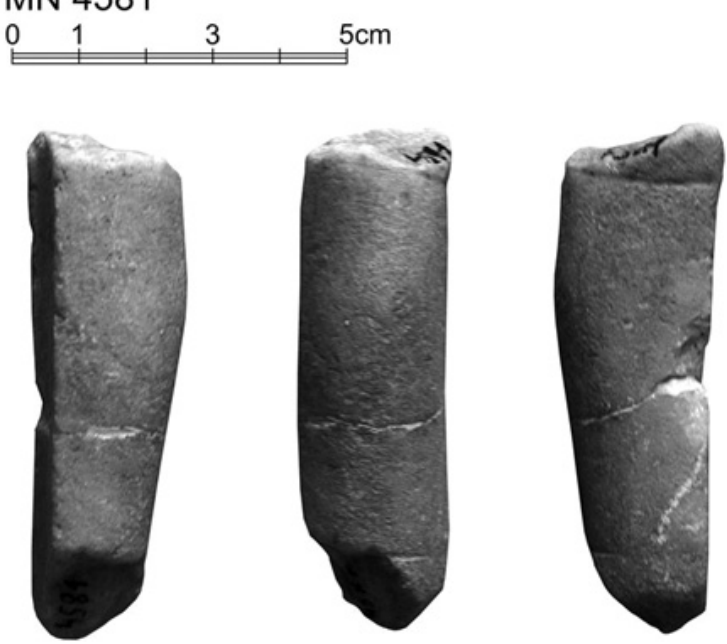


Fig. 19.22. NM 4581. Calf and foot of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

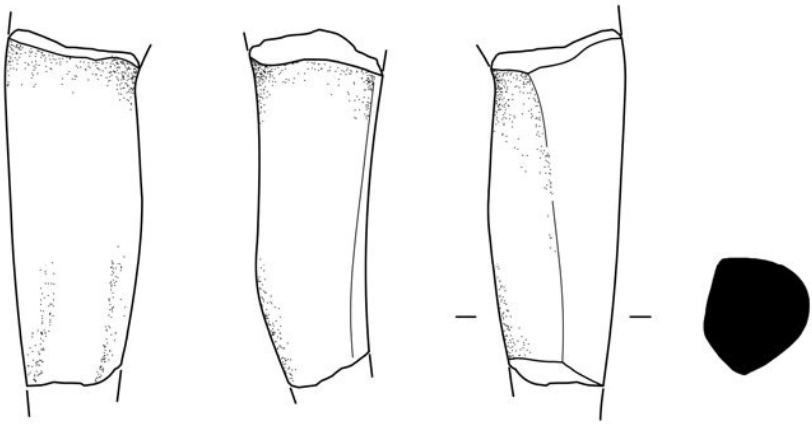


Fig. 19.23 NM4576. Thigh and calf of a figurine. Scale 1:2.

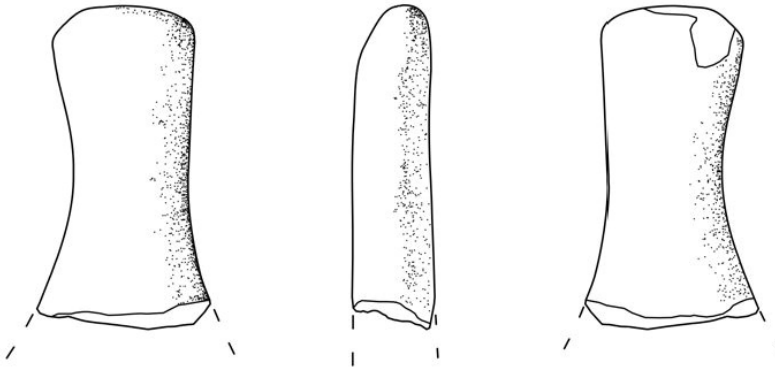
17. Thigh and calf of a figurine, NM4576 (Fig. 19.23).
White marble
Maximum height 48mm, maximum width 18mm, maximum thickness 17mm.
Preservation: fragment, from the left thigh to the middle of the calf. The surfaces are well preserved and patinated. The breaks are sharp and some ancient scratches are seen at the side.

This piece preserves most of the left leg, including the thigh, the knee and part of calf. The rounded, rather slender thigh has been rendered separately from its counterpart. The length of the thigh to the knee is 35mm, with maximum width 16mm, and thickness 17mm (at the upper part).

The outline of the thigh is curved and broader at the top. A projecting vertical edge, which has been trimmed, is preserved at the inner side. At the back the surface has a notable depression, suggesting the transition from the projected buttocks to the thigh. The knee is rendered in relief.
This leg could be attributed to a standing figure.

18. Head and neck of a schematic figurine, NM4607 (Fig. 19.24).
White marble.
Maximum height 43mm, maximum width 26mm, maximum thickness 12mm.
Preservation: fragment preserving the head, the neck and the shoulders. The surfaces are well preserved, a little weathered; some yellowish incrustation in some areas at the back. A small chip is missing on the top right at the back. The break is sharp.

The head is flat and trapezoidal in shape; it has been shaped as a continuous piece with the long flat neck, making it difficult to define where the head ends and where the neck starts. Only because of the different width of the upper part, and the concave outline below this, is it clear where the neck is. Head and neck together have a height of 35mm. The head is broader at the top, at the forehead (maximum width 21mm) which is rather flat and rounded at the corners. The crown is narrow and flat. Its maximum thickness is in the middle of the face, measuring 11mm. No other anatomical features of the face, such as the nose, have been rendered. The head is placed vertically on the neck without any inclination; it seems that it is leaning up at the forehead, because the surface there is chamfered towards the crown. The slight indication of the shoulders is asymmetrical and they slope downward. The widest point of the fragment is measured there.



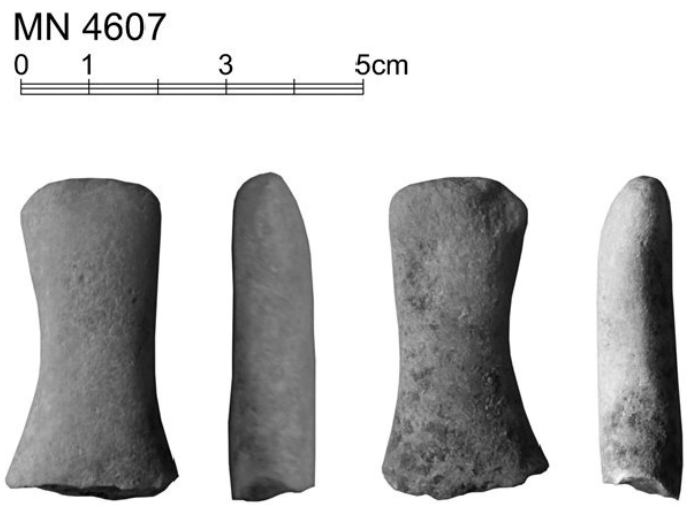


Fig. 19.24 NM4607. Head and neck of a schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.

This 'Brettidol' piece may be compared with other schematic figurines of the Keros-Syros culture, notably of the Apeiranthos variety.

Kato Kouphonisi, Nero

19. Headless folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety, NM 4547 (Fig. 19.25).
White marble.
Maximum height 79mm, maximum width 42mm, maximum thickness 14mm.
Preservation: fragment from the base of the neck to the toes. The surfaces are well preserved, a little weathered; some yellowish incrustation in some areas in front. A small break is seen at the left foot. The breaks are rounded.

The fragment gives the impression of a flat trapezoidal slab. The head and most of the neck are missing. The neck was ellipsoidal in cross section, almost rectangular.

The torso is broader at shoulders; the maximum width is located there; it has a height of 24mm. The shoulders are asymmetrical and slope downward; the right shoulder is longer and slopes down to a lower level than the smaller and straighter left one. It has a slightly concave outline. On the flat, trapezoidal chest there is no indication of breasts. The upper arms are defined by two incisions, joining with a continuous horizontal one. The arms are rendered in relief at the side; at the elbows there is a horizontal shallow groove parallel to the incision,

indicating the position of the folded forearms, which have been summarily rendered as one.

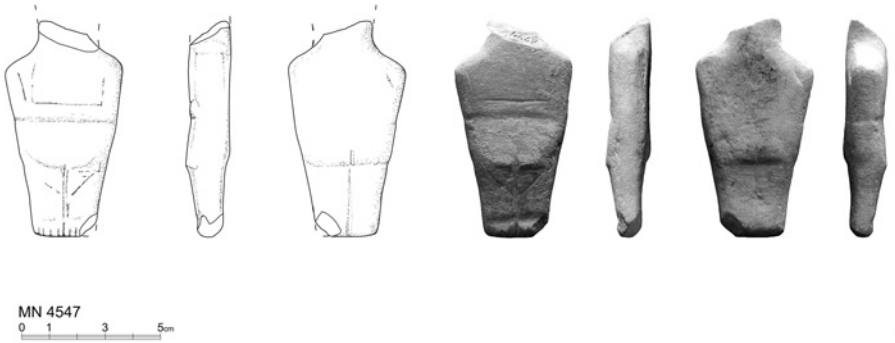


Fig. 19.25. NM4547. Headless folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety. Scale 1:2.

The piece has a continuous narrowing outline to the ankles; it is thicker at the small flat area of the waist. Two triangular projections suggest the area of the knees, width 14mm. The area between them is broad and flat. The lower legs are thinner than the thighs. They are separated by a vertical thin sharp incision. A horizontal and continuous groove indicates the transition to the feet, which are bent. Four deep vertical incisions indicate the five toes. They are not spread equally and one is a little wider. Two large oblique converging incisions, the vertical incision between the lower legs, and two horizontal incisions below the knees mark the area of the pubic triangle, unnaturally placed below the knees.

At the back most of the surface is flat; its profile is thin and rounded. At the arms one oblique incision marks the right shoulder. At the same height where the knees are rendered in the front, there is a continuous horizontal groove marking the buttocks; the surface below that groove is carved in lower relief. A sharp vertical incision crossing this groove out of axis indicates the separation between the legs. The feet slope down. The profile is thin, and only the buttocks and the knees project.

Discussion

Some preliminary observations and remarks will be made below. More analysis will be presented in the final publication of all the finds from the cemeteries which is currently in preparation by Photeini Zapheiropoulou and the author.

Typology and parallels

The typological parallels used for the following comparisons are limited to the published works available prior to the publication of the present volume. Further comparisons will be added in the final publication of these finds in the view of the material published in the current volume, which was for a long period not available.

The relief figure on the plaquette (cat. no. 1) is unique. No other such artefact may be compared to it according to my knowledge. The head bears similarities in its ellipsoid shape with heads of the Troy type schematic figurines (Höckmann 1977). However the general triangular shape and the long neck resemble the Louros type figurines; in particular, the torso with the nearly rectangular protrusions of the arms presents similarities with the Louros type figurine in the National Museum in Athens (EAM6140.10: Papathanasopoulos 1962, 135–6, pl. 70γ). The abstract rendering of the lower torso and legs as a nearly cylindrical stem is rare; a schematic figurine from the Goulandris collection has a similar body (Col. No 209, Doumas 1968, 115; 1984, 87). Relief anatomical characteristics have often been observed on Plastiras figurines (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 71–82) and also on marble vessels (Getz-Gentle 1996, 48, 25).

The triangular shape of the head (cat. no. 2) has clear similarities with the figurines from Louros Athalassou (EAM6140.11; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 136, pl. 70δ; Getz-Preziosi 1987, pl. 3A4). The chin is rounded and has the same width as the long cylindrical neck.

The remaining figurines are assigned to the Spedos variety of the canonical folded-arm type (Renfrew 1969; Getz-Preziosi 1987).

The two complete marble figurines (cat. nos 3 and 4) seem to have many differences. The head of cat. no. 3 is more rectangular, resembling the head of the figurine of the Goulandris collection no. 654 (Doumas 1984, 70, 88) and one piece attributed to the so-called 'Copenhagen master' (Getz Preziosi 1987, pl. 24, 5); the rectangular, elongated shape of the chest, and the differing width of the torso, which is broader at the chest and thinner at the waist, correspond to similar features seen in other Spedos figurines. The abstract rendering of the breasts is not commonly seen in Spedos figurines.

The lyre head of cat. no. 4 looks similar in the round chin with that from the Goulandris collection no. 252 (Doumas 1968, 122; 1984, 66, 86); the shape and the general rendering of the torso and the arms and the deep broad incisions which separate them from the chest seem close to the same features of Goulandris collection no. 252 and to works of the so-called 'Fitzwilliam master' (Getz Preziosi 1987, 90–2, pl. 26, 2). The plastically rendered, relatively voluminous breasts are a common feature of the Spedos variety.

But these two pieces (cat. nos 3 and 4) resemble each other in the way the groove and perforation between the legs has been worked, in the similar general way that the arms are separated from the torso, and in the angle at which the knees and the feet bend.

The oval head (cat. no. 5) resembles in its general shape pieces attributed to the 'Naxos Museum master' (Getz Preziosi 1987, pl. 31, 6); the placing of the head at the a steep angle on the neck is a feature seen commonly in works of the 'Naxos Museum master' (Getz Preziosi 1987, pl. 31, 9).

The cylindrical neck, cat. no. 6, is similar to the necks of the torso fragments (cat. nos 7 and 8), but it belongs to figure larger than these; it has similarities with the Spedos figurine from the Goulandris collection (Col. No 304, Doumas 1968, 145; 1984, 175, 143) and the fragment from the Erlenmeyer collection no 139 of the 'Keros hoard' (Sotirakopoulou 2005, cat. no. 6, 94, fig. 6a, b and drawing 6) .

In cat. nos 7 and 8 the shape of the chest and the smooth transitions to the upper arms are similar to those in the large figure (height 472mm) from the Goulandris collection (Col. No. 311, Doumas 1968, 152; 1984, 122); cat. no. 8 resembles the torso of the figurine found at Spedos tomb 10 (EAM6140.22, Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 46). The plastic rendering of the breasts resembles works of the 'Fitzwilliam master' (Getz Preziosi 1987, pl. 27. 4)

The waist and pelvis fragment, cat. no. 10, resembles a fragment from the Erlenmeyer collection, no. 66, of the 'Keros hoard' (Sotirakopoulou 2005, cat. no. 16, 100, fig.16 a, b), but belongs to a smaller figurine of about 150mm height.

The thighs, cat. no. 11, are similar to a fragment from the Erlenmeyer collection, no. 38 (Sotirakopoulou 2005, cat. no. 22, 103, fig. 22a, b) and belong to a large figurine with a height over 400 mm; the thighs (cat. no. 12) resemble the shape of a fragment from the Erlenmeyer collection, no. 67 of the 'Keros hoard' (Sotirakopoulou 2005, cat. no. 21, 102–3 fig. 21a, b and drawing 21) and comes probably from a smaller figure with a height of more than 200mm.

The leg, cat. no. 13, has a similar outline with cat. no. 15 and a fragment from the Erlenmeyer collection, no. 106, of the 'Keros hoard' (Sotirakopoulou 2005, cat. no. 86, 140, fig. 85a, b). The leg (cat. no. 14) with the plastically protruding knees resembles a fragment from the Erlenmeyer collection, no. 21, of the 'Keros hoard' (Sotirakopoulou 2005, cat. no. 85, 141, fig. 86a, b and drawing 86). The leg (cat. no. 16) has similarities with a fragment from the Erlenmeyer collection, no. 124 of the 'Keros hoard' (Sotirakopoulou 2005, cat. no. 112, 153, fig. 112a, b and drawing 112).

The intact figurines (cat. nos 3 and 4) conform in proportions to the canon of 1/4 (in the case of cat. no. 3) and 1/5 (in the case of cat. no. 4): heads occupying onefourth or one–fifth of the overall height of the figure, or the widest point at the shoulders equalling one-fourth or one-fifth of the figurine's height. This supports the view that more than one canon was in use

at the same time according to the preferences of the artist. Figurines 5–8 and 10–16 seem to follow similar rules but their fragmentary condition does not allow further observations.

In all of these examples of the Spedos variety, emphasis on plasticity and the naturalistic rendering of female features is clearly seen: the well-modelled breasts, the slightly curved outline of the lower part of the trunk giving a relatively slimmer waist and more 'fleshy' thighs and buttocks, the large, smooth waist and the grooved sides of the pubic triangle.

The lower torso and the legs of cat. no. 9 are more abstract; the figurine is flattened in two dimensions and it is characterised by clear outlines and the bend of the legs, indicating the buttocks. This resembles the Spedos variety, but it bears similarities with the Dokathismata variety also. It belongs to a later development of the Spedos variety, strongly resembling NM4272 (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 326–7) from Dhaskalio Kavos, Keros, and the torso of the figurine found at Spedos tomb 13 (EAM6140.20, Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 54; Sotirakopoulou 2005, cat. no. 68, 129 drawing 68).

The leg fragment (cat. no. 17) belongs to a special standing figure as described in detail by Sotirakopoulou (2005, 174–5, note 458). It resembles a fragment from the Erlenmeyer collection, no. 103 of the 'Keros hoard' (Sotirakopoulou 2005, cat. no. 149, 175, fig. 149a, b and drawing 149).

The head of the schematic figurine (cat. no. 18) has some similarities in its general shape with the head of a figurine from tomb 415 at Chalandriani, Syros (EAM5186: Rambach 2000, 130, 60, 2, pl. 166.7).

Finally, the headless figurine from Kato Kouphonisi, cat. no. 19, is assigned to the Chalandriani variety. Stylistically this piece differs from the majority of the folded-arm figurines. This is like a thin slab and the distinctions between the thighs and the lower legs are lost; although the knees are clearly protruding the incised pubic triangle is placed out of position. It is not easy to distinguish the feet clearly from the legs. The rendering of the legs and feet resemble works of the 'Dresden master' (Getz Preziosi 1987, 126–8, pl. 48, 2, 7)

Painted decoration

On three figurines there are some relief ghosts of painted details, mainly indicating the rendering of anatomical features such as eyes and hair. These are visible by visual observation in natural sunlight.

On all the Spedos heads outlines of almond shaped eyes may be seen. In number 3 (Fig. 19.5), the upper outline of the right eye with its pupil are faintly visible; on the left there are traces of another two eyes, the one above the other. When the head is seen at different angles and in different light a possible band above the forehead may be noted, possibly suggesting the hair; this resembles those seen in heads attributed to the so called 'Goulandris Master' by Getz (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 105, 42, a–d) and the early Spedos figurine in Budapest (Lebegyev & Márton 2006, 10–12). Traces of the upper outline of the right eye are faintly visible in cat. no. 4 (Fig. 19.7) along with the pupil, as in the Budapest piece (Lebegyev & Márton 2006, 10–12). In cat. no. 5 (Fig. 19.9) more than one pair of eyes is seen: the upper outline of both the right and left eye are clearly visible level with the top of the nose. Another pair of eyes, placed lower, is also faintly visible. Moreover on the left the outline of one more eye is faintly seen. Hair curls, carefully arranged, falling on the surface of the neck at the sides and the back, are clearly visible in low relief in cat. no. 7 (Fig. 19.12) and 8 (Fig. 19.14). These look similar to those seen in some heads assigned to the so called 'Goulandris Master' by Getz (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 106, 43).

Relief ghosts on figurines have often been noticed (Preziosi & Weinberg 1970; Hoffman 2002, 530; Birtacha 2003). The pigment type used for this colouration has been explored (Hendrix 2000 120–38, Carter 2008). Hendrix (2000, 152, 158–9) has proposed that many of these details were applied during specific rituals conducted in public; moreover she proposes that during the use-life of a figurine, this decoration might have been removed and reapplied many times; this has been accepted in other studies (Lebegyev & Márton 2006, 18–9). In the cases of cat. nos 3 and 5, this may be attested, explaining why there may be more than one pair of eyes preserved.

Excavation context and dating

In the Agrilia cemetery the plaquette with the relief figure (cat. no. 1; Zapheiropoulou 1970a, 429, pl. 372d; 1970b, 51, pl. 7; 1983, 83, pl. 14; Thimme 1976, pl. 186) was found in the burial chamber of tomb 9 with a pyxis lid of the Kampos group (Zapheiropoulou 1984; Karantzali 1996; 2008). Outside at the ante chamber sherds of an open vessel were found broken. The stone plaquette's function is not clear. The cylindrical perforation in the neck may suggest the use of a cord, perhaps to serve as a lid of some kind.

The Louros type head fragment (cat. no. 2) was found in tomb 68 in context with three (or four) pyxis lids, two spherical (Zapheiropoulou 1984, 1c; Karantzali 1996, pl. 24d; 2008, pl. 25.10) and one biconical; two cylindrical pyxides (Karantzali 1996, pl. 24d); and one cup with four lugs (Zapheiropoulou 1983, 8; Karantzali 1996, pl. 24d; 2008, 25.4); some sea shells and an ellipsoid marble palette of grey marble were also placed there.

Of the 72 tombs excavated at Agrilia only these two held marble figurines. Another two had other marble finds: in tomb 55 there was a marble pedestal collared jar or krateriskos (NM4629: Zapheiropoulou 1970a, 429, pl. 372a, b; 1983, 81, pl.5) and a rectangular marble palette (NM4621: Zapheiropoulou 1970a, 429, 372e; 2008, pl. 19.7). They are both intact and they were placed with the burials in the funerary chambers. The Louros head (cat. no. 2) and the unique relief plaquette (cat. no. 1) are in accord with the pottery finds, which have been dated to the period of the Kampos Group (Zapheiropoulou 1983; 1984; Karantzali 1996; 2008; Rambach 2000), at the transition between EC I to EC II.

At Alonistria Chousouri the disturbance of the deposits was mainly caused by the deep cultivation. During the excavation an area in the middle of the field was found partly undisturbed; some shallow rock pits, close to larger ones, nine in total, and a few schist slabs *in situ*, were found there, suggesting the existence of a cluster of graves.

In a shallow cavity, a small rock cut pit (pit 5), the two canonical folded-arm figurines of the Spedos variety (cat. nos 3–4) were found together, covered by a marble bowl, 150mm. in diameter (Fig. 19.26), on the inner surface of which was preserved a thick layer of red pigment. They were placed head to head and face down; the smaller figurine (no. 4) was broken at the neck, while the larger, no. 3, was intact (Zapheiropoulou 1970a, 429, pl. 369, 370a–b; 1970b, 48, pl. 1; 1983, 81, pl. 17; 2008, 191, fig. 19.30). This pit was not part of a grave, but seems to have been situated outside one or two of them. The finds inside suggest its function as a pit for offerings during or after the burial.

In tomb 1, around a vertically-placed schist slab, the neck (cat. no. 6) and the left leg of the standing figurine (cat. no. 17) were found, along with two deep bowls, two lugged bowls and six fragments of marble rolled rim bowls. In tomb 3, along with the head and neck (cat. no. 5), two deep bowls with a tubular lugs, a small spherical vessel, and two fragments of rolled rim marble bowls were found. In the deposits outside tomb 7, the thighs (cat. no. 11) were found. In tomb 9, the neck and torso fragments (cat. nos 7, 8 and 16) were found along with deep bowls, spherical vessels, four fragments of rolled rim marble bowls and three rim fragments of marble palettes.

A few finds where collected during the cleaning of the area; among these was the figurine (cat. no. 12). Most of the finds where recovered in the deposits excavated in Trench 1; in the east sector, figurine fragment nos 9, 10, 13 and 18, and in the west sector, figurine nos 14 and 15. The pottery found there consisted of pyxides, deep bowls (some with tubular lugs), piriform bottles with incised decoration, collared jars, spouts of spouted vessels, and jugs; a quantity of other artefacts was also found there, mainly marble bowls and palettes, one intact spool, two terracotta figurines, one with four legs (Zapheiropoulou 1970a, 429; 1983, 83, pl. 6) and some obsidian.

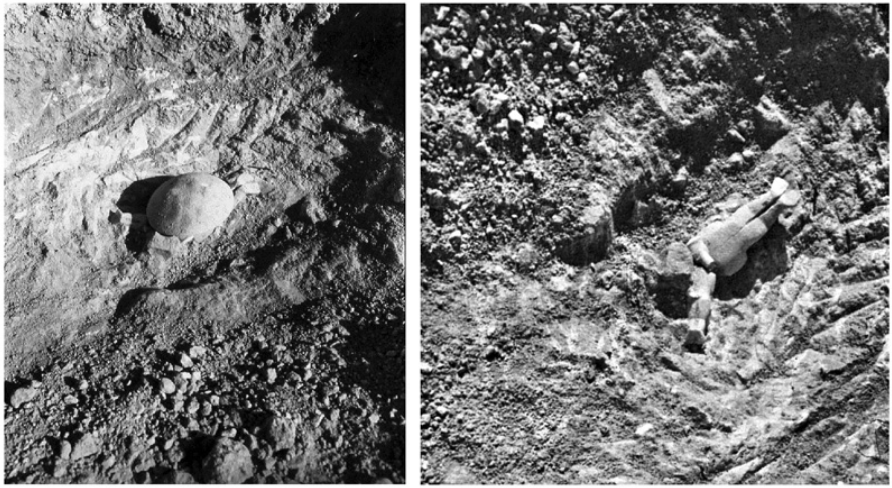


Fig. 19.26. Epano Kouphonisi, Alonistria Chousouri, rock pit 5. Marble bowl and figurines numbers 3 and 4 *in situ*.

In general the pottery from Alonistria Chousouri seems to have mainly types of the Kampos Group (Zapheiropoulou 1984; Karantzali 1996; 2008; Rambach 2000), but there are also some finds with features suggesting their dating to the Keros-Syros culture. The presence of the large quantity of marble finds, rolled rim bowls and palettes, the early and late Spedos figurines, and the schematic Apeiranthos type figurine, are clear evidence for extending the duration of this cluster of graves to the Keros-Syros period.

It is obvious that there is a chronological difference between the finds from Agrilia (Symigdalas plot) and those from Alonistria Chousouri (Skopelitou plot).

Above Potamia in the broader area of Loutra, in the Tsavaris plot, although many pieces of marble vessels were found (most broken into pieces, but restorable), no marble figurines were found; the pottery from there (Zapheiropoulou 1971; 1970b; 2008, 188–91) also suggests a date later than the Kampos Group.

At Kato Kouphonisi during the survey walk Zapheiropoulou noted evidence of a looted cemetery in the area of Nero. Nikitas Prasinos donated four collared jars (krateriskoi) with incised decoration, a jug with painted decoration and a peculiar vessel with four projecting tubular stems with incised decoration, which is referred as a 'lamp' (Zapheiropoulou 1970a, 429–30, pl. 373), along with the headless Chalandriani figurine (cat. no. 19), said to be burial offerings from this cemetery. The miniature jug with the painted hatched triangles has a typical motif of the Keros-Syros culture (Karantzali 1996, 110–11, 113 a).

Deposition outside graves

The cemetery at Agrilia on Kouphonisi, with 72 excavated tombs (and 22 looted ones) is considered to be one of the largest in the EBA Cyclades, next to the large cemetery at Chalandriani on Syros excavated mainly by Tsountas (Tsountas 1899; Hekman 2003; Broodbank 2000, 177–8). The tomb type is not common for the Cyclades, but it resembles tombs found at Agia Photia in Siteia, Crete (Davaras & Betancourt 2004, 232–4) and the tombs at Manika in Euboia (Papavasileiou 1910; Sampson 1988). Another unusual observation was that the offerings were usually placed not only in the rock-cut burial chamber, but also in a fore-pit outside its entrance; here a pot was crushed and covered with soil and stones, usually in two layers (Zapheiropoulou 2008). This is a practice which has been noticed elsewhere, at Dokathismata on Amorgos (Dümmler 1886, 17) in tomb II, at Lakkoudes on Naxos (Doumas 1977, 63), and at Agia Photia, Siteia, on Crete (Davaras & Betancourt 2004, 234, eg. tomb 17, 24, fig. 43; tombs 29, 38, fig. 74; tomb 74, fig. 167, and many others).

The only case of another kind of ritual practised outside the grave, which may be securely attested in Alonistria Chousouri on Epano Kouphonisi, was found in rock cut pit 5. As noted above, in a shallow cavity two complete canonical figurines (cat. nos 3 and 4) of Spedos variety where found together, covered by a marble rolled rim bowl, which preserved on its inner surface a thick layer of red pigment. The figurines were placed face down (Fig. 19.26). In the same position (i.e prone) was found the complete Spedos figurine on Dhaskalio Kavos, in 1967 (Zapheiropoulou, this volume, Chapter 22). This was found in an area to the northeast of the flattish area of the Special Deposit North, on slightly higher ground. Close to this, two burials were investigated, which were placed in small built tombs of the Chalandriani type (Zapheiropoulou 1968; 2007; this volume, Chapter 22). Similar placement of figurines weighed down by heavy marble vessels, but in a different arrangement (the figurines arranged haphazardly), has been noted in Plastiras tomb 9 (Doumas 1977, pl. xi, e–f).

The careful placement of the figurines in both Kouphonisia and Keros facing the ground and their covering by a marble bowl full of traces of red pigment (see discussion in Carter 2008) are evidence of a ritual performed, either during or after the funeral (Hoffman 2002, 536–46). It should be noted here that this practice seems different from the purposeful breaking often seen in funerary contexts (see Voutsaki 2007, 297), as at Aplomata on Naxos, where broken and complete figurines were found outside graves (Kontoleon 1971, 178–9; 1972, 150–3). In the same area of the nearby rock cut pits at Alonistria Chousouri on Epano Kouphonisi, along with the deposition of the complete figurines and the bowl, many fragmented figurines were found, which cannot be restored whole; six broken fragments of figurines were found within the nine rock-cut pits of the cluster of graves investigated; another eight come from the disturbed deposits of the rest of the field, which were clearly mixed and moved from their original place. This practice has also been noticed in some other cases in EC graves, as discussed by Renfrew (2007, 419).

The absence of marble figurines from Tsavaris plot is very striking; the other marble finds are numerous and in most cases broken. This deserves further discussion, especially in the view of the marble finds from the recent excavations in the nearby field (owned by relatives of the same family; Philaniotou, this volume, Chapter 14).

Epilogue

The figurines from the cemeteries on Epano and Kato Kouphonisi are works of high quality. The finds from Agrilia (cat. nos 1 and 2) are to be added to the Louros type figurines.

Most are attributed to the Spedos variety, and mainly to its early and middle stages (cat. nos 3–8, 10–16). Their common characteristic is the plastic, voluminous renderings of anatomical features. One piece shows further development towards the abstraction that characterises a typologically later stage (cat. no. 9). There are similarities with many pieces of the 'Keros Hoard' (Sotirakopoulou 2005) and the Goulandris Collection, and especially with pieces found at Dhaskalio Kavos on Keros, either from the Special Deposit North (Renfrew, Sotirakopoulou & Boyd in prep.) or from the Special Deposit South (Renfrew *et al.* forthcoming). More observations will be possible once the Dhaskalio Kavos material from both recent and earlier investigations is fully published. Their attribution to specific 'masters' or workshops is not easy.

There are also present one special standing figure (cat. no. 17) and a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type (cat. no. 18). Finally a figurine of Chalandriani variety (cat. no. 19), comes from Kato Kouphonisi.

The Early Cycladic communities on both Epano and Kato Kouphonisi seem to be active both before but also at the same time as the large settlement on the islet of Dhaskalio (Renfrew *et al.* 2013) and others along the north coast of Keros, mainly at Konakia; the same probably applies to the Kouphonisia cemeteries and the possible grave clusters recently located at Konakia, Rachidi and Gerani on Keros during the systematic surface survey of 2012–2013.

Further discussions about the extent of Early Cycladic habitation, and of the cemeteries, the demography and the society on both Kouphonisia are still premature, since only limited

information has been published from rescue excavations, and systematic archaeological investigations, such as a surface survey, have not yet been conducted.

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20

FIGURINES IN CONTEXT AT THE CHALANDRIANI CEMETERY ON SYROS

Marisa Marthari

The Chalandriani cemetery and the rarity of the figurines

Chalandriani is located on the northeast mountainous part of Syros. Two domestic sites and one cemetery dated to the EBA II exist in this area. One of these, the Chalandriani settlement assigned to the early EBA II, lies in the south of the Chalandra plateau and more or less below the present village. Its exact location became clear through recent investigations and rescue excavations by the 21st Ephorate of Antiquities in the area (Marthari 1998, 22; 2002, 119–20). The other domestic site, the fortified Kastri settlement dates to the so-called Kastri phase, and is situated to the west of the Chalandra plateau on the top of the eponymous rugged height. The stronghold at Kastri came to light with successive excavations by Tsountas (Tsountas 1899, 115–30, 133–4; Rambach 2000, 67–131, pls 26–69; Hekman 2003), Bossert (Bossert 1967) and the writer (Marthari 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009 ; 2010; 2011; 2012) under the auspices of the Archaeological Society at Athens. Finally the cemetery, which spread all over the Chalandra plateau to the northeast to the modern village and down to the sea, served as the burial place for both of the settlements for a long period of time (Marthari 1998, 14–6).

The Chalandriani cemetery is the largest and most extensive EC burial ground known. It comprises two sections, a Western and an Eastern, in both of which the graves were arranged in clusters. More than 700 graves have been excavated to date. The graves are of the

subterranean corbelled type, which is exclusive to Syros (Figs 20.1–20.4). The accompanying artefacts are distinguished by their variety and richness. These include among other impressive pottery, both imported and local, marble vessels, silver and bronze artefacts and bone tubes with incised decoration. Figurines, however, are rare in this cemetery.

No figurines are mentioned as coming from the 100 graves excavated by Papadopoulos in 1861 (Pappadopoulos 1862; 1865). Even before his excavations *c*. 100 tombs were illegally excavated but we cannot know with certainty whether any figurines came from them (Marthari 2002, 109–10). Fourteen figurines were uncovered in the 50 graves investigated by Stephanos in late 19th and early 20th century (Pernier 1906, 109; Pecorella 1970, 151, 158–9; Drakakis 1973, 76; Thimme & Preziosi 1977, 533–5, nos 407, 410, 413) according to the inventory book of the Prehistoric Collection at the National Archaeological Museum (Papazoglou, this volume, Chapter 21). There are no reports, however, from Stephanos' excavations (Vasilikou 2006, 57, 66). In consequence we do not know the exact context of each of these figurines (Papazoglou, this volume, Chapter 21). Furtwängler bought a group of antiquities from the Chalandriani cemetery including three marble figurines of the Spedos variety for the Berlin Museum in 1892 (Furtwängler 1893, Thimme & Preziosi 1977, 467–8, no. 165; 473–4, no. 189; 585–6 with fig. 195). No figurines come from the single grave dug by Bosanquet at Chalandriani in 1896 (Bosanquet 1896). A few figurines 'said to be' from Syros are known from museums and private collections (see for instance Thimme & Preziosi 1977, 476, figurine no. 197 in the British Museum).

Only six figurines come from the 540 graves that Tsountas brought to light by excavation in 1898 (Tsountas 1899, 78–115). No figurines were found in the eight graves excavated by Doumas in 1977 (Doumas 1977, 128–30). Finally, two figurines were unearthed in a rescue excavation carried out recently by the writer, which brought to light 28 graves in total (Marthari forthcoming). In sum, only 22 figurines, twelve 'naturalistic' and ten schematic, came to light in the 727 graves excavated at the Chalandriani cemetery (Table 20.1).

Fig. 20.1 Chalandriani cemetery, Western Sector to the right (east) with the recently excavated cluster (1), the Potamia ravine (2) and the Kastri height to the far left (3, northeast).

Fig. 20.2 Chalandriani cemetery, part of recently excavated cluster with corbelled grave XI, circular in plan, at bottom.

Fig. 20.3 Chalandriani cemetery, grave XI with the skeleton of the dead and the grave goods.

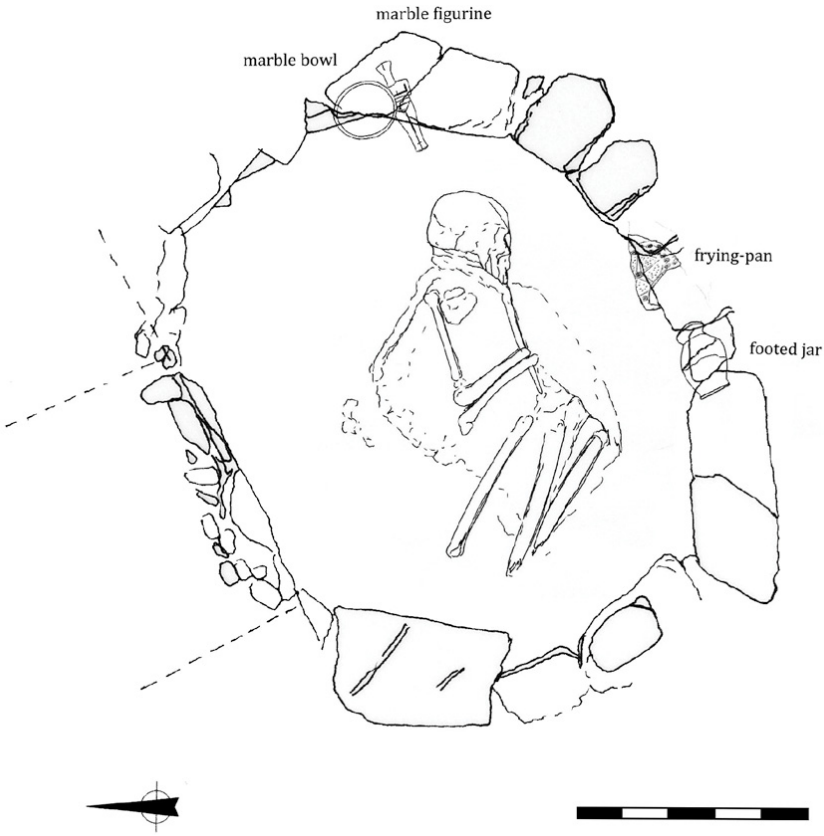


Fig. 20.4 Chalandriani cemetery, plan of grave XI with the skeleton of the dead and the grave goods.

Table 20.1 Numbers of figurines found in excavated graves at Chalandriani by excavation.

Excavations	No. excavated graves	No. 'naturalistic' figurines	No. schematic figurines
Papadopoulos' excavations	100	none	none
Stephanos' excavations	50	7	7
Tsountas' excavations	540	4	2
Bosanquet' excavation	1	none	none
Doumas' excavations	8	none	none
Marthari' excavations	28	1	1
Totals	727	12	10
All figurines		22	

In contrast 22 figurines were uncovered in only five graves at the Aplomata cemetery on Naxos, selected as the best documented ones from the many at this cemetery and presented in this volume by Doumas & Lambrinoudakis (Chapter 15). Thirteen figurines, 11 of marble and two of shell, were found in grave 13 at Aplomata. On the other hand, it is only at the cemetery at Chalandriani that pottery, mainly 'frying-pans', with representations of boats have been uncovered (Broodbank 1989). The evidence shows great differences among the Cycladic communities in the selection of the grave-goods. These selections might reflect the greater accessibility of a community to a special kind of material, for instance good quality white marble. However they might also echo the structural peculiarities of each individual community.

Figurines in context from Tsountas' excavations

The six marble figurines found by Tsountas include four 'naturalistic' figurines of the folded-arm type, two of which (EAM5068, EAM5069) have not been identified in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens to date (Tsountas 1899, 100, 111; Renfrew 1969, 12; Rambach 2000, 103), and two schematic figurines of the Apeiranthos type. All

six come from secure Keros-Syros culture period burial contexts. The four identified figurines and their contexts are as follows.

1. EAM5107 Complete folded-arm figurine of the late Spedos variety (Fig. 20.5).
Grave 345; height: 207.5mm.

In this figurine only the tip of the feet is broken. There is encrustation and weathering on the front and the back. This is an elegant figurine with a lyre-shaped head titling slightly backwards, rather angular sloping shoulders and clearly modelled waist. It has heavy legs and prominent knees. The wide pubic triangle is marked by incision (Zervos 1957, fig. 255; Rambach 2000, 111, pls 46.4, 161: 4).

Grave 345, apart from the figurine, yielded a footed jar of the local black burnished ware with stamped and incised decoration, a small marble bowl with four ledge lugs and a large deep marble bowl (Tsountas 1899, 111–2; Rambach 2000, 111, pl. 46.4).

2. EAM5201 Complete folded-arm figurine of the Chalandriani variety (Fig. 20.6).
Grave 447; height: 156.5mm; maximum width 66mm.

The neck of this figurine was broken and has been restored. The chin and the right tip of the right foot are flaked. The back surface is rough. This is a characteristic example of the Chalanadriani variety, however with emphasis to the rendering of the feminine features. The breasts are quite curved and in quite high relief for a figure of this variety. The pubic triangle is clear and stressed with deep incisions.

Fig. 20.5 EAM5107. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety from grave 345, Chalandriani. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 20.6 EAM5201. Folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety from grave 447, Chalandriani. Scale 1:2.

(Zervos 1957, fig. 245; Renfrew 1969, 17, IV.C.3; Rambach 2000, 134, pls 63.2, 162: 3; Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 366, no. 62) In Grave 447, apart from the figurine, two clay bowls and a globular vessel unidentified by Rambach, and a copper scraper were found (Tsountas 1899, 114, pl. 10: 32; Rambach 2000, 134, pl. 63.2).

3. EAM5186 Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type (Fig. 20.7).
Grave 415; height: 52mm.

The squarish head of this figurine widens gradually to form a wide body with curved sides and flat base in a single outline with the head. In profile, there is a slight differentiation of an upper slender part from a lower bulkier one.
(Tsountas 1899, 114, fig. 30; Rambach 2000, 130–1, pl. 60.2, 166: 7).
Grave 415 also provided a black burnished pyxis and a stone pedestalled deep spouted bowl, the latter not referred by Tsountas (Tsountas 1899, 114; Rambach 2000, 130–1, pl. 60.2).

4. EAM5211 Complete schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos type (Fig. 20.8).
Grave 468; height: 108mm; maximum width: 58mm.

This figurine has a squarish head widening towards an almost rectangular body. In profile, the head is convex at the front and slightly concave at the lower part on the back.

Fig. 20.7 EAM5186. Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos type from grave 415, Chalandriani. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 20.8 EAM5211. Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos type from grave 468, Chalandriani. Scale 1:2.

(Tsountas 1899, 114, fig. 29; Zervos 1957, fig. 45*a*; Rambach 2000, 138, pls 65.7, 166.14; Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 363–4, no. 45). Grave 468 was especially rich, containing a considerable number of metal objects. They comprise three scrapers, three needles and three awls of copper and two silver pins, one with a head in the form of a double spiral and the other crowned with a knot of wire loops. They also include a palette, a rubber and six beads of stone, a clay handless conical cup and some fragmentary bone artefacts, including a needle, two rings and a cylinder. Some other objects of minor importance were also among the finds (Tsountas 1899, 114, fig. 29, pl. 10: 8, 9, 15, 18, 23–6; Rambach 2000, 138, pl. 65.7)

Figurines in context from a recent rescue excavation at Chalandriani

The excavation

During the years 2002–2008 the writer conducted a rescue excavation at Chalandriani, at a field located in the Western Section of the EC cemetery, the Roussos field (Marthari 2014). This field is immediately next to the modern village of Chalandriani on the left side of the path leading to the Potamia ravine and from there to the Kastri height (Fig. 20.1). A cluster of 28 undisturbed graves of the corbelled type was excavated (Fig. 20.2). The walls are constructed of flat stones in overlapping courses, without mortar, forming a false dome. The graves have a false entrance with a threshold, a lintel and jambs of upright slabs, which is blocked by rough stones.

The excavation yielded finds similar to the finds from Tsountas' excavations. Two complete marble figurines, one schematic of the

Apeiranthos type, and one 'naturalistic' of the Spedos variety of the folded-arm type, are included among the most interesting of the finds.

The schematic figurine

The schematic figurine (SM1128, Fig. 20.9) of the Apeiranthos type as defined by Renfrew (Renfrew 1969, 14–5) or the Apeiranthos variety as renamed recently by him (Renfrew 2013, 483) is quite clumsy and thick (height: 80mm). The surface was smoothed on the front and roughly worked at both sides and back. The body is triangular with a rounded base, tapering towards the squarish head.

The figurine was unearthed in Trench 1, which yielded just one grave, Grave II. It was found outside the grave, just next to it. Grave II is of trapezoidal plan (maximum length: 1.23m; width: 0.89m). The capstones, the upper part of the walling, and the lintel of the false door were not preserved in place. The skeleton of the deceased, however, was found *in situ* in contracted pose. This quite large grave provided just one obsidian blade. The figurine might have been included originally in its grave-goods. Subsequently, it may have been scattered along with the stones of the collapsed superstructure of the grave in the area around it.

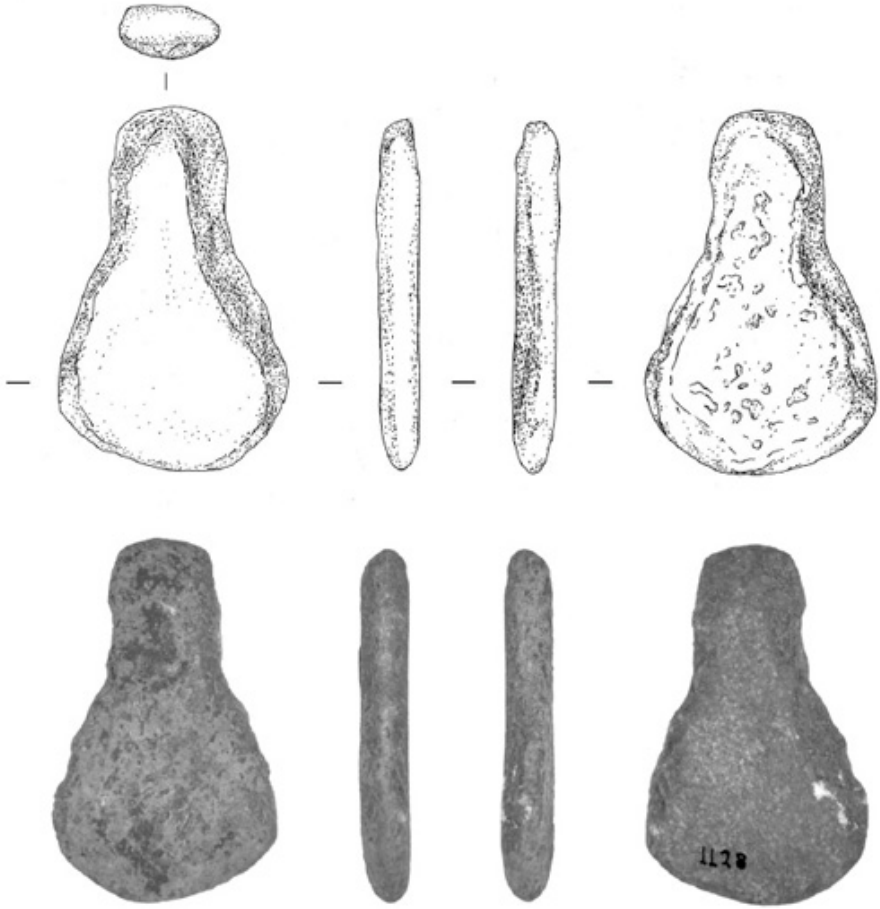


Fig. 20.9 SM1128. Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos type from near grave II at Chalandriani. Scale 1:2.

The folded-arm figurine

The folded-arm figurine (SM1176, Figs 20.10–20.12) of the Spedos variety (Renfrew 1969, 20–1) is a very special piece in an excellent state of preservation (height: 190mm; maximum width at head: 31mm; maximum width at neck: 15mm; width at shoulders: 54mm; thickness at head: 8mm; thickness at arms: 18mm; thickness at legs: 12mm). The figurine has a light-brown patinated surface at the back and in places at the front. It is finely polished.

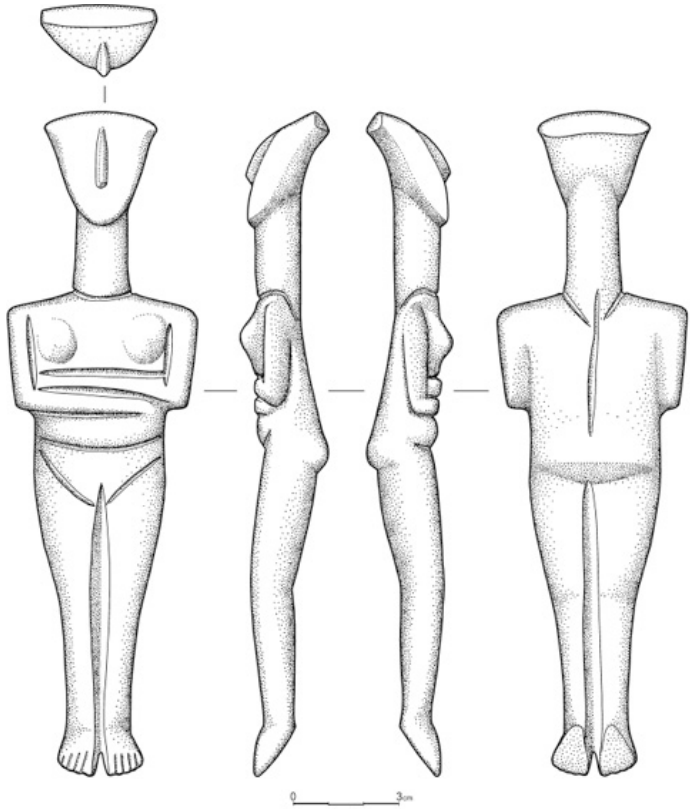
The head, neck and bold contours are reminiscent of some Spedos variety figures. The sculpture has a lyre-shaped head with a crooked long nose, tilting slightly backwards. The neck is long and cylindrical in both section and profile with an incised line at the base, curved at the front and V-shaped at the back divided at its apex by the spinal column incision The breasts are quite prominent, the left slightly

larger than the right. The pubic triangle is large and very wide, bisected at its apex by a continuation of the single, deep leg-cleft. The curve in its top line might indicate pregnancy. The inclined feet have all the toes incised.

In profile there are bold curves in the outline of the breasts, the abdomen and specifically the buttocks, the last being a quite individual trait. A wonderful balance is created by the combination of the single concave line of the head, neck and torso with the single convex outline of the legs.

It must however be emphasised that some of the figurine's features resemble figures of the Dokathismata variety (Renfrew (1969, 16–7). These features are the trapezoidal thorax with projecting upper arms, the strictly horizontal lower arms, the absence of waist, the almost triangular outline of the legs at the front (the thighs are very gently curved), separated by an unperforated cleft.

The sculpture is rather close to the Akrotiri sub-variety (Renfrew, this volume, Chapter 1) corresponding to some of the figures assigned by Getz-Preziosi to the Late Spedos variety (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 115) and identified by her as the works of the Schuster master (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 115–7). The Chalandriani figurine resembles those figures, in particular the name piece of the sub-variety (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 140–2, pl. 25*a*–*d*), in the head, neck, upper body and incised details. However, it is smaller in size and differs in the modelling of the thighs and legs from the Akrotiri sub-variety sculptures.



Roussos Figurine

Fig. 20.10 SM1176. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety from Chalandriani grave XI. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 20.11 SM1176. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety from Chalandriani grave XI. Not to scale.

Fig. 20.12 SM1176. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety from Chalandriani grave XI. Not to scale.

The figurine under discussion was found in Grave XI (Trench 6Θ). The chamber of the grave is of rounded plan (diameter: 1.09m; Fig. 20.3). It is clear from the quite well preserved skeletal remains that the corpse was inhumed in contracted pose. The deceased was laid on his left side along the northeast axis of the grave, looking to the south.

This tomb was one of the most richly furnished in the cluster of the 28 graves (Fig. 20.4). The figurine and a marble bowl (SM 1175, Fig. 20.16) were placed side by side at the top of the head. A bone tube and a copper scraper were revealed very close to them. Two clay vessels were placed in front of the dead. A 'frying-pan' (Fig. 20.13) was set vertically against the wall of the grave with the decorated side facing towards the dead person. A footed jar (Fig. 20.14) found close

to the ‘frying-pan’ was next to the wall of the grave as well. An obsidian blade was included among the grave-goods too. The clay vessels are both of the impressive Syriote black burnished ware with stamped and incised decoration, which is diagnostic of the Keros-Syros culture period. The ‘frying-pan’ is decorated with a six-rayed star in the middle in a circular field of *kerbschnitt* encircled by two series of stamped concentric circles joined by incised tangential lines and a thin band of *kerbschnitt*. The footed jar is also adorned with a zone of stamped concentric circles joined by incised tangential lines bordered by two bands of *kerbschnitt*.

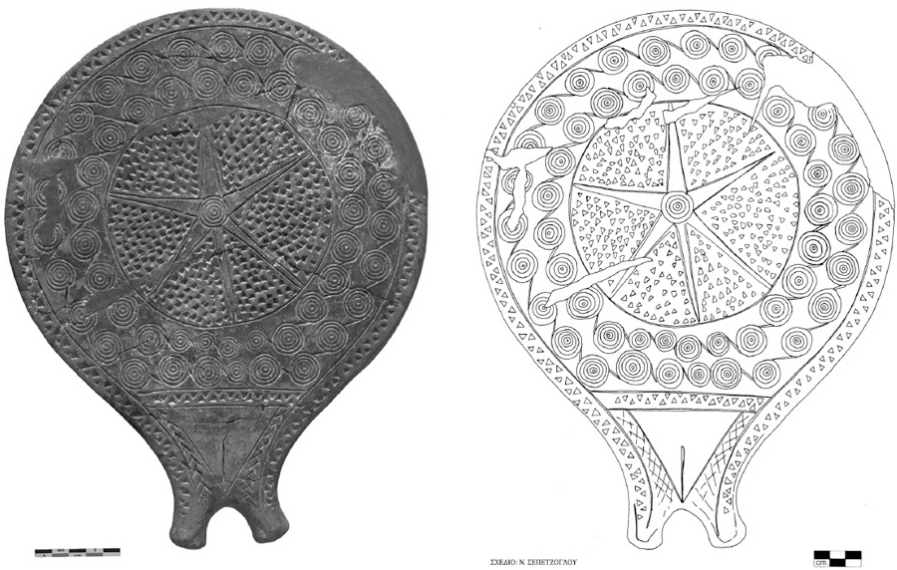


Fig. 20.13 Ceramic frying pan from Chalandriani, grave XI. Not to scale.

Fig. 20.14 Ceramic footed jar from Chalandriani, grave XI. Not to scale.

The bone pin with a head in the shape of a naturalistic figurine

Apart from these marble finds, another find from the Roussos cluster of graves, a bone pin with a head in the shape of a naturalistic figurine (SM 1169, Fig. 20.15; preserved height: 83mm) is of great interest and totally unparalleled as an item of adornment. The triangular head, robust neck, prominent breasts and the legs with a perforated cleft are clear even in the miniature dimensions of the head of the pin (height: 26mm; maximum width at head: 4mm; width at shoulders: 6mm; thickness at head: 2.5mm; thickness at arms: 3mm; thickness at legs: 2.5mm).

It is beyond the scope of this study to deal with topics such as the much-discussed Kapros D group (Dümmler 1886; Wolters 1891; Renfrew 1967; Branigan 1974, 192, 195; Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 581–2; Renfrew 1984; Sherratt 2000, 25–31; Galanakis 2013). However, it is worthy of consideration that the figurine in the form of the Chalandriani bone pin head with an undisputed Keros-Syros context (see below) brings to mind the controversial much larger marble figurine AE 154 of the Kapros D group (height: 170mm: Renfrew 1969, 12, no. 18, 22–3; Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 453, no. 123; Renfrew 1984, 48; Sherratt 2000, 32, no. 1.a.1) particularly

in aspects of the legs, knees and feet.

Fig. 20.15 SM1169. Bone pin with a head in the shape of a naturalistic figurine from Chalandriani grave VII. Not to scale.

Fig. 20.16 Fig. 20.16 Top: bowl with three ledge lugs SM1162 (grave VII) and bowl with four

ledge lugs SM1173 (grave VIII). Middle: spouted bowl with three ledge lugs SM1161 (grave VIII). Bottom: bowl with four ledge lugs SM1159 (grave VI) and bowl SM1175 (grave XI).

The pin under consideration is one of three bone pins found in Grave VII. The second pin has a much damaged head in the shape of a bird. In the third pin the head is missing. Grave VII is situated to the north of and very close to Grave XI. Rectangular in plan and 1.30m long, it is a richly furnished tomb. The body was placed on its left side along the southwest–northeast axis of the grave, facing northwest. The bone pins were found, together with two bronze needles and a bronze awl, under the skull and close to the left shoulder. A footed jar was set in the west corner in front of its face.

The rest of the offerings were placed in a *niche* above the head of the deceased. Three main offerings were deposited in the niche, from southwest to northeast as follows: a marble bowl with three ledged lugs (SM 1162, Fig. 20.16), a scraper ending in a knot of wire loops and a 'frying pan' depicting a long boat. The 'frying pan' was placed as a plate or tray. Inside it were a marble small spouted bowl with three ledged lugs (SM 1161, Fig. 20.16), an animal bone and a Pecten shell.

The high rank of the occupant of Grave VII is attested by the 'frying pan' and the bronze, and marble finds, which are not common at all in the cluster or the cemetery in general. The bone pins with elaborate heads, and especially the unique one with the head in the shape of a figurine, reinforce our view of the high social status of the individual buried in Grave VII. Last but not least, the exceptional architectural form of the tomb, with a niche in its wall, also corroborate this hypothesis.

A note on the marble

It is interesting to note that the figurine (SM 1176, Figs 20.10–20.12) and the bowls in graves XI and VII are made of marble of the same quality and origin, according to Maniatis' non-invasive examination. This medium to high translucency marble was used for the manufacture of the total of five complete bowls found in the graves of the recently excavated cluster: 1) a bowl from grave XI (SM 1175, Fig. 20.16); 2) a bowl with three ledge lugs (SM 1162, Fig. 20.16) from grave VII; 3) a bowl with four ledge lugs (SM 1173, Fig. 20.16) from grave VIII, 4) a second bowl with four ledge lugs, (SM 1159, Fig. 20.16) from grave VI and 5) a spouted bowl with three ledge lugs (SM 1161, Fig. 20.16) from grave VII. Maniatis suggests that all the six marble finds from the graves in this cluster were manufactured using pieces of marble extracted from the same local Chalandriani source of

mixed marble and schist, which is clearly different from the marble of Paros, Naxos, Keros and Ios (see Appendix below; see also Tambakopoulos & Maniatis, this volume, Chapter 33).

Consequently the existence of a specific local workshop involved in the production of marble figurines and vessels, which would have operated for some time, is indicated by the following evidence: 1) the use of exactly the same kind of marble, 2) the high quality of craftsmanship of both the figurine and the bowls and 3) the preference for the shape of the bowl even if it occurs in four varieties (plain, with three ledge lugs, with four ledge lugs and spouted with four ledge lugs).

Appendix: non-invasive examination of marble objects from Chalandriani, Syros

Y. Maniatis

The Cycladic figurine and vessels of marble found at the Chalandriani settlement, in the Roussos cluster of graves were examined in August 2006. The techniques employed were the optical examination of objects with a special light source and lens or microscope and the measurement of the maximum grain size (MGS).

1. Complete folded-arm figurine of the Spedos variety SM1176. No obvious traces of pigments on the surface.
A large number of particles of silver mica, especially on the front. Most of these particles are embedded in the marble as a kind of inclusion. This piece of marble was probably extracted from outcrops of marble layers in contact with schistolithic veins.
Depositions: Reddish argillaceous on the back.
Translucency: Medium to high.
MGS: 0.5mm.
Other features: No obvious veins.

2. Complete bowl SM1175.
No obvious schistolith inclusions are observed.
Depositions: Reddish argillaceous as on the others.
Translucency: Medium to high.
MGS: 1.0mm (heteroblastic).

3. Complete bowl with four ledge lugs SM1159.
Obvious inclusions of mica (schistolith) on the outside. This piece of marble was probably extracted from outcrops of marble layers in contact with schistolithic veins. Depositions: Reddish argillaceous on the back.

Translucency: Medium to high.
MGS: 0.7–1.2mm (heteroblastic).
Other features: No obvious veins.

4. Complete bowl with three ledge lugs SM1162.
No obvious schistolith inclusions are observed.

Depositions: Reddish argillaceous as on the others.
Translucency: Medium.
MGS: 0.5–1.2mm (heteroblastic).
Other features: In transmitted light narrow darker veins can be seen parallel to the circumference; related to the polishing lines.

5. Complete spouted bowl with three ledge lugs SM1161.
Remains of green pigment in the interior? Traces of firing or soot on the exterior?
No obvious schistolith inclusions are observed.
Depositions: Reddish argillaceous as on the others.
Translucency: Medium to high.
MGS: 0.5–2.0mm (heteroblastic).
Other features: Heterogeneous marble with elongated (lineation) crystals in places.
Marble light grey with internal grey and white veins. Gives the impression at places of a sugar-like texture or containing elongated crystals.

6. Complete bowl with four ledge lugs SM1173.
Obvious schistolith inclusions and purple veins are observed.
Depositions: Reddish argillaceous as on the others.
Translucency: High.
MGS: 1.2mm (heteroblastic).
Other features: Purple veins. Small fresh break at the lugs, shows a greyish marble background. Similar other features with the other vessels.

General characteristics for most objects

The marble of the figurine and that of the bowls seems of similar quality and origin. It is a rather particular marble with heterogeneous crystallization. It exhibits internal grey and white veins. In many cases there are characteristic schistolithic inclusions and in others scattered mica particles. The marble gives the impression in places of a sugar-like texture or of containing elongated crystals. It probably comes from pieces of marble extracted from layered outcrops of mixed marble and schistolith veins. Perhaps in the source area clean marble is not available in extended occurrences but probably only in layers between schistolithic layers.

This marble is clearly different in nature and quality from the marble seen in the geological outcrops on the islands of Naxos, Paros, Keros and Ios and in the figurines which come from them. It has features resembling the marble in north Syros and around Chalandriani. However, this can only confirmed with physicochemical analyses.

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images in Figure 20.5–20.8 from the Museum's archives. I also thank Dr Y. Maniatis, Director of the Laboratory of Archaeometry at the National Centre for Scientific Research (Demokritos), for the examination of the marble of the figurine and marble vessels from my excavation at Chalandriani. Figures 20.1, 20.2, 20.10–20.14 and 20.16 were taken by K. Xenikakis. Figure 20.4 was drawn by S. Dhaskalakis. Figures 20.9, top and 20.15, top were drawn by N. Sepetzoglou. Figure 20.10 top was drawn by D. Faulman (INSTAP Study Center for East Crete). I express my thanks to all of them.

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21

THE EARLY CYCLADIC FIGURINES FROM THE EXCAVATIONS OF CLON STEPHANOS ON SYROS AND A NOTE ON HIS WORK ON NAXOS: TOWARDS CONTEXT

Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki

Introduction

Clon Stephanos (1854–1915), a rather elusive figure in Cycladic archaeology, was a real child of his time (Fig. 21.1). He was active at the 'fin de siècle', that is the last decades of the 19th century, an era of new beginnings in art and science, at a time where new disciplines like Anthropology and Ethnology were introduced to investigate the notions of origin and the primitive (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2011). As a medical student, he was involved in archaeological work on Syros. He then introduced anthropology to Greece and returned to archaeology with his work on Naxos in the first decade of the 20th century. This ambivalence of spirit, between archaeology and anthropology, was seemingly acceptable among his peers and in vogue in his time. He left very few reports, even for the standards of the time, and this has made difficult to trace the exact provenance or the grave assemblages of his finds. He is however a venerable figure to anthropologists in Greece, as the founder of the discipline and a pioneer. In his dissertation, a survey of Greece in terms of natural landscape, ethnology, anthropology, demography and sanitation, he comments on the finds of Schliemann at Mycenae and Fouqué on

Thera (Stephanos 1884, 407), but he does not give any information on his own work on Syros.

His name, in Greek Κλων, means literally the branch (of a tree), while the name of his younger brother was Κυπάρισσος (Cypress). It seems that their schoolteacher father had early ecological interests. He was born in Kea, attended school in Syros, studied medicine in Athens and then anthropology in Paris. He was later the founder and first director of the Anthropological Museum in Athens, established in 1886 (Vasilikou 2006, 107–9). At the end of his life he was expected to become the first Professor of Anthropology at Athens University but died before the election to the chair could take place.

Fig. 21.1 Clon Stephanos in 1912 (after Vasilikou 2006)

Stephanos' investigations on Syros

As a medical student in 1873, Stephanos worked under the auspices of the Archaeological Society, and studied and published (Stephanos 1874, 1875a, 1875b) ancient Greek inscriptions in Syros (IG XII, 5). Some are carved on rocks near the sea, at a small bay known with the

appropriate name Γράμματα (Letters), an enduring refuge for sailors. At the same time he visited Chalandriani and excavated some of the tombs. He was the first to identify them as belonging to 'very ancient times of the pirates'. Chalandriani or Chalandra, as it was also called, was already a known site to the people of Syros. Its name derives from the chapel of Panagia Chalandriani. G. Pappadopoulos was the first to investigate the area, visiting the island for a few days in 1864. He identified the tombs as pre-Christian and associated them with the Roman exiles in nearby Giaros. Pappadopoulos gives a description of the tombs, mentions a number of about 30 vases that he brought to the Archaeological Society in Athens but made no reference to marble figurines (Pappadopoulos 1862; 1865; Hekman 1994, 48–50). Though at the time Cycladic figurines may have been considered repulsively ugly or primitive art, I think he would have mentioned their existence.

Some of the pottery may have found its way to the intellectuals and connoisseurs of the time at Ermoupolis, a thriving commercial and educational centre in the 19th century. One of the first finds to be deposited in the National Museum (inv. no. 55 of the Collection of Vases), coming from the Collections of the Archaeological Society (inv. no. 589), is a fine Urfirnis sauce boat (Fig. 21.2), very well preserved (Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, cat. no 13). It bears the incised name of its first modern owner, C. Evangelidis, a scholar and head of school at Ermoupolis, who then donated it to the Etaireia. Its provenance is stated as Chalandra. Mylonas already in 1932 suggested that it may come from Pappadopoulos' excavations (Mylonas 1932, 60 n. 2).

Stephanos only mentions his own work at Chalandriani in a lengthy note incorporated in his publication of the inscriptions, and also published (Fig. 21.3) a rough drawing of a marble figurine (Stephanos 1874, 520, note 7, 1875a, pl. a, 1875b, 8 note 7). The drawing and the measurement seem accurate since the figurine may be identified with EAM6169.9 (Fig. 21.6) of the Prehistoric Collection of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Although his work at Chalandriani was well known at the time, he never published the finds nor sent any reports to the Archaeological Society (Vasilikou 2006, 57, 66).

So the circumstances of the excavation and the context of the finds remain virtually unknown. The inventory book of the Prehistoric Collection (inv. nos 6141–94) in the National Archaeological Museum provides our only information on them, namely the find place, 'Chalandriani and other sites on Syros', the name of the excavator and the information that the work was conducted under the auspices of

the Archaeological Society. There is no reference to individual tombs or grave assemblages. This lack of material evidence is lamented already by Stais in his guide to the prehistoric collection (1926, 209–11 and fig.). Stais' assumption that the ten figurines (EAM6169.1–10) and the 'bear' plastic vase (EAM6176), exhibited in the same case at the time, may represent a grave assemblage, cannot be verified. Moreover, since 1971, by decree of the then Ministry of Education, a number of finds from the Stephanos excavation on Syros were transferred to the Archaeological Museum of Syros, thus splitting the assemblage apart.

Fig. 21.2 EAM55. Sauceboat from Chalandriani, formerly the property of C. Evangelidis. Not to scale.

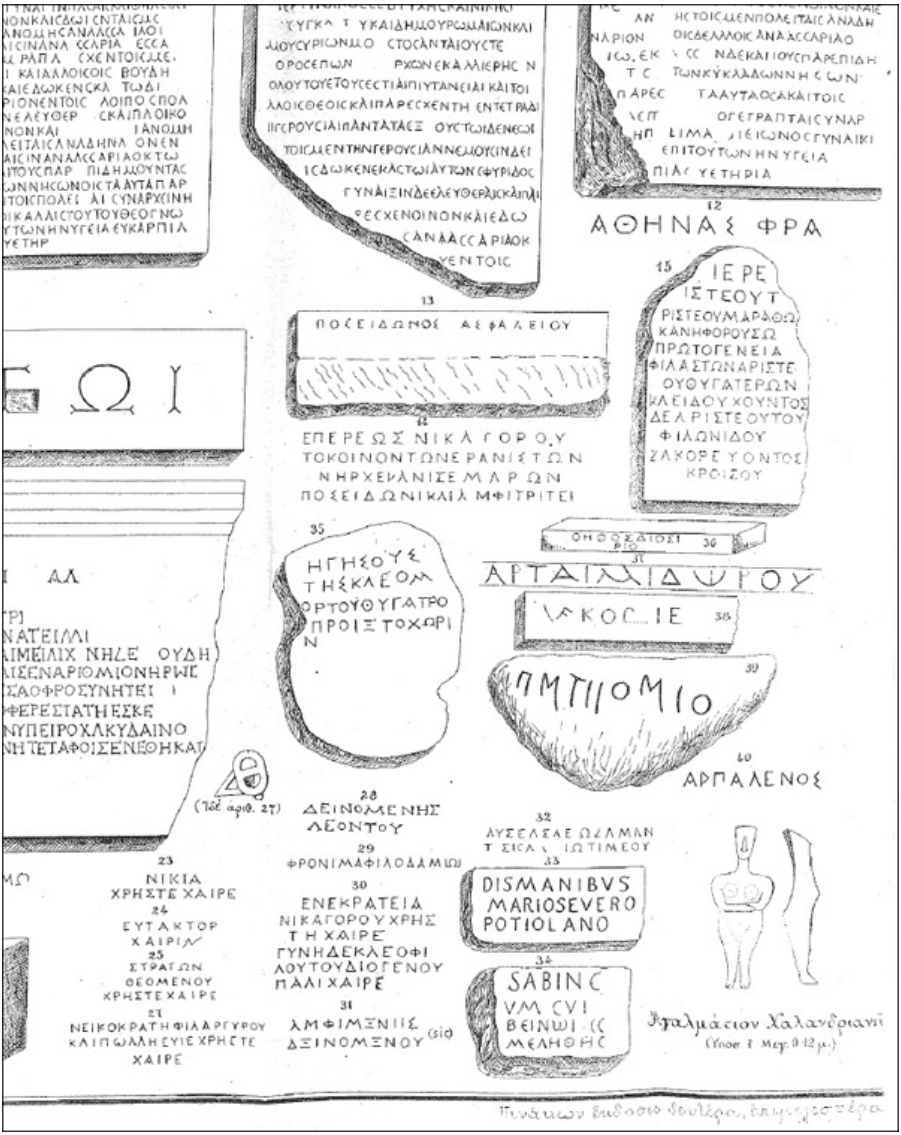

Fig. 21.3 Drawing of a Cycladic figurine amidst Greek and Roman inscriptions (Stephanos 1875).

Some of the finds are illustrated by Christian Zervos in *L'Art des Cyclades* (1957), in *Neolithic and Cycladic Civilization in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens* by Papathanassopoulos (1981) and some of figurines were studied and illustrated by Renfrew in his seminal paper 'On the chronology and classification of Early Cycladic figurines' (Renfrew 1969). Rambach (2000b, 76–7 note 403), in his study of Christos Tsountas' excavations in the Cyclades, provides, in a lengthy note, a brief account of most of the finds from Stephanos excavation on Syros, citing earlier publications.

The Early Cycladic figurines from Stephanos' excavations on Syros

There are 13 marble figurines (EAM6169.2–10, EAM6164, EAM6165, EAM6174, EAM6193 of the Prehistoric Collection of the National Archaeological Museum), plus one dubious piece (EAM6169.1) that can be securely identified as coming from the Stephanos excavations on Syros. All but the latter are in permanent exhibit in the Cycladic Gallery of the National Archaeological Museum. The possibility that some come from other, not identified, locations on Syros cannot be entirely ruled out but until now only Chalandriani has produced a small number of figurines.

1. EAM6174 Impressive large marble figurine of Dokathismata variety (Figs 21.4, 21.5).
Height 460mm, maximum width 201mm, thickness 37mm (belly), 28.5mm (chest).
Mended at the neck, the arm and legs and restored on the shoulder. Two of the toes of the left foot are missing.
Zervos 1957 pl. 251; Renfrew 1969, 16 pl. 5d; Papathanassopoulos 1981, 188–9 fig. 106; Rambach 2000b, 77 n. 403; Hendrix 2000, 91–2.

It belongs to the Dokathismata variety and in both size and type is highly unusual on Syros. The head turns slightly to the right. Its barely swollen belly may represent a pregnant woman but the feature is not uncommon in this variety. Its monumental appearance, enhanced by the clear splitting of the arms and the legs from the body, gives it a prominent place among the figurines of the Dokathismata variety. Across the chest a strong diagonal band in a rusty colour, preserved also on the back, represents burial accretions, visible on the interior of arms, rather than paint. A pair of painted eyes may be discerned on the face.

Another large figurine of the Dokathismata type, of unknown provenance (EAM9096: Renfrew 1969, 16; Getz-Gentle 2001, 101–4, 169 fig. 88d), is even taller (height 675mm) and is attributed to the Berlin sculptor, though it shares traits with EAM6174 such as the separation of the arms from the body.

Numbers 2–4 (EAM6169.9, EAM6169.10 and EAM6193) are three fine specimens of the late Spedos variety.

2. EAM6169.9. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 21.6).
Height 118mm, maximum width 4 2.5mm, thickness 11mm.
Stephanos 1875 pl. A; Stais 1926, 209.

3. EAM6169.10. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 21.7).
Height 131mm, maximum width. 44mm, thickness 13mm.
Zervos 1957 pl. 247, Renfrew 1969, 12, Rambach 2000b, 77 n. 403

4. EAM6193. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 21.8).
Height 190mm, maximum width 71mm, thickness 19mm.
Zervos 1957 pl. 250, Renfrew 1969, 12, Rambach 2000b, 77 n. 403

They are preserved intact, except for the tips of their feet. They share characteristics like the square shoulders and the well moulded, prominent breasts. Incisions denote the pubic triangle. Nos 2 and 3 have swollen bellies that may indicate pregnancy. Traces of a painted eye have survived on number 3. Both may be the work of the same sculptor although no. 2 has heavy legs and prominent knees. Incrustation remains intact on the back of nos 2 and 3. Number 4 is taller and more elegant and its type is closer to the one from Tsountas' excavation (Rambach 2000a, pl. 46)

5. EAM6169.8 An ill-proportioned, hybrid form (Fig. 21.9).
Height 127mm, maximum width 66mm, thickness 22mm. Intact, only the tip of feet missing, encrustation on the back.

The upper part and the breasts are shown well enough for a late Spedos type figurine, the folded arms seem irregular and half finished. The lower part has very short, heavy legs that end abruptly with very schematic feet. The sculptor did his or her best with a piece of marble that was either unsuitable from the beginning or broke suddenly, though there is no sign of the breakage.

Zervos 1957 pl. 244; Renfrew 1969, 12; Rambach 2000b, 77 n. 403 (mentioned as 6169.7).

Numbers 6 and 7 quite appropriately represent the Chalandriani variety.

6. EAM6164 Folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety (Fig. 21.10).
Height 156mm, maximum width 73mm, thickness 17mm.
Zervos 1957 pl. 249; Renfrew1969, 17; Rambach 2000b, 77 n. 403.

7. EAM6165 Folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety (Fig. 21.11).
Height 217mm, maximum width 78mm, thickness 13mm (chest), 15mm (knees).
Zervos 1957 pl. 288; Renfrew 1969, 17 pl. 8b; Rambach 2000b, 77 n. 403; Hendrix 2000, 93.
They both share such characteristics as the rectangular body with high neck, prominent breasts, heavy legs. No. 6 is made of greyish marble with tiny particles clearly visible. The head is tilted backwards and there are four incised toes on the feet. No. 7 is mended at the neck and there are indications of toes. It has a peculiar solid dark circle on the chest, between the breasts. Earlier accounts of the figurine describe this as red and Hendrix has suggested the pigment may have been cinnabar. In any case this is a highly unusual motif. (For the type at the Chalandriani cemetery see Rambach 2000a, pl. 63).

Numbers 8–11 comprise figurines of the Apeiranthos variety with rectangular bodies.

8. EAM6169.3 Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos variety (Fig. 21.12).
Height 71mm, maximum width 38.8mm, thickness 15mm. Marble visibly layered, part of the body of the figurine missing on the front.
Renfrew 1969, 14; Rambach 2000b, 77 n. 403.

9. EAM6169.4 Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos variety (Fig. 21.13). Height 75mm, maximum width 44mm, thickness 9mm.
Stais 1926, 209; Zervos 1957 pl. 45; Renfrew 1969, 14 pl. 7b; Rambach 2000b, 77 n. 403.

10. EAM6169.6 Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos variety (Fig. 21.14).
Height 96mm, maximum width 51mm, thickness 15mm. Renfrew 1969, 14 pl.7a.

11. EAM6169. 7 Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos variety (Fig. 21.15).
Height 118mm, maximum width 41mm, thickness 18mm.
Zervos 1957, pl. 45.

Fig. 21.4 EAM6174. Folded-arm figurine of Dokathismata variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 21.5 EAM6174. Folded-arm figurine of Dokathismata variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 21.6 EAM6169.9. Folded-arm figurine of late Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 21.7 EAM6169.10. Folded-arm figurine of late Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 21.8 EAM6193. Folded-arm figurine of late Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 21.9. EAM6169.8. Hybrid figurine. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 21.10. EAM6164. Foldedarm figurine of Chalandriani variety. Scale 1:2.

They have a rectangular body and a long neck that ends in a schematic head. Some facial characteristics, such as a triangular nose, may be discerned. The body of figurine 9 curves inwards on both sides while number 11 has a very long neck and a more elaborate head. No. 10 has an exact parallel from Tsountas' excavations at Chalandriani (Rambach 2000a, pl. 65; for the type see Renfrew 2013, Marthari, this volume, Chapter 12).

Numbers 12 and 13 are two figurines of the Apeiranthos variety with rounded bodies.

12. EAM6169.2 Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos variety (Fig. 21.16).
Height 64mm, maximum width 44mm, thickness 15mm.
Renfrew 1969, 14; Rambach 2000b, 77 n. 403.

13. EAM6169.5 Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos variety (Fig. 21.17).
Height 80mm, maximum width 51mm, thickness 15mm. Layered marble, part of the body missing.

The figurines have curved bodies that end in long necks and simple heads (Rambach 2000a, pl. 60, from Tsountas' excavations).

14. EAM6169.1 Crescent shaped piece (Fig. 21.18).
Height 45mm, maximum width 19mm, thickness 11mm.
It is hard to describe this very simplistic amorphous piece made of fossilized shell, a very schematic figurine or simply a figurine's head. On the back, concave side, a notch suggests that it comes from a genus of marine bivalve molluscs (Karali 2013, 447–50, fig. 21.5).

Fig. 21.11 EAM6165. Folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 21.12 EAM6169.3. Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 21.13 EAM6169.4. Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 21.14 EAM6169.6. Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 21.15 EAM6169.7. Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 21.16 EAM6169.2. Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 21.17 EAM6169.5. Schematic figurine of Apeiranthos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 21.18 EAM6169.1. Possible schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.

The corpus of the figurines, with the exception of EAM6174, fits well into the framework of Tsountas' finds at Chalandriani. The figurines (Rambach 2000a, pls 46, 60, 63, 65) belong to the Spedos, Chalandriani and Apeiranthos (with square or curved body) varieties. A few more have come from recent excavations at Chalandriani (Marthari, this volume, Chapter 20).

Pottery and stone vessels from Stephanos' excavation on Syros

They are closely related to the known Chalandriani material but there are also some exceptional finds. The account that follows is far from complete. A concise publication of all the finds from Stephanos' excavations on Syros, housed in the National Archaeological Museum and the Syros Museum, is still missing and it is long overdue.

The well-known charming ceramic hollow figure (EAM6176, height 106mm) of a sitting animal holding a bowl (Fig. 21.19) was thought to be a 'bear' (Stais 1926, 209; Papathanassopoulos 1981, 165 fig. 87) but it is rather a hedgehog (Getz-Gentle 1996, 140–1 fig. 70;

Broodbank 2000, 215–6 fig. 64, citing parallels from Naxos and Manika). An identical piece, made by the same potter (from Syros?) comes from the settlement of Keos (Wilson 1999, 83–4, pls 21, 70). The appearance of the hedgehog figure in settlement sites in the Cyclades or Euboea is remarkable. Large hollow figures of animals, usually rhyta, tend to come from children graves in Mycenaean or Geometric times (Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2014, 186–7). Unfortunately anything we may say now on the context of the figure from Syros is just an educated guess.

The multiple pyxis (EAM6185, height 65mm) consists of seven spherical miniature vases with lid (Fig. 21.20), all connected around a larger central piece. It has painted decoration of chains of lozenges (Papathanassopoulos 1981, 164, 165 fig. 86; Karantzali 1996, 107 fig. 110c). Two miniscule handles on each pyxis and the button on the lid are pierced, allowing a cord to secure the contents. A pyxis of the same shape from Syros has also the same decoration of lozenges (Karantzali 1996, 98, Rambach 2000a, pl. 67: 3, 117: 3). A parallel for the kernos shape may be found in the pedestal kernos of Naxos (Karantzali 1996, 107 fig. 110a). A Minoan origin has been suggested for this rare type.

The pedestalled triple sauceboat (EAM6153) is decorated with cross hatching on the body (Fig. 21.21) and represents a rare type which finds a parallel in Aigina (Broodbank 2000, 215).

To the dark on light painted wares belongs also a pedestalled cup (EAM6149) with cross hatching on the body (Fig. 21.22), a type known in the Chalandriani cemetery on Syros and Akrotiraki on Siphnos (Rambach 2000a pl. 23.2, 58.5) and in settlement sites on Keos, Ios, Keros (Wilson 1999, 136 pl. 90; Marthari 2008, 74–5 fig. 9.10; Sotirakopoulou 2008, 118 fig. 13.8).

The dark burnished stamped ware is considered the highlight of the Chalandriani pottery (Marthari 2008, 77–8). The corpus of the frying pans is the largest that we know and provides us with the incised images of the multi-oared Cycladic long boat, that attests to the maritime orientation of the community (Broodbank 200, 97–101, fig. 23, 215–6).

From Stephanos' excavation there is a collection of six frying pans, with incised and impressed decoration, three of them (EAM6184, EAM6177.1, EAM6177.2) depicting ships (Figs 21.23–21.25) and three (EAM6177, EAM6172, EAM6144) decorated with interconnecting spirals (Figs 21.26–21.28), all but EAM6172 presented in Coleman (1985, 207–8). EAM6184 features prominently in temporary exhibitions (Jensen 2000, cat no 14; Şahoğlu &

Sotirakopoulou 2011, cat. no. 13).

The pedestalled jars (EAM6145, EAM6180, EAM6190), with incised and stamped decoration (Figs 21.29–21.31), are common on Syros and have a wide distribution (Broodbank 2000, 202–4, 215 fig. 60c, 61). There are rare in settlement sites (Marthari 2008, 80).

Fig. 21.19 EAM6176. Ceramic hollow figure of a hedgehog. Not to scale.

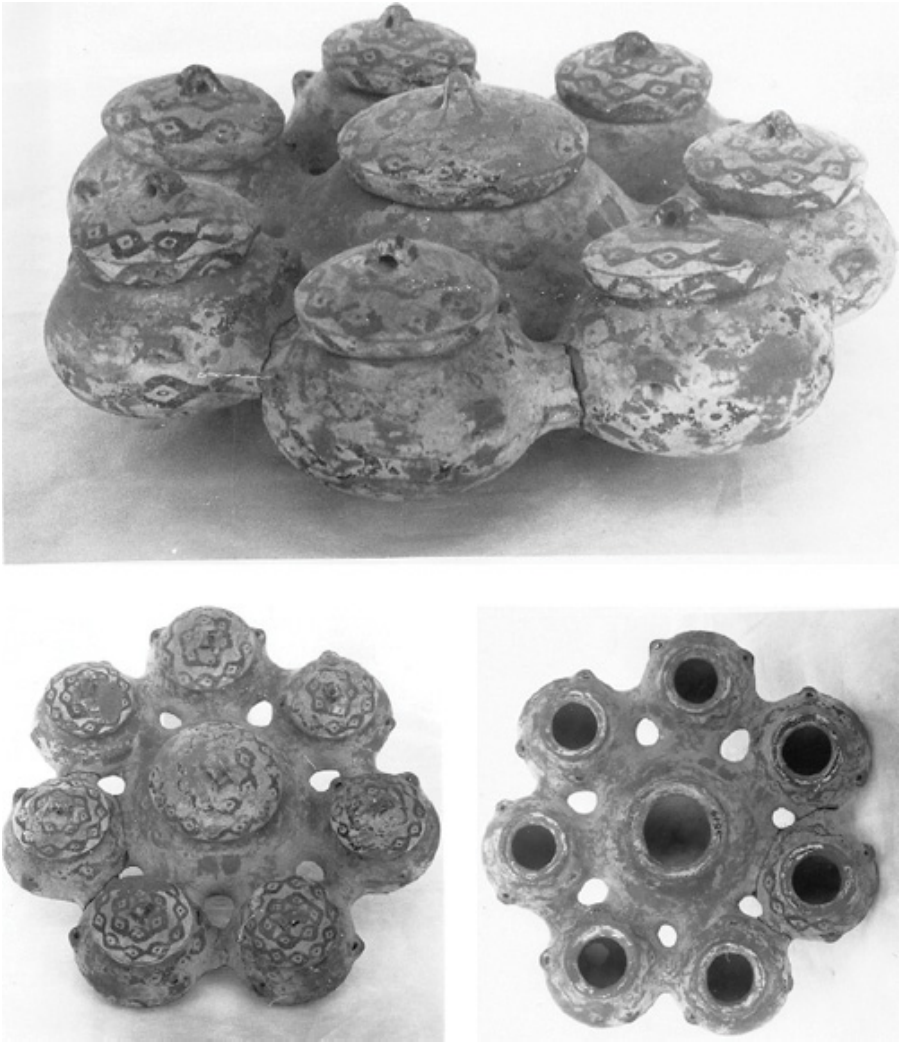

Fig. 21.20 EAM6185. Multiple pyxis. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.21 EAM6153. Pedestalled triple sauceboat. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.22 EAM6149. Pedestalled cup. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.23 EAM6184. Frying pan depicting ship. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.24 EAM6177.1 Frying pan depicting ship.Not to scale.

Fig. 21.25. AM6177.2. Frying pan depicting ship. Not to scale.

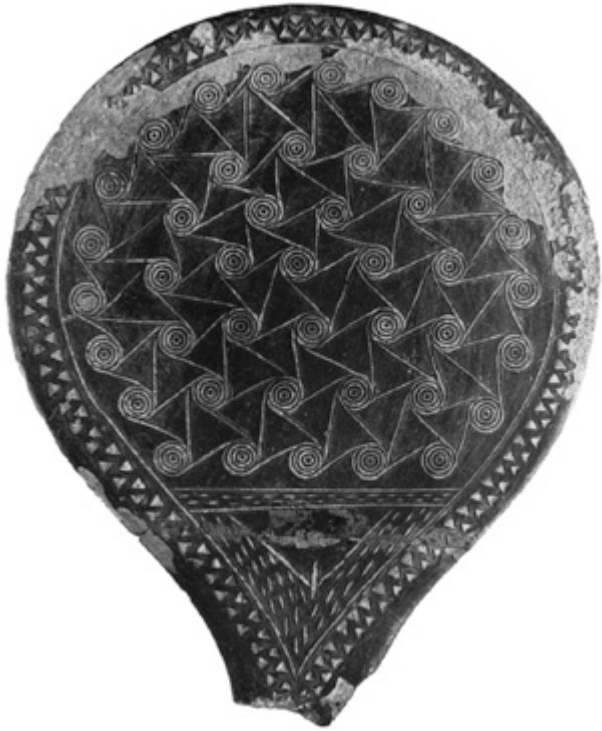

Fig. 21.26 EAM6177. Frying pan. Not to scale

Fig. 21.27 EAM6172. Frying pan. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.28 EAM6144. Frying pan. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.29 EAM6145. Pedestalled jar. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.30 EAM6180. Pedestalled jar. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.31 EAM6190. Pedestalled jar. Not to scale.

Among the undecorated pieces are the sauceboat (EAM6187) of yellow mottled ware (Fig. 21.32), known on Syros (Rambach pl. 124.4), Keos (Wilson 1999, 76), Ios (Marthari 2008, 73–4, fig. 9.3), and Keros (Broodbank 2007, 149), all dated in the EC II period. A Helladic origin has been suggested for this ware.

The footed cups (EAM6189, EAM6148) with burnished surface (Fig. 21.33) find parallels on Naxos (Marangou 1990, cat. no. 183).

There is also the expected Kastri group of the end of EC II (Renfrew 1972, 173 fig. 11; Sotirakopoulou 1993, 8 fig. 1, 2; Broodbank 2000, 309–11, 319, fig. 103; Rambach 2000b, 332–62) with the beak spouted jug (EAM6158) with vertical incisions (Fig. 21.34) filled with white (Karantzali 1996 112, fig. 113e), the askos or tea pot (EAM6156) with tubular side spout (Fig. 21.35), decorated with horizontal plastic bands incised with twine motif (Marangou 1990, cat. no. 187, Naxos; Wilson 1999, 130 pl. 34: 88, Keos) and the biconical jar (EAM6160) with incised decoration (Fig. 21.36; Karantzali 1996, 99 fig. 43d, 105f), all with characteristic black

burnished surfaces.

There are fine marble bowls (EAM6161, EAM6292, EAM6192.1), spouted or footed (Figs 21.37–21.39) and a footed four lugged bowl (EAM6154, Fig. 21.40) of greyish veined marble (Getz-Gentle 1996, 109-123, 290–3 pl. 68).

Some marble palettes, simple clay cups, with leaves impressed on the bottom, stone implements and a sea shell are now housed in the Syros Museum.

A note on Stephanos' work on Naxos

The work of Clon Stephanos on Naxos in the years 1903– 1910 is relatively well known through the publication of Papathanasopoulos (1962). His meticulous work, using the reports of Stephanos to the Archaeological Society, the brief accounts in the *Praktika*, Stephanos' paper at the Archaeological Congress of 1905 (Stéphanos 1905), and even V. Stais's Guide to the Prehistoric Collection of the National Archaeological Museum (1926), made it possible to reconstruct some at least of the grave assemblages. Papathanasopoulos, however, often mentions, in small print, that they are far from complete and the numbering of the graves (1–41) is actually his own, since Stephanos used numbers or letters to identify individual tombs, differing from site to site.

Fig. 21.32 EAM6187. Sauceboat. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.33 EAM6189 & EAM6148. Footed cups. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.34 EAM6158. Beak spouted jug. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.35 EAM6156. Black burnished ‘tea pot’. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.36. EAM6160. Biconical jar. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.37 EAM6161. Footed marble bowl. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.38 EAM6292. Footed marble bowl. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.39 EAM6192.1. Footed marble bowl. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.40 EAM6154. Lugged footed marble bowl. Not to scale.

Stephanos' excavations on Naxos produced from the Spedos cemetery (Jensen 2000, cat. no. 17; Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, cat. no. 53) the iconic marble figurines (such as EAM6140.22: Figs

21.41, 21.42) used to define the Spedos variety. In recent years traces of paint have been discovered on some of them (all belonging to the Spedos variety) by Hendrix (2003, 416–8, 423–4, figs 5, 10), including EAM6140.19 attributed by Getz-Gentle (2001, 160) to the Naxos Museum Master. Equally well known are the Louros figurines from grave 26, initially presented by Stéphanos (1905, 218–9 fig). From the seven depicted in this old photograph (Fig. 21.43) five are housed in the National Museum (EAM6140. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11). The largest in the centre (EAM6140.9), mended already in antiquity (Fig. 21.44), is the best known and most often published (Marangou 1990, cat. no. 149; Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou 2011, cat no 49). One, at the far right, has apparently been in the Ashmolean Museum since the beginning of the 20th century, according to Zervos (1957, pl. 42). Renfrew (1969, 8, III.8, pl. 2f) suggested that the Ashmolean piece belongs to this very group and recently it was securely identified by Sherratt (2000, 148–9 pl. 152–5). One, shown on the far left, is still missing.

There is also a number of figurines inventoried together with the Stephanos material from Naxos that were not included in Papathanasopoulos publication since they could not be attributed to a particular grave. Their provenance from the Stephanos excavations on Naxos seems secure. Among them EAM6140.12 has an elegant body and is attributed to the Kapsala variety (Renfrew 1969, 16) and to the Kontoleon Sculptor (Getz-Gentle 2001, 153).

The fine marble figurine of a pregnant woman from Polichni, Naxos (Fig. 21.45) was presented in the 1905 Congress (Stéphanos 1905, 223). It is not stated in the paper whether it comes from the tombs or the settlement at Polichni. Papathanasopoulos provides the information that most of the finds from Kastraki, Polichni had been deposited in the Naxos Museum and he does not include any figurines in his description of the graves at Polichni-Mnemouria (1962, 109, 140). Its origin from Naxos cannot be disputed and an exact counterpart is to be found in the figurine from the researches of Kontoleon on Naxos (Phiondas) in 1948 (Marangou 1990, cat. no. 158; Legaki this volume, Chapter 16, Figs 16.5, 16.6). Renfrew (1969, 11) stated that he had seen it in the Naxos Museum among other folded-arm figurines, but whether he had seen the figurine from Polichni or the example from Phionda seems uncertain.

In recent years extensive work for the renovation of the storerooms of the Prehistoric Collection in the National Archaeological Museum has produced some interesting finds from a cluster of graves excavated by Stephanos (Stephanos 1908, 114–7; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2000, 9, fig. 1) at Pherendaki on Naxos and only briefly mentioned by

Papathanasopoulos (1962, 108). The iron box (Fig. 21.46) contained two Early Cycladic I clay pyxides with lid (EAM15230 and EAM15231) coming according to the handwritten notes from the 'half plundered grave', and ten obsidian blades (EAM15233–EAM15238) coming from the 'half plundered grave, the plundered grave, tomb a or tomb b'. The tall pyxis, height140mm, maximum diameter 145mm (Fig. 21.47), of gritty dark brown clay, slipped and polished on the surface, has two tubular handles pierced through. The other has preserved part of the body and the lid (Fig. 21.48) with pierced through lug handles (for parallels see Karantzali 1996, 94–5 fig. 102f, Naxos; Rambach 2000a, pl. 14.3, Paros). Obsidian blades are found in the same grave (Fig. 21.49). Pherendaki is one of the few sites on the north of the island, located inland and close to mount Zas (Renfrew 1972, 517 fig. 14:5)

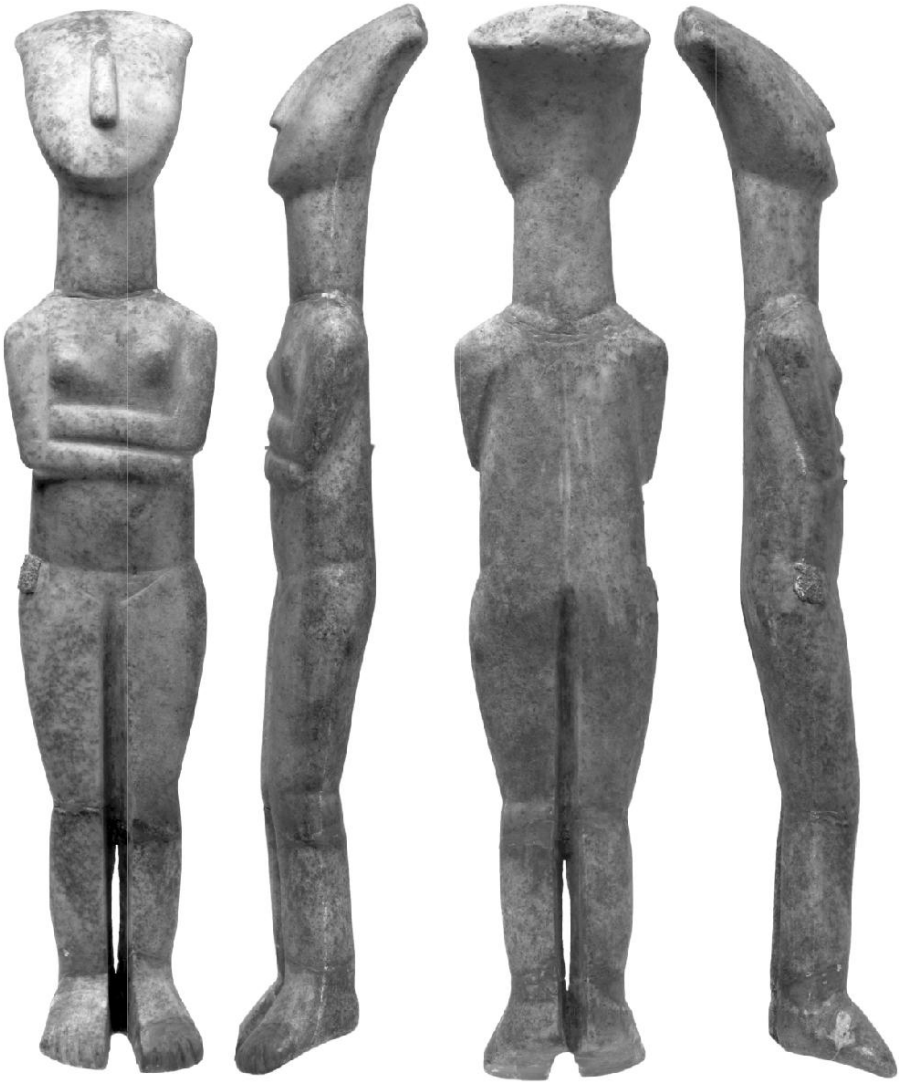

Fig. 21.41–42 EAM6140.22. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

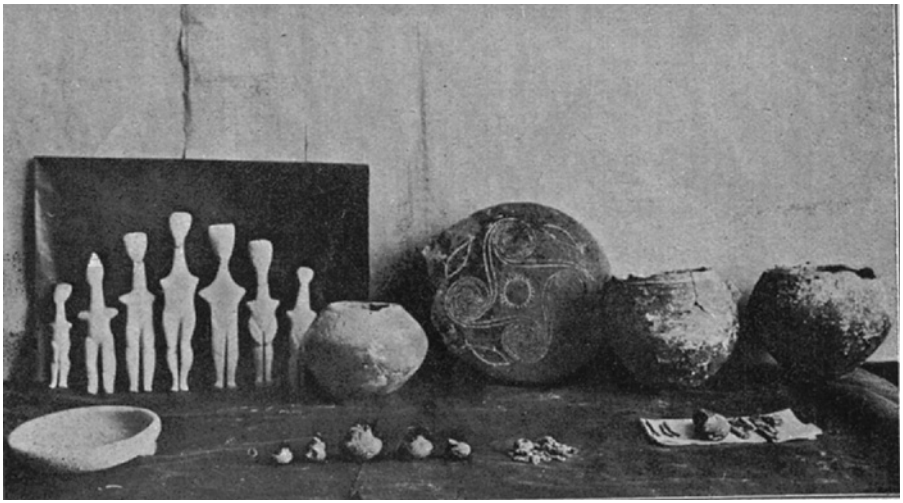

Fig. 21.43 Grave assemblage from Louros cemetery, grave 26 (after Stais 1926).

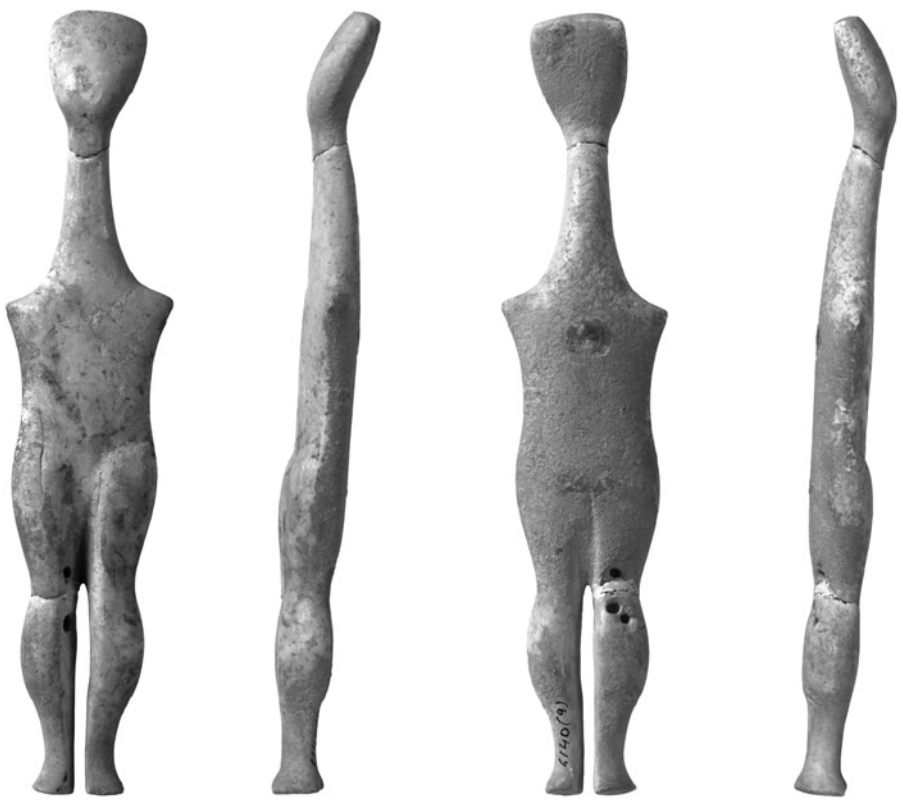

Fig. 21.44 EAM6140.9. Figurine of Louros type. Scale 1:2.

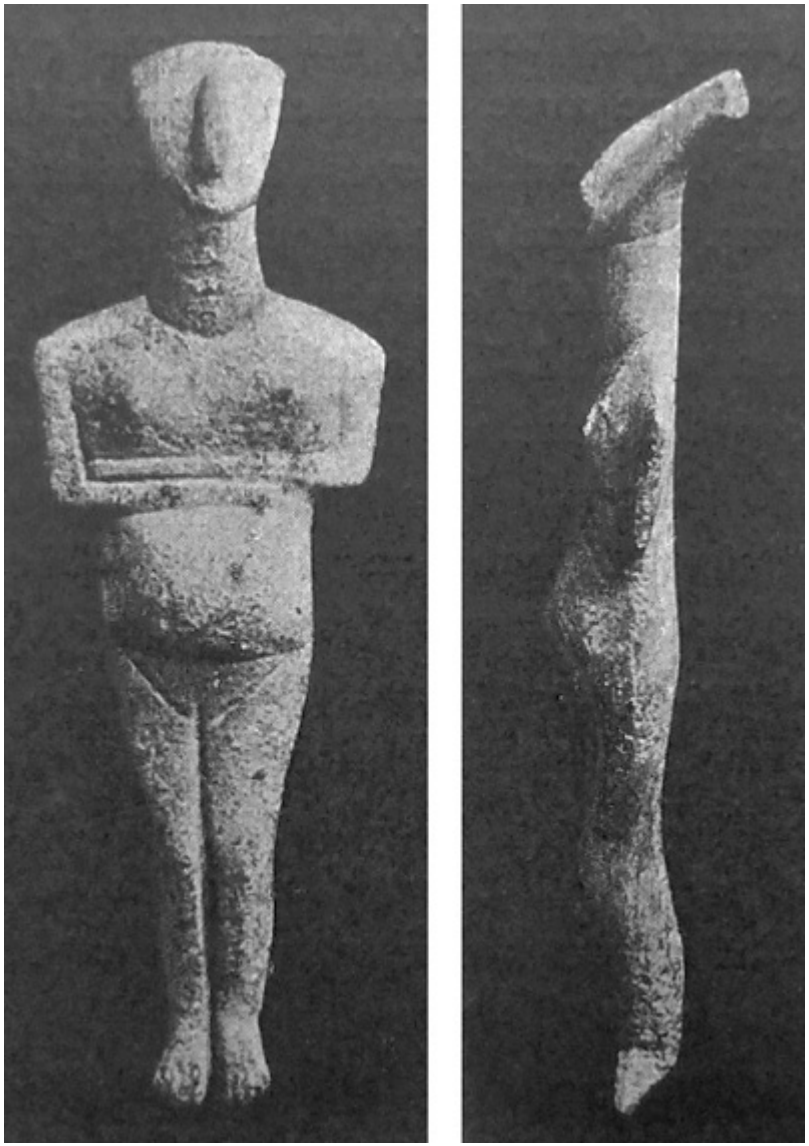

Fig. 21.45 Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety, pregnant, from Polichni, Naxos. Scale 1:2. After Stephanos (1905).

Fig. 21.46 The iron box containing the finds from Stephanos' excavation.

Fig. 21.47 EAM15230. Tall pyxis from Pherendaki, Naxos. Not to scale.

Fig. 21.48 EAM15231. Fragmentary pyxis with lid from Pherendaki, Naxos. Not to scale.

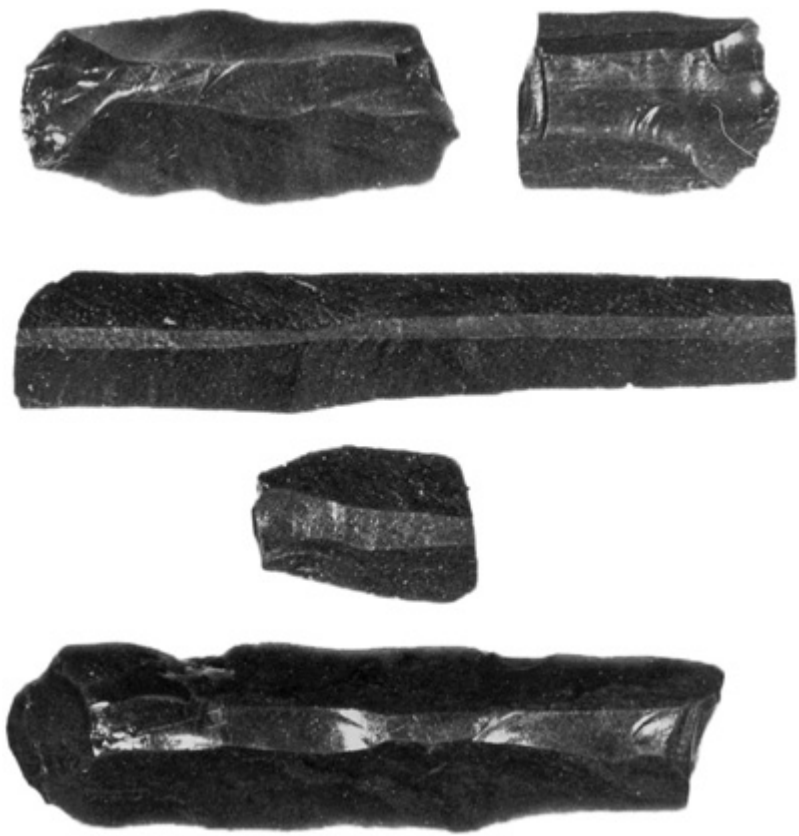

Fig. 21.49 EAM15238. Obsidian blades. Not to scale.

Another site, located by Stephanos in 1910 (Stephanos 1910, 270) at Tsikniades, Naxos, has recently yielded ECI and II finds (Philaniotou 2008; this volume, chapter 18), including cylindrical pyxides and obsidian blades.

On the human bones from the graves

Stephanos was the leading authority of his time on human bones and it seems that even Christos Tsountas (1899, 108) valued his opinion. In the Congress of Archaeology held in Athens, Stéphanos (1905, 225) offers some anthropological comments on the skulls of those buried in Naxos trying to identify their 'race', a very 19th century concern. He also mentions Syros in the same context but by then he could also refer to Tsountas' finds on Syros.

In the Archives of the University of Athens are housed files from the early days of the Anthropological Museum (late 19th century) and an inventory of the human remains housed in it in the years 1890–1891, coming from excavations of the Archaeological Society or the Archaeological Service (General Ephoreia). None of them are from the Cyclades.

I have tried try to locate later inventories most probably housed in the Anthropological Museum, still affiliated with the Medical School in Athens, but the authorities there had only very reluctantly admitted over the telephone that their Museum may have archives related to Stephanos, and also some boxes filled with bones from the Cyclades. Unfortunately to this day I have never received permission to see or study them, nor any written confirmation of their existence. It remains uncertain whether the material from the archives or the bones are actually related to the Early Cycladic tombs on Syros or Naxos.

Appendix: optical examination of 14 Cycladic figurines from Syros

Dimitris Tambakopoulos & Yannis Maniatis

Fourteen Cycladic figurines found on Syros were examined in the storerooms of the National Museum on 21 and 24 March 2014. The examination was performed using a strong cold light source, a microscope and a millimetre scale. During this examination the maximum grain size, the translucency (depth from the surface to which the light from the standard source penetrates) and other macroscopic and microscopic characteristics of the marble of all the figurines were measured and recorded. The results are presented in Table 21.1.

Table 21.1 Optical examination results for the figurines .

Cat. no.	Type/variety	Colour	Transl. (cm)	MGS (mm)	Details
6164	Chalandriani	Greyish	>2.0	0.8	Mica schist layers, fine grained.
6165	Chalandriani	White	3.0	1.5	Well crystallized, homogeneous, traces of black/brown pigments?
6169.1	Other	–	–	–	Sea shell, perhaps fossilised, white or creamy colour & translucent.
6169.2	Apeiranthos	Greyish	2.0	2.0	Layered, 1 stressed crystal
6169.3	Apeiranthos	White	3.5	1.5	Heteroblastic, layered, stressed crystals along the layer planes
6169.4	Apeiranthos	Whitish	>2.0	0.5	Very well crystallised, well defined grains, layers, a few stressed crystals along the layer planes.
6169.5	Apeiranthos	Whitish	<2.0	1.5	Layered marble with mica schist, a few stressed crystals
6169.6	Apeiranthos	Whitish	1.0	0.6	Layered, very fine grained, multi-twins
6169.7	Apeiranthos	White	3.0	1.8	Larger grains in the head and neck, 1 stressed crystal
6169.8	Post-canonical?	White	>2.0	0.5	Very fine grained
6169.9	Spedos	White	1.5	0.1	Very well crystallised, very fine grained, fine mica
6169.10	Spedos	White	3.0	1.0	Fine mica schist inclusions
6174	Dokathismata	White	3.5	1.3	Well crystallised, homoblastic
6193	Spedos	White	2.5	0.5	Very well crystallised, well defined grains

Results and discussion

6164: This Chalandriani variety figurine is made of greyish, fine grained marble of high translucency; the light penetrating more than 2.0cm. Its Maximum Grain Size (MGS) was measured as 0.8mm while most of the grains were in the range of 0.4–0.8mm. However both with reflected and transmitted light it was difficult to discern the grains except on the sides of the figurine where the surface was rough. It is possible that this figurine was treated with acid some decades ago in an attempt to clean its surface (an old but damaging practice) as a result of which the surface details and grain boundaries were smeared out. On the front many mica inclusions are observed embedded inside the marble, and a thin schistolithic layer can be seen running parallel and between the front and back surfaces of the figurine.

6165: This Chalandriani variety figurine is made of white, medium grained marble of very high translucency (more than 3cm light penetration). The marble is quite homogenous with grains around 1.0–1.2mm, while the MGS was measured as 1.5mm. There are no veins or layering visible. Between the breasts there is a circular black/brown spot (radius *c.* 1cm), perhaps remains of pigment. The same black/brown substance covers the nose.

6169.1: This strange piece is shaped like a schematic figurine head, although there is no breakage on the back or at the chin to indicate a connection with the rest of the figurine. Alternatively it may be an abstract schematic figurine (if seen upside down). On the back and on the side of this object there is a hollow notch and on its surface there are structural curved and parallel lines resembling the layers of a sea shell. It has been cut and polished on one vertical side and slightly polished at one edge. The notch is most probably part of the concave side of the shell. The weight of the object and its overall appearance may suggest that it is a fossilised sea shell. Its colour is partially white and partially white/creamy (bone colour). It has a high translucency; the light penetrates the whole piece, about 4.5cm in length.

6169.2: The marble of this Apeiranthos variety figurine is greyish, exhibiting medium to high translucency (up to 2.0cm light penetration), medium-grained with MGS at 2.0mm, although most of the grains are in the range of 1.0–1.5mm. On the side, parallel to the surface, a multi-

layer structure can be seen. One stressed crystal was observed in the neck.

6169.3: The marble of the Apeiranthos variety figurine (cat. no. 6169.3) is white, medium grained and of very high translucency (3.5cm of light penetration). It is heteroblastic with grains of 0.5–1.0mm and MGS of 1.5mm (measured on many grains). The marble is layered and on the layer borders there are a few stressed grains. There are also some mica inclusions on the front.

6169.4: This Apeiranthos variety figurine is made of whitish or faint greyish layered marble of medium to high translucency (about 2cm light penetration). It is well crystallised with round grains and well defined borders. On the front surface the grains are up to 0.5mm, although on the perpendicular plane there are a few stressed grains with dimensions of 1.0 × 0.5mm.

6169.5: Apeiranthos variety figurine made of white or light greyish layered marble. Its translucency is medium to high with about 2cm light-penetration. The marble is quite homogeneous with grains in the range 0.8–1.0mm. A few stressed crystals were observed with dimensions approx. 1.5 × 0.5mm.

6169.6: Apeiranthos variety figurine made of whitish marble of low translucency (1cm light-penetration). It is layered and very fine grained. Its MGS was measured as 0.6mm, but there were areas with much smaller grains, up to 0.2mm. Many grains exhibited twins.

6169.7: Apeiranthos variety figurine made in medium grained white and transparent marble. Light penetrates about 3cm of depth. In the neck and head there are grains from 1.0–1.5mm, with MGS of 1.8mm (one stressed grain), although in the body the grains are smaller, up to 1.0mm.

6169.8: This figurine is made of white, fine grained marble. It is of medium to high translucency with light penetrating up to 2cm. It exhibits the same effect as 6164, with grains only visible on rough surfaces. The MGS was measured 0.5mm, although almost all the grains are much finer.

6169.9: Spedos variety figurine made of white marble of medium translucency (1.5cm of light-penetration). It is very fine grained with MGS less than 0.1mm but very well crystalised with welldefined grains on the whole surface. Fine mica grains are visible on the surface; most probably a result of soil deposition rather than inclusions in the marble. The marble looks quite similar to a number of Kapsala variety figurines in the Archaeological Museum of Naxos and a Louros variety figurine from Naxos (6140.9, National Archaeological Museum of Athens).

6169.10: Spedos variety figurine made of white marble of very high translucency (3cm light-penetration). Again as in the cases of 6164 and 6169.8, it was difficult to discern and measure MGS; on the rough surfaces MGS of 1.0mm was measured. Fine mica inclusions were observed.

6174: This is a Dokathismata variety figurine made of white, homogeneous, well crystallised marble of very high translucency; light penetrates more than 3.5cm. Most of the grains are between 0.8mm and 1.0mm while the MGS was measured as 1.3mm.

6193: This Spedos variety figurine is made of white, well crystallised marble of high translucency (2.5cm light-penetration). The MGS was measured as 0.5mm while most of the grains are in the range of 0.3–0.5mm. Their shape is almost rectangular with slightly rounded boundaries. On both sides of the figurine there are fine mica inclusions.

Summary

Without sampling and physicochemical analysis it is usually very

difficult to determine the provenance of marble, especially for small prehistoric artefacts, like the Cycladic figurines examined, where there are no known quarries and the possible sources can be any isolated large or small marble outcrop, where a loose stone can be picked up to produce a figurine. However some useful deductions towards provenance can be drawn after this thorough examination.

Since all the figurines were found on Syros, the first feature we tried to identify were the characteristic elongated, stressed crystals characteristic of Syros marble (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis 2012). This very characteristic pattern, which was easily observed in a previous optical examination on a figurine and a few vessels from Chalandriani on Syros excavated by Marthari, could not be identified as a clear feature in any figurine of this collection. A few stressed isolated grains observed in five figurines (6169.2, 6169.3, 6169.4, 6169.5 and 6169.7) do not represent a widespread feature typical of Syros marble, and they can only hint at a possible provenance from Syros, although that would be very difficult to prove without further analysis. For the figurines with a very fine ($\leq$0.8mm) and well crystallised marble (6164, 6169.1, 6169.4, 6169.6, 6169.8, 6169.9 and 6193) we can exclude some places of origin such as the islands of Keros, Syros, Paros and Ios, as on these islands marble of this kind has not been found. The only marble similar in quality has been found near Pyrgos Chimarrou on Naxos (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis 2012). The medium-grained marble figurines (6165, 6169.2, 6169.3, 6169.5, 6169.7, 6169.10 and 6174) could be from Naxos, Paros or Ios, as white or whitish to greyish marble of medium to high translucency can be found on any of these islands (Maniatis *et al.* 2009; Tambakopoulos & Maniatis 2012).

The overall conclusion to be drawn is that the collection examined includes figurines made of marbles with different characteristics and origins and does not represent the production of one workshop which used local or imported marble from a specific source. At least three different varieties and origins of marble were detected, implying imports from different places.

It is possible, although not certain, that there are some figurines made of local marble, but the rest came from other islands.

Sampling and further analysis would be required to confirm these preliminary conclusions before attempting any interpretation as to the presence of figurines of foreign marble at the site and its implications.

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THE SANCTUARY (THE SPECIAL DEPOSITS) AT KAVOS, KEROS

22

THE COMPLETE CANONICAL SCULPTURE OF SPEDOS VARIETY FROM DHASKALIO KAVOS ON KEROS*

Photeini Zapheiropoulou

Introduction

The island of Keros belongs to the group of the so-called 'Mikres Kyklades' (Lesser Cyclades) situated in the central Cyclades between Naxos and Amorgos, lying opposite and to the east of the two Kouphonisia (see Fig 14.1; Marangou 2007, 9–15). The now uninhabited Keros, sadly one of the most plundered for over a century (Köhler 1884; Zervos 1957, 2), is the location of one of the most remarkable prehistoric sites in the Cycladic islands, unfortunately looted mainly on its west part before systematic investigations started (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 37–46; Renfrew 2007a; 2007e).

The first documented visit in the summer of 1963, by the young British scholar, C. Renfrew, then a research student conducting field survey for antiquities in the Cyclades (Renfrew 2007b, 20–28), under a permit authorised by the Ephor of Antiquities for the Cyclades, the late N. Zapheiropoulos, was followed in the autumn of the same year by rescue excavations in the area most intensively disturbed by looters, by Christos Doumas, then Epimeletis in the Ephorate of Antiquities for the Cyclades, who brought to light significant quantities of Early Cycladic remains: a structure, a large number of fragmentary marble figurines and painted pottery sherds of Early Cycladic II date (Doumas 1964, 409; 2007, 29–30; 2013, 79–86).

Excavation context

A more extensive excavation was undertaken by the present author and K. Tsakos, both at the time Epimelites of Antiquities in the Ephorate for the Cyclades, in July and August 1967, at Dhaskalio Kavos (Zapheiropoulou 1968a, 381; 2007, 30–6), in an area located on the southwest extremity of the island, northeast of the beach at Dhaskalio Kavos, opposite the islet of Dhaskalio (Fig. 22.1). The investigation started to the northeast of Doumas' 1963 excavation and moved on from there. Further to the north a looted area of freshly dug soil was clearly visible, overlooking the sea, littered with broken artefacts including pottery.

In 1967, research in that area uncovered an enormous quantity of Early Cycladic material. It consisted mainly of fragments of marble figurines and vessels, as well as of clay vases, some painted with motifs characteristic of the so-called 'Keros-Syros culture', equivalent to Early Cycladic II (Zapheiropoulou 1975, 79–85; 2007, 36; Renfrew 2007a, 3; 2008, 113; Sotirakopoulou 2008, 115–20). There was a vast number of fragments and some almost complete marble vessels, usually of open shapes and of large size (some examples of shallow bowls have a diameter of about 500mm). There were also some rare types of vessel, as for instance parts of a unique large marble dish bearing a row of schematic birds or doves on its internal surface (Zapheiropoulou 1968b, 100, figs 5–6), or the fragments of a pyxis of grey-green chlorite schist with relief spirals (Zapheiropoulou 1975, 84, fig. 8; 2007, 32c; Renfrew 2007d, 342–8, figs 8.27–31; Renfrew *et al.* 2008, 113, fig. 12.8; Renfrew 2015). In addition, 317 broken fragments of marble figurines were found, attributable to various known figurine types (Zapheiropoulou 1968a, 381, figs 332a–b, 333, 334b; Zapheiropoulou 2007, 33–5, figs 3.26, 3.28–3.34; Sotirakopoulou, Renfrew & Boyd, this volume, Chapter 23). Among these may be noticed four fragments of the lower parts of figurines with their feet standing on plinths (Zapheiropoulou 1968b, 98–9, figs 2–4; 2007, 31, 35, fig. 3.34). This form may be compared for instance with the well-known pipe player, an early find said to be from Keros (Köhler 1884, 156–7; Zervos 1957, 2, fig. 302; Papathanassopoulos 1981) or to the two syrinx players, one in Karlsruhe and the other, lacking the feet, in Basel. This peculiarity is perhaps due to the effort of the sculptor to represent the strength and the grandeur of the male figure (a divinity, a ruler or even a priest?) which could not have been represented in a recumbent form. All of these fragments were lying abandoned in the soil between loose stones, in levels from the surface

to the lowest layer above the natural rock.

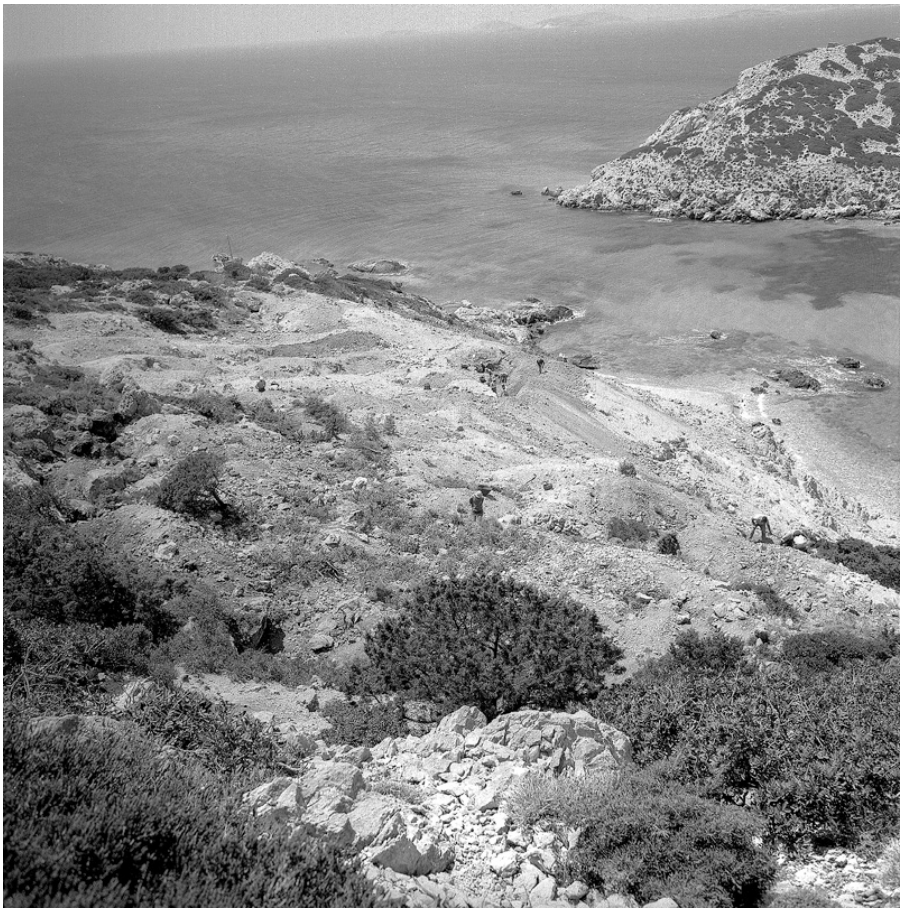


Fig. 22.1 Excavation and recovery under way in 1967 (note the workers): the site seen from the northeast.

Fig. 22.2 Upper highlighted area: location of the two tombs. Lower highlighted area: main zone where broken marble artefacts were found.

Fig. 22.3 Stones possibly from a tomb of Syros type

Fig. 22.4 Ceramic collared jars from a burial.

Fig. 22.5 NM4181 found between loose stones in 1967.

Fig. 22.6 NM4181 upright, after discovery.

In this highly disturbed region, some 100m northeast of the beach, a specific area was defined by surface survey. Excavation was undertaken, at the invitation of the Ephorate of the Cyclades (21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities), by the Inter-University Project for Research on Amorgos and Keros (Athens, Ioannina, Cambridge) directed by Professors Christos Doumas, Lila

Marangou and Colin Renfrew at the site in September 1987 (Renfrew 2007a, 6; 2007c, 79–105; Renfrew *et al.* 2008, 113; Sotirakopoulou 2008, 115) This area has now been termed the Special Deposit North at Dhaskalio Kavos (Renfrew 2007c, 79–85, 103–10; 2007f, 429–32).

The excavation reached the natural bedrock in each trench. In the lowest layers, just above the bedrock, many unworked stones were found. In spite of all this material, no architectural remains were found in this flat and very disturbed area, nor were traces of a cemetery noted.

The only building remains, found in an undisturbed area in 1967 (Fig. 22.2), were two built graves, partly preserved, perhaps of the small 'tholos' tomb type, apparently resembling those found at Chalandriani on Syros (Fig 22.3; Zapheiropoulou 2007, 31, 36, figs. 3.21–2; Renfrew 2007c, 105). In one of these was found a single burial accompanied by two ceramic collared jars (Fig. 22.4) and two blades of obsidian, left near the skull of the deceased as grave offerings (Zapheiropoulou 1968a, 381, fig. 332 d; 2007, 31, 36, fig. 3.20; Renfrew 2007f, 434).

Further to the above, beyond the area of the socalled Special Deposit North, portions or often almost complete marble vessels, portions of marble figurines (Zapheiropoulou 1968a, 381 figs 332 a–b, 333, 334b; 2007, 33–5 figs 3.25–3.36) and one complete figurine were found. The notably large female folded-arm sculpture, described below, was found lying face down on the ground among blocks of rock, beside a feature which seemed to be the opening of a natural cavity (Figs 22.5, 22.6; Zapheiropoulou 1968a, 381, fig. 334a; 1968b, 97, fig. 1; 2007, 31–2, figs 3.23–3.24), which may have continued to a greater depth. For reasons of safety the excavation stopped at that point.

Description

NM4181 Marble canonical female folded-arm figure of Spedos variety (Figs 22.7, 22.8).
Height 583mm.
Material: Coarse-grained white marble.
Preservation: Complete; subsequently mended at the base of the neck after a recent break, traces of which can be seen. The surface is very well preserved, without trace of weathering or exposure to natural conditions. Chipped edges at the feet. Yellowish brown encrustation in places.
Large lyre shaped head tilted back at the crown, worked to a straight edge. It has a flattened oval shape: height 120mm, width 80mm, thickness 48mm. It has a long triangular nose (height 41mm, width 6mm at the top and 14mm at the nostrils) carved in relief, set rather high on the face, at a height of 52mm from the chin and 28mm from the forehead; its profile follows the curvature of the face. Part of the upper outline of the left eye is faintly visible (Fig. 22.9) as well as a painted lock, an oblique stroke on the left side at the back of the head (Fig 22.10). The chin is rounded and broad and slightly projecting. At the back of the head

the crown is somewhat curved at the top, projecting to a width of 4mm from the other surface and leaning backwards some 25mm. The surfaces are carved flat and rounded at the sides.

The relatively long, voluminous, cylindrical neck is defined by incision where it joins the torso in front and by V-shaped incisions at the back, framing a triangular space that reinforces the effect of a long neck. It has a height of 56mm, a width of 55mm and thickness 40mm.

The torso has a broadly rectangular shape and is 150mm in height. It is widest at the breasts (width 128mm) and its maximum thickness, at that point, is 42mm. The slope of the 'fleshy' shoulders is rounded and the space between the upper arms decreases slightly towards the elbows whereas the forearms, folded in the usual position, across the abdomen, left above right, are defined by deep vertical incisions. Relatively deep incisions denote four fingers on each hand. The breasts are well modelled, as long rather egg-shaped volumes.

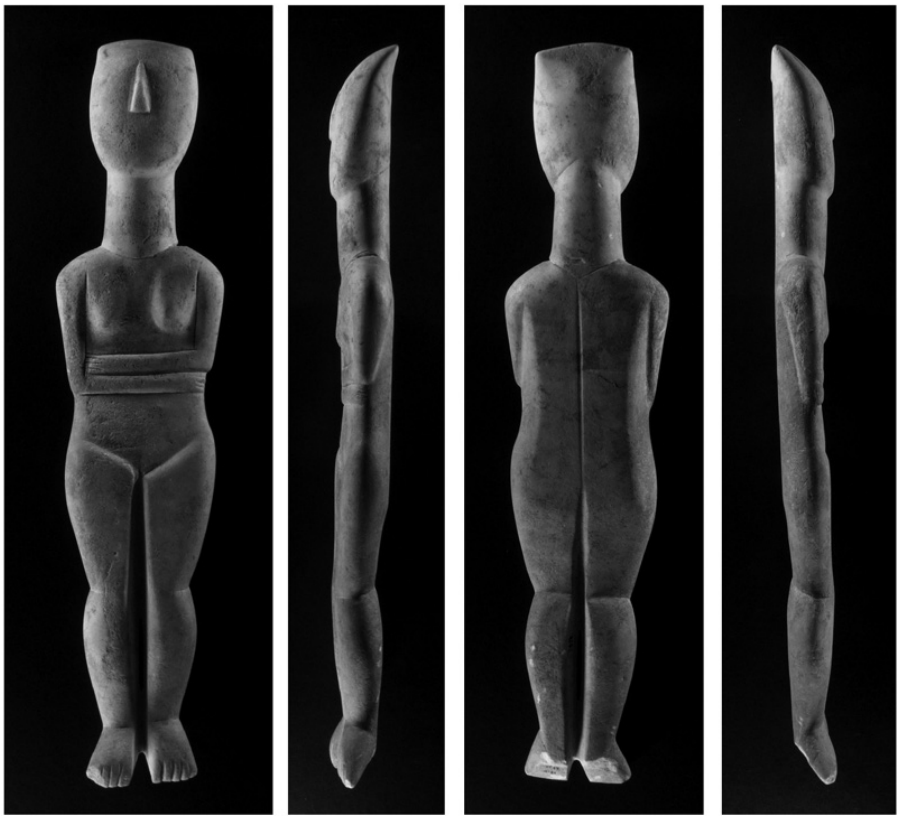
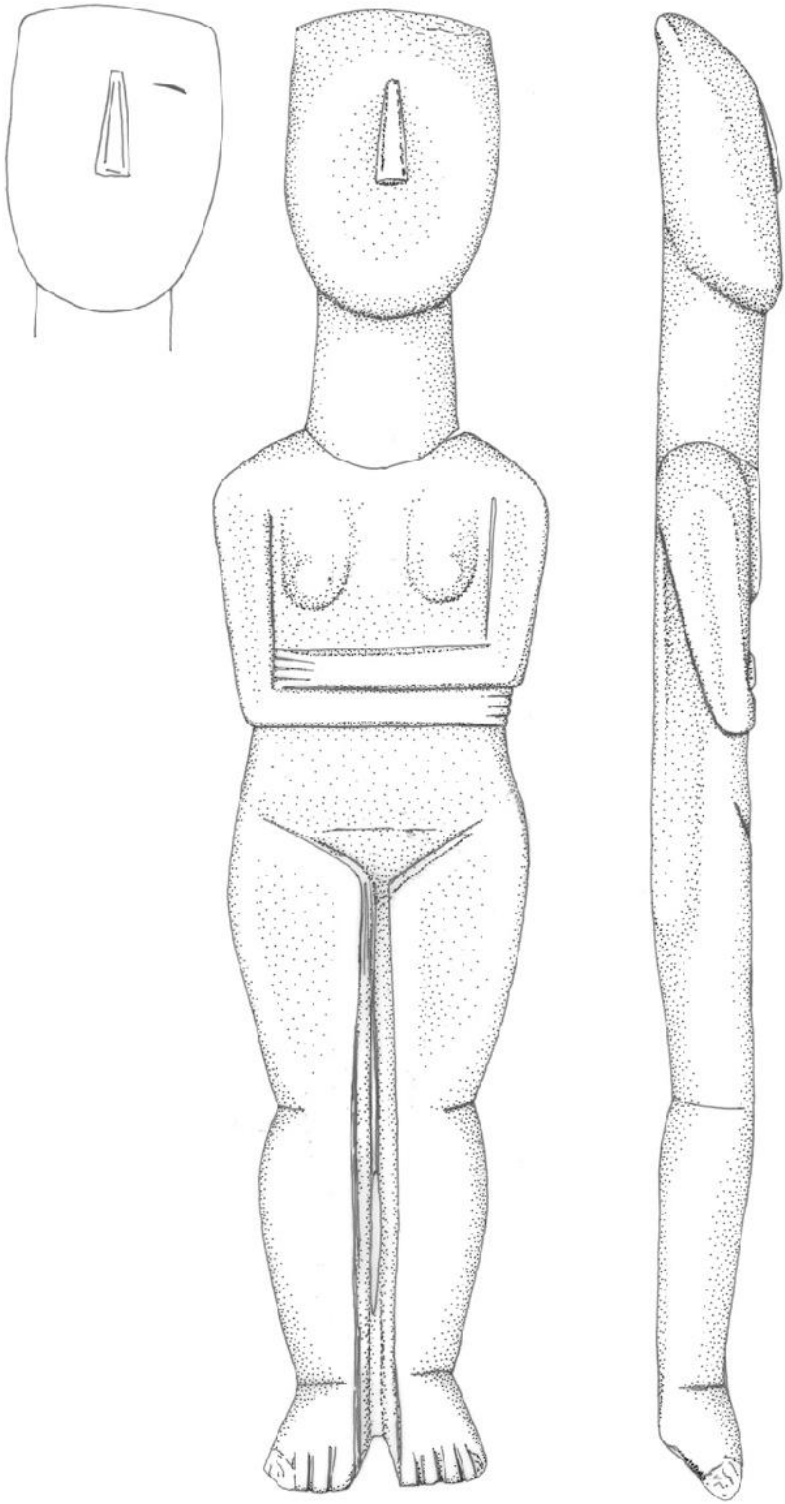


Fig. 22.7 NM4181. Note scale is 1:4.

The abdomen is smooth and the top of the thighs prominent (3mm). The distance from thighs to knees is 114mm, with maximum width 114mm, and the thickness at the buttocks 39mm. The upper boundary of the triangular pubic area is marked by a shallow horizontal incision, and its sides by deep curving grooves defining the prominent upper thighs, between which originates the cleft that separates the legs. The legs have a maximum length 110mm, width 86mm, thickness 31mm. The maximum width of the space between the legs from the knees to the feet is 18mm. There is a slight bend at the knees, accentuated on the sides and back by incision. The ankles are also emphasized by incision. The leg-cleft is perforated between the calves. The feet (height 42mm, width 86mm, thickness 31mm) are joined at the ankle, each with five toes indicated by wide grooved incisions, and slant down and outward.



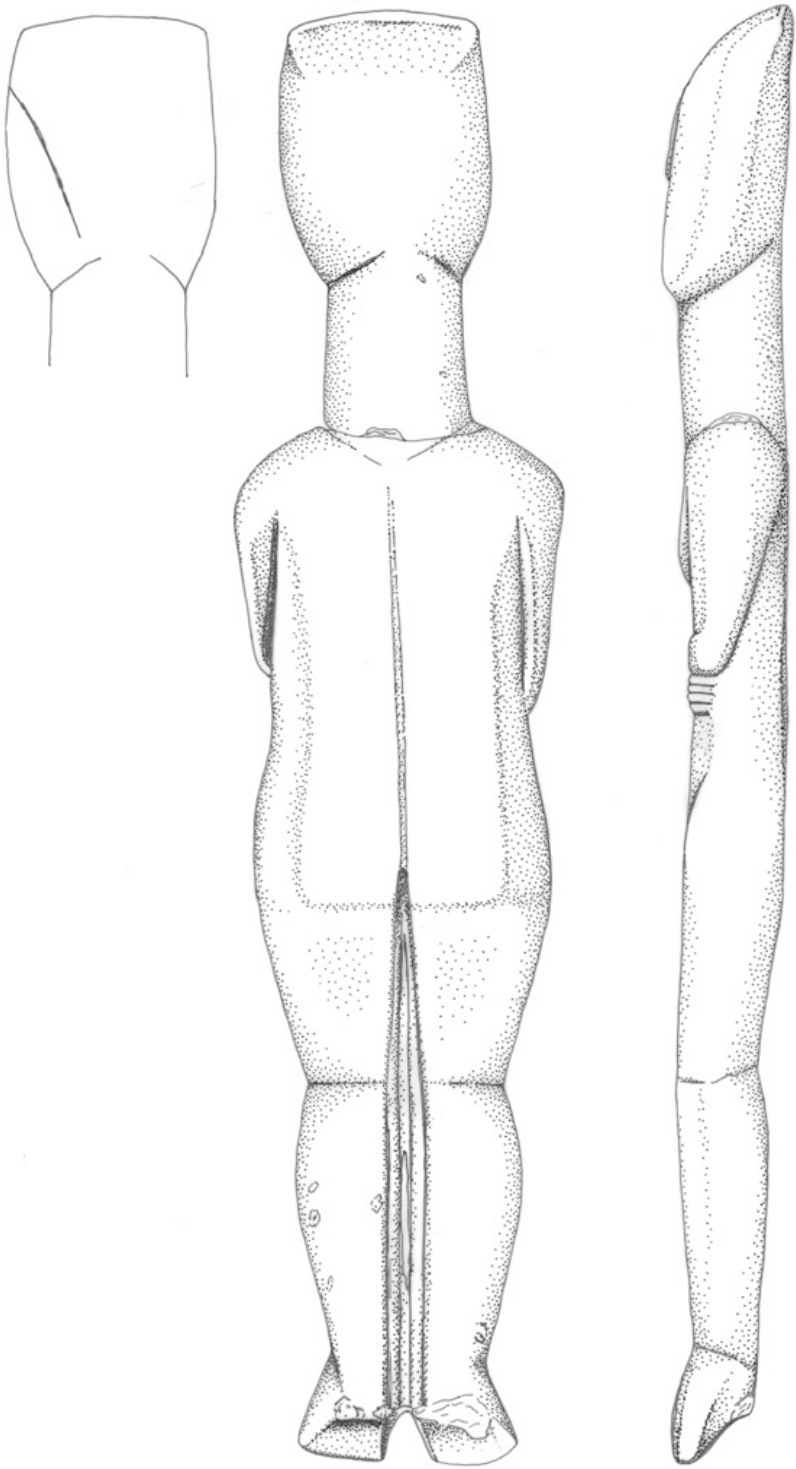


Fig. 22.8 (front) NM4181. Scale 1:2.

On the flat back, with its markedly angular sides creating a rectanguloid form, the deep groove of the spinal column continues downwards across the buttocks to form the cleft separating the legs, in the same way as at the front. Similar grooves separate the upper arms from the sides of the body. The buttocks are indicated by a slight angular protrusion. Seen in profile the sculpture is flat and straight.

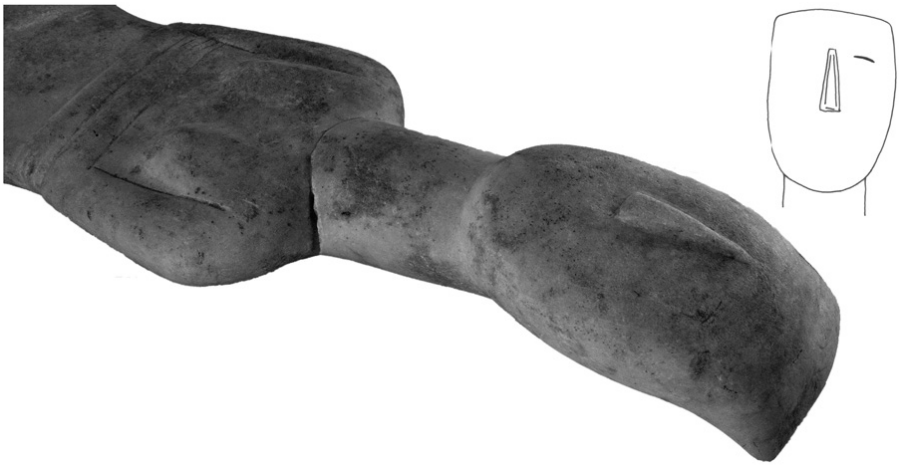


Fig. 22.9 NM4181. Detail of head and possible paint ghosts. Not to scale.

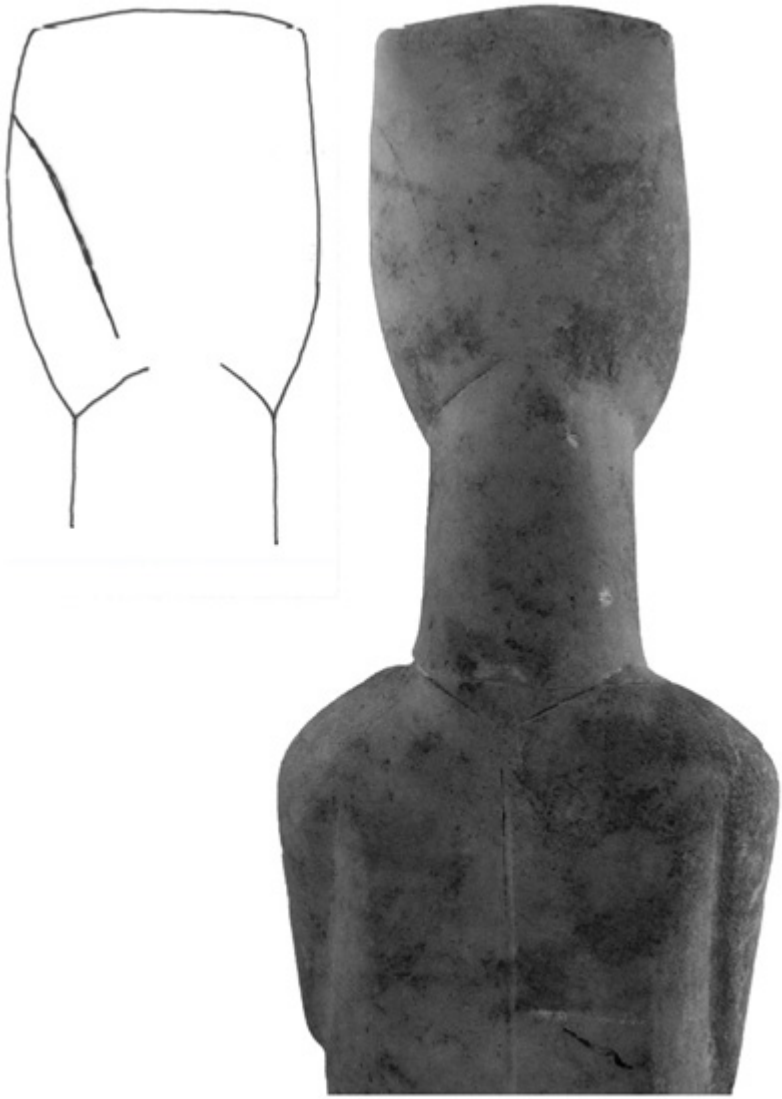


Fig. 22.10 NM4181. Detail of back of head and possible paint ghosts. Not to scale.

Further discussion

The figure conforms approximately in its proportions to the canon of 1/5 (i.e. the head occupying *c.* one-fifth the overall height of the figure; with the widest point at the level of the shoulders equalling *c.* one-fifth of the total height). While overall rather flat in appearance, it is characterised by clear outlines emphasising its female features: with well-modelled breasts, a slightly curving outline of the lower part of

the trunk with a relatively slim waist, 'fleshy' thighs and large buttocks. The smooth abdomen and the grooved sides of the pubic triangle all emphasise the plasticity of the area and contribute to the female character of the figure.

The closest parallel is a small figurine of unknown provenance now in the National Museum of Western Art in Tokyo (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 158, pls 28–30, attributed by Getz-Preziosi to the 'Steiner Master'). This is listed with some others in a group attributed to the same sculptor. They share a number of features, such as the large and broad-cheeked face, the triangular nose, the upper torso with rounded shoulders, the right forearm extending as far as the left elbow and slightly beyond the side of the figurine, the accentuated waist, the prominent upper part of the broad thighs which are denoted by deep grooves. They share also some features of the back, mainly at the neck, as well as a lack of angular contours. Among the figurines of the group attributed to the Steiner Master by Getz-Preziosi is one, said to come from Naxos (Zapheiropoulou 1979, 532, 534, 538; Getz-Preziosi 1987, pl. 28.2), with some features related to those found on the figurines mentioned above. These include the treatment of the neck in front and behind, as well as the prominent upper part of the thighs denoted by deep grooves and the relatively gentle curvaceous outlines. Beyond these two figurines – in Tokyo and from Naxos – some others included in the group attributed to the Steiner Master present features close to those on the sculpture from Kavos. A large figure 'that can easily be qualified as a statue' (Doumas 2000, 155) in the N.P. Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art – with a possible provenance of Keros – seems similar at the upper torso, with very well modelled breasts, and a similar position of the arms. Similarities in the lower part include the prominent tops of the thighs denoted by grooves, the separated calves and the separated feet joined at the ankles. The neck and the flat back are are also similar. Another figurine in the same museum, with a possible provenance from the Kouphonisia (Doumas 1968, 137; Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2007, 119) and a small figurine (Doumas 2000, 145) with possible provenance of Naxos, whose head has a similar lyre shape (Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2007, 124–5) seems planned according to the same concept as the Kavos figure. Note that the Kavos figure is very straight in profile, and with only limited relief modelling, and in this respect it is close only to the 'latest' of the works attributed to the Steiner Master (Getz-Preziosi 1987, pl. 29.6); and could be compared also to the largest of the works attributed to the Naxos Museum Master (Getz–Preziosi 1987, pl. 32.11).

According to Hendrix (2003), the Kavos Keros marble sculpture appears to be enriched with painted patterns (Fig. 22.11; Hendrix 2003, 412 fig. 4): fine horizontal band at the top of the crown, at the upper part of the forehead, almond shaped motifs without central dots (i.e. 'non anatomical' eyes), on either side of the nose, a small eye with lashes above the left 'non anatomical' eye, a set of two similar indications in the chin region and four with central dots - three on the throat and a large one on the belly. On the upper part of the left thigh there appears also a vertical zigzag and a narrow strip set at an angle.

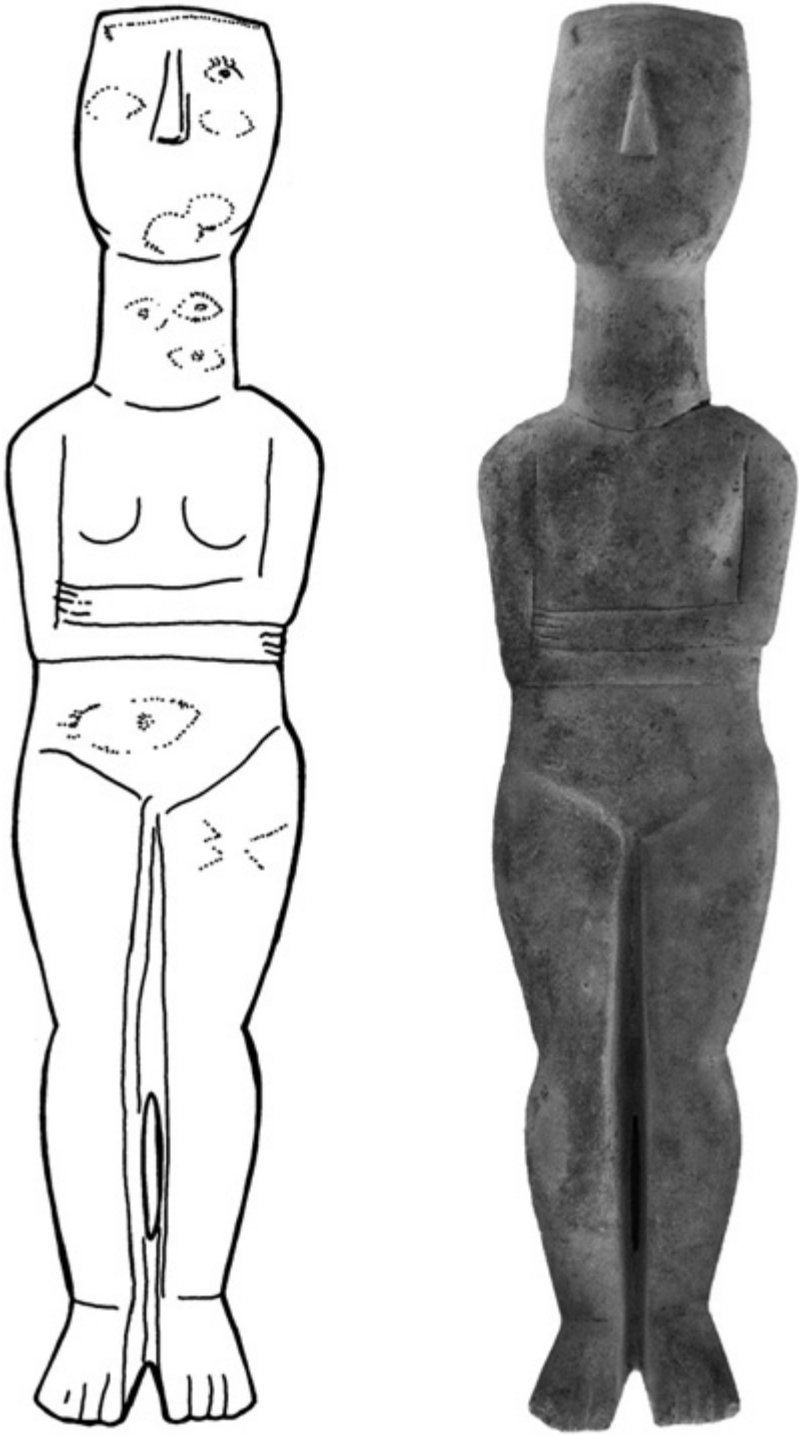


Fig. 22.11 NM4181. Possible paint ghosts. Surface tones enhanced on the photo on the right. Drawing (left) after Hendrix (2003, fig. 4).

For the paint motifs applied to the sculpture, after much discussion, Hendrix has concluded that perhaps these motifs were the expression of a common identity for a group of people living in the Cyclades. For me however this need not imply rejection of the hypothesis that all these paint motifs are related to beliefs concerning the afterlife and appropriate reverence for the dead.

The complete sculpture from the Special Deposit North at Kavos is characterised by its well-balanced proportions and by its curvaceous outlines. When compared with the works mentioned above, it can qualify as one of the most harmonious of the sculptures of the Spedos variety. The inspired artist who created it introduced new elements, finding a balance between the sculptural detail of the old technique and the abstraction that characterises the later period. It can perhaps be assigned to a middle phase in the development of the Spedos variety, or perhaps as transitional between a middle and late stage. Rather than assigning it to one of the 'sculptors' or 'sub-varieties' hitherto recognised or defined, it may better be designated as the 'Kavos-Keros statue' (NM4181).

The circumstance that many of its features are found also on other sculptures of the Spedos variety, without its being easy to ascribe them all to the same artist, need not imply rejection of the hypothesis that there may well have been groups of sculptors who worked together in ateliers, developing styles characteristic of their own groups and working according to their own personal inspiration. Getz-Preziosi, commenting on the Spedos variety, herself distinguishes two groups of sculptures and writes: 'To the "early" Spedos group belong both figures with a straight profile and a pubic region marked by raised thigh-tops … as well as figures with a strongly curving outline and accented profile axis, relatively narrow waist …' (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 16). In accepting this comment it may not be easy to ascribe these two tendencies to only one artist or more individual artists: it is certainly easier to ascribe them instead to an atelier with several artists.

The activities of these workshops could not have been undertaken very far away from the raw material: the marble, which is so abundant in Naxos, the large island that dominates the area of Keros, the Kouphonisia and the other Lesser Cyclades. Amorgos, the other large island to the east, is marble-poor and the known figurines said to come from there are quite different in conception and in modelling – more rounded, emphasised by the ovoid face and the nearly juvenile contours – as for instance the *c.* 1.50m high figure now in the National Museum of Athens (Zervos 1957, fig. 297; Papathanassopoulos 1981,

193, pl. 111). It should also be noted that the works discussed here all come (or are said to have come) from the islands of Naxos, the Kouphonisia, and Keros, this last being one of the most important sites of the Aegean early bronze age (EBA II), and very possibly a flourishing 'holy' centre for the Early Cycladic world during the developed early bronze age.

Acknowledgements
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* Editorial note: The sculpture discussed here comes from the looted area on the west coast of the island of Keros facing the islet of Dhaskalio. 'Dhaskalio Kavos' (Κάβος Δασκαλιού) is simply designated 'Kavos' in other contributions to this volume (eds).

23

SELECTED SCULPTURAL FRAGMENTS FROM THE SPECIAL DEPOSIT NORTH AT KAVOS ON KEROS

Peggy Sotirakopoulou, Colin Renfrew and Michael J. Boyd

Introduction

Following the extensive looting at Kavos on Keros in the years before 1963 (see Sotirakopoulou 2005), systematic work was undertaken there by Christos Doumas (1964) and by Photeini Zapheiropoulou and Kostas Tsakos (Zapheiropoulou 1968a; 1968b). Subsequent work was undertaken there in 1987 (Renfrew *et a*l. 2007a). All the material then recovered is now curated in the Naxos Museum. The excavations of the Cambridge Keros Project at Kavos from 2006 to 2008 brought to light the Special Deposit South at Kavos (Renfrew *et al.* 2007b; 2009) and documented its position in relation to the looted area to the north, which was then designated the 'Special Deposit North'.

The excavations of the Cambridge Keros Project are now in course of publication (Renfrew *et al.* 2013; 2015), and it is there that the material from the Special Deposit South will be presented (Renfrew & Boyd forthcoming; see also Renfrew & Boyd, this volume, Chapter 26). With the kind permission of Doumas and Zapheiropoulou the marble sculptures from the Special Deposit North, nearly all fragmentary, are now undergoing study by the present authors (Renfrew *et al.* in prep.). Here some individual pieces have been selected for preliminary publication, which it is hoped may contribute to the understanding of the sculptures recovered from the sanctuary at Kavos.

Background

The settlement at Dhaskalio and the two special deposits at Kavos have already been discussed at some length (Renfrew *et al.* 2013; 2015). Work at the Special Deposit North has been reviewed (Renfrew *et al.* 2007a), and its pottery further discussed (Sotirakopoulou 2004). Here attention is focussed specifically upon the sculptural material recovered during the controlled excavations of 1963 and subsequently. There is no doubt that much fragmentary sculptural material and probably several less-fragmentary sculptures were removed during the looting in the years prior to 1963, and Chatzi-Vallianou (1975) reports that the area continued to be looted after that time despite previous excavations. Some of these finds probably formed part of the Erlenmeyer Collection, subsequently dispersed at auction at Sotheby's in London, and others may have passed through the hands of the dealer Koutoulakis (Getz-Gentle 2008a). A significant proportion of the Early Cycladic material which appeared on the international market in illicit antiquities in the 1950s and subsequently may have derived from the looting of the Special Deposit North at Kavos. The matter has been reviewed by Sotirakopoulou (2005). However all such material inescapably lacks a secure provenance. Any specific looted piece for which a provenance of Kavos on Keros may be proposed inevitably had its context of discovery irretrievably lost during the looting process, and in consequence, that provenance must be in doubt. A rare and notable exception is offered by some pieces formerly in the Erlenmeyer Collection and now in the N.P. Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art where it has been possible to establish joins with pieces from the documented excavations at Kavos now curated in the Naxos Museum (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 319–21).

The publication of the material from the systematic excavations at Kavos has the merit of documenting pieces whose authenticity may be considered as well established. This is an important point, for since at least the 1930s replicas (forgeries) of Early Cycladic sculptures have been produced for financial gain to deceive collectors (Marthari 2001). Many private collections and public museums contain unprovenanced pieces, of which a significant proportion may be inauthentic – i.e. fakes (see Renfrew, this volume, Chapter 1). There is at present no reliable way of identifying skilful fakes, although less competent imitations can often be identified.

The material reported here from the Special Deposit North does indeed all come from an archaeological context of discovery, a matter

of considerable importance, even though none of the pieces discussed here comes from an entirely undisturbed archaeological stratification providing secure associated material found within an intact stratigraphic sequence. It should be recognised that these pieces are in general those which were recovered after the looting episodes which took place in the years before 1963 and also subsequently, having been overlooked by the looters during the considerable disturbance arising from the destruction of the archaeological site in those years. The later excavations at the Special Deposit South, which was undisturbed by looters, have offered clear indications of its original mode of use. They give an indispensable point of reference for the finds from the Special Deposit North, although the two special deposits may have differed in several respects.

In the Special Deposit South every sculpture recovered (with the exception of a few small schematic figurines) was found in fragmentary condition. Moreover the fragments did not join together, after excavation, to form complete sculptures. It was concluded (Renfrew *et al.* 2015) that the sculptures had been deliberately broken, in the early bronze age, prior to their deposition, and that this breakage had taken place elsewhere, on other islands. The material recovered had been deliberately broken elsewhere, presumably in a ritual context, and was deposited with other material (broken pottery, broken marble vessels etc.) in the course of rituals of a periodic nature performed at Kavos. Such ritual deposition began in the time of the Keros-Syros culture (Early Cycladic II, and specifically during Phase A at Dhaskalio) and continued although with reduced frequency until the end of the early bronze age (Dhaskalio Phase C). It may be inferred that much of the sculptural material recovered in the Special Deposit North during the excavations of Doumas and Zapheiropoulou was deposited in similar circumstances and was already in fragmentary condition at the time of deposition. However it may be that some of the material found in the Special Deposit North, unlike that from the Special Deposit South, was broken there, at that location, and later recovered by looters *in situ*. That is difficult to establish now for the sculptures, but may be open to examination and consideration for the marble vessel fragments from the Special Deposit North conserved in the Naxos Archaeological Museum, which seem to have been less extensively looted than the sculptures. It is also possible that some complete or only partially damaged sculptures were taken by looters from the Special Deposit North. If so, the Special Deposit North would differ from the Special Deposit South in this respect. This possibility is now very difficult to assess.

In this preliminary article we shall address two themes. The first is the presence in the Special Deposit North of fragments of sculptures which were, before breakage, larger than any of those which have been recovered during excavations in the Early Cycladic cemeteries and settlements. The second is the recognition, in the fragmentary material recovered, of canonical folded-arm figurines of two sub-varieties which have already been recognised elsewhere. The first of these we shall term the Akrotiri sub-variety, after the site of Akrotiri on Thera, which relates closely to figurines, mainly unprovenanced, which have been designated by Getz-Preziosi (1987a, 162–3; Getz-Gentle 2001, 167–8) as the works of the 'Schuster Master' or 'Schuster Sculptor'. The second sub-variety, termed here the Kavos sub-variety, compares closely with a major series of figurines, again nearly all unprovenanced, which have been designated by Getz-Preziosi (1987a, 159– 61; Getz-Gentle 2001, 161–6) as works of the 'Goulandris Master' or 'Goulandris Sculptor'.

In this paper we shall seek to follow the principle underlying the 'Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context' symposium, that the archaeology of the Early Cyclades should be firmly founded upon discoveries made in the context of archaeological excavation, authorised by the competent authorities, undertaken by professional archaeologists and published by them in adequate detail. For this reason we do not make primary reference to material which derives from the antiquities trade, including the Erlenmeyer Collection and other unprovenanced materials exhibited in the exhibition held at the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe in 1976 (Thimme 1976; Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977) or kept in private collections (Getz-Preziosi 1987b). The critical assessment of the extensive body of material without secure provenance which may have derived from the looted Special Deposit North is a task which has already been initiated (Sotirakopoulou 2005; Getz-Gentle 2008a; 2008b; Papamichelakis & Renfrew 2010), but it is not our primary purpose here. So far as possible the intention here is to restrict the discussion to material currently curated in the Naxos Archaeological Museum whose discovery in the Special Deposit North is archaeologically well documented.

Fragments of large sculptures from the Special Deposit North

During November 2013 a preliminary first selection from the material

from the Special Deposit North at Kavos preserved in the Naxos Archaeological Museum, was undertaken of fragmentary sculptures of the canonical folded-arm form which must originally have been larger in size than those which have been elsewhere recovered from the Early Cycladic cemeteries and settlements. Among these the largest recorded complete folded-arm figure is from Grave 10 at Spedos in Naxos (Stéphanos 1905, 221, top; Zervos 1957, pl. 113; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 114, pl. 46α) and is 587mm in height. The material selected was drawn by Jenny Doole.

Each of the selected pieces was examined and described by the authors. The fragments studied represented in each case only a small portion, always less than one third in length, of the original sculpture when complete. Most of them were of the Spedos variety of the canonical foldedarm figure, since nearly all the recovered fragments in the Special Deposit North of sculpture which were originally large are of this variety.

In order to estimate the original size of the sculpture when complete the procedure was followed which has been applied to the study of the sculptural fragments from the Special Deposit South by Renfrew and Boyd (see Renfrew & Boyd, this volume, Chapter 26). As set out there, the method involves the use of an illustration of a comparable piece (the 'comparandum') from a published archaeological excavation, and the measurement in that illustration both of the original total height and of the length there (as illustrated) of the anatomical element represented by the fragment under study. To the extent that the fragment under study and the comparandum sculpture were closely similar in form, the method can work well, with an error range estimated to be of the order of *c*. 10%. The error may sometimes be larger here, since the comparandum pieces are much smaller than the very large original pieces under study.

The selected pieces come from the more than 270 fragments from the Special Deposit North which are curated in the Naxos Archaeological Museum. Clearly they are the residue that remains after the systematic looting, during which numerous comparable pieces will have been illegally removed. They are listed here in descending order of estimated height of the original sculpture.

Catalogue

NM4160 Upper (or lower) probably right leg of folded-arm figure of Spedos or Kapsala variety (Fig. 23.1). Handed in by Ioannis Simigdalas in 1967 (which may imply that its origin in the Special Deposit South rather than the Special Deposit North cannot be excluded).
Maximum preserved length: 153mm.

Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 148mm.
Estimated original height: perhaps 1245mm
Fragmented vertically, half-preserved, either front or back.
In evaluating this piece, the first issue to consider is whether it is a fragment of upper or lower leg. In the first case this piece would be the lower part of the upper leg approaching the knee. In the second case this would be the lower part of the lower leg approaching the ankle. One observation seems secure from the preserved circumference at the lower break, that the legs were not joined at that point. Moreover the curvature suggests that this is a fragment where the long axis of the section represents the front, or possibly the back, but not the side of the leg. So this observation allows us to say that the piece was separated at and above the knees, or at and above the ankles. On balance, this is likely to be the front of the sculpture. At the lower break on the right (outer) side, at the lowest part, there is preserved the remains of an incision of preserved length only 16mm, and what may be the indication of a very slight widening, now damaged: these features could be indicative of the position of the knee.

Size comparisons indicate that if this were the lower leg, the original height might be in excess of 2000mm, whereas if this is from the upper leg, the original height would be less than 1700mm.

Note that seen from the front the complete half circumference is preserved from the lower break for a distance of about 50mm, at the inferred inside of the leg, and the fragment should be oriented so that this represents the vertical axis.

The thickness at the upper break is 40mm and the width here 97mm. The thickness at the lower break is 49mm and the width here is 78mm. The width close to the lower break, with the piece correctly oriented, is 81mm.

A range of size comparisons were undertaken for this piece, using the width at the lower break, and testing both hypotheses (of upper or lower leg). The range of results where seen as part of an upper leg lies between 1179mm and 1717mm. The equivalent range where seen as part of a lower leg lies between 1577m and 2233mm.

When considering whether this is just above the knee or just above the ankle, the comparandum result, if near the ankle, of greater than 2000mm, seems ambitiously high, and if for that reason only the comparandum calculations situating this as just above the knee, resulting in heights of 1717mm, 1563mm, 1179mm or 1245mm, seems less improbable. The piece seemed most similar to NM4181 (from the Special Deposit North, this volume, chapter 22): comparison with this piece gave the preferred result of 1245mm.

The conclusion that this piece represents the lower part of the upper leg almost to the knees, rather than the lower leg almost to the ankles, is supported by the rarity of figurines of the folded-arm type which are not joined at the ankles.

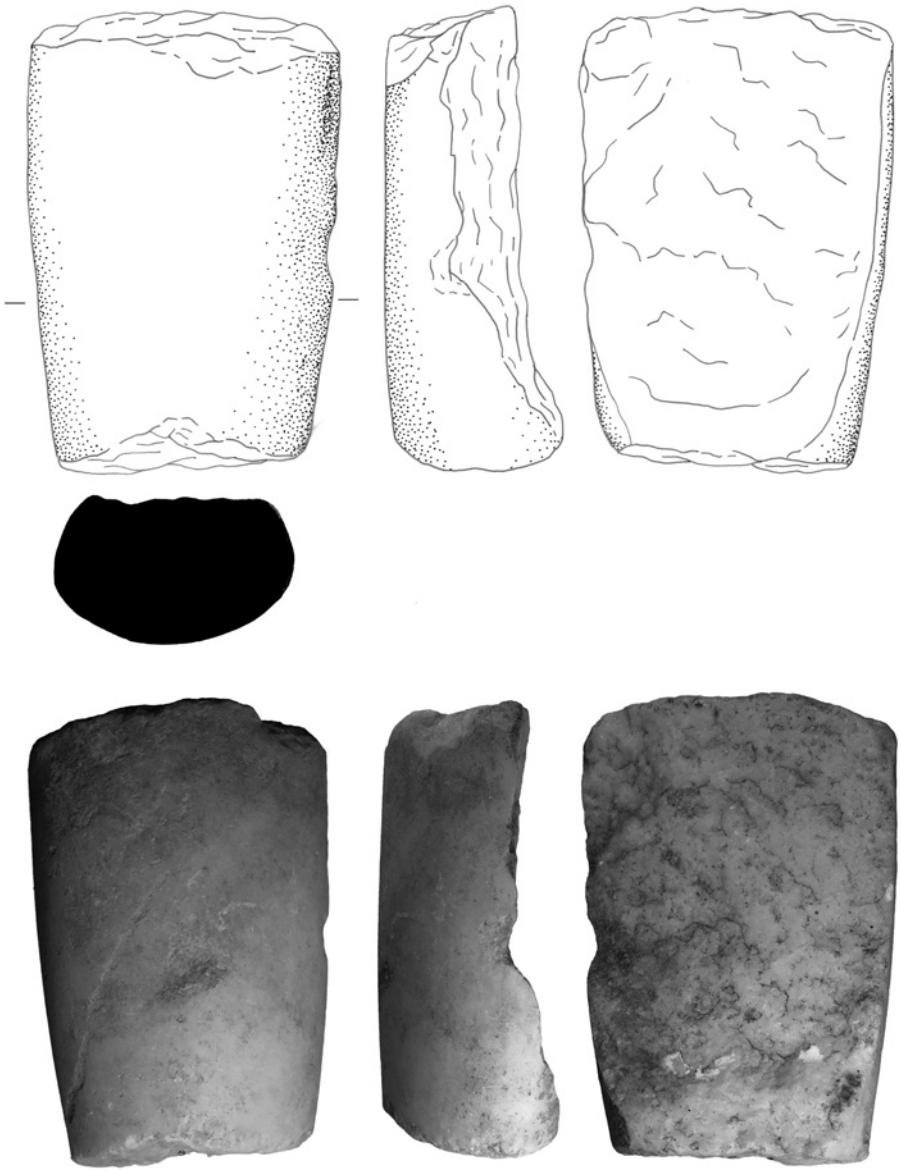

Fig. 23.1 NM4160. Leg of folded-arm figure of Spedos or Kapsala variety. Scale 1:2.

Note on legs joining at the ankles for pre-canonical, Kapsala variety and Spedos variety figurines
With regard to the pre-canonical figurines, only three with a more or less secure provenance have legs joining at the ankles (in fact, nos 2 and 3 below have legs joined all the way up to the groin):

1) Renfrew 1967, pl. 4:29; Sherratt 2000, 32:III.10.1, pls 1-4 (from Kapros grave D – irrespective of the uncertainty as regards the status or the contents of this grave).
2) Marangou 1990b, 147–8, no. 151 (NM162, from Spedos).
3) Philaniotou 2008, fig. 20.23; this volume, chapter 18, Fig. 18.11 (NM9157, from Tsikniades, Naxos).

There are also three 'unprovenanced' pieces illustrated by Getz-Gentle (2001, pls 18, 20, 52).

With regard to the Kapsala variety, three apparently authentic figurines (though not necessarily from known contexts) have no join at the ankles:

1) Getz-Preziosi 1987a, fig. 5d (EAM6140.14, from Naxos).
2) British Museum A20 (Pryce 1928, 10, pl. II: A20; Fitton 1999, 53, figs 41–2).
3) An Aplomata figurine in the Naxos Museum (NM5463; see Fig. 15.12).

There are also three 'unprovenanced' pieces: Getz-Preziosi 1987a, pls 21–2: [5], [6]; Thimme & Preziosi 1977, no. 157.

For the Spedos variety, there is only one Cycladic-type figurine from a secure context: the ivory figurine from Archanes Tholos C is similar, assigned by Sakellarakis to this variety (1972, pl. 285α; 1977, 150–1, fig. 143; Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 704–5, figs 813, 815). This, however, is of a different material and manufactured outside the Cyclades.

There are also two 'unprovenanced' pieces illustrated by Thimme & Preziosi (1977, nos 135, 141).

NM2384 Upper and lower legs of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety (Fig. 23.2).
Recovered by Doumas in 1963 (excavation number 63.16). Maximum preserved length: 190mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 180mm. Estimated original height: 926mm.
Thickness at upper break 68.5mm, width at upper break 102mm. Width at lower break 89mm; thickness at lower break 57mm. The most prominent feature is the knees, indicated by incisions going all around, although stopping at the front before reaching the groove between the legs. The upper leg narrows to the knees, and below the knees the lower leg widens slightly, reaching its maximum width about 40mm below the knee. The grooves at front and back are similar in width and depth: 15mm width and 5mm depth.

This piece represents the knees and legs of a well-finished piece of the Spedos variety at the flatter end of the spectrum of plasticity.

Comparandum: NM4676 (Zapheiropoulou 1980, 534 no.13, pl. 245). Without provenance (confiscated from looters in 1964). Height 588mm.

NM4452 Front of foot of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety (Fig. 23.3).
Recovered by Zapheiropoulou in 1967.
Maximum preserved length: 57mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 40mm.
Estimated original height: 867mm.

Four well-preserved toe incisions, although there is a chip at the first toe. Width at toes 50mm; width at break 42mm; thickness at break 31mm. The toes are separated by clear grooves. Slightly eroded surface. The sole of the foot is very flat. The feet are not joined at the preserved part.

Comparandum: NM4181, from the Special Deposit North, Kavos (Zapheiropoulou 1968a, pl. 334α; 1968b, fig. 1; 1980, 534, no. 8, pl. 240; 2007, 321, figs 3.23, 3.24; this volume, Chapter 22). Height 582mm.

Comment: Using an alternative comparandum, EAM6140.19 from Grave 28 at Phyrroges in Naxos (Zervos 1957, pl. 110; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 138–9, pl. 72α; Marangou 1990b, 152, no. 157: height 198mm), the lesser estimate of 650mm for the original height was obtained.

NM8986 Left upper or lower leg of folded arm figure of Spedos variety (Fig. 23.4).
Recovered by Zapheiropoulou in 1967.
Maximum preserved length: 120mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 110mm. Estimated original height: 882mm.
Broken either above the knee and below the pelvis, or below the knee and above the ankle. If this is a lower leg, it was joined to the other leg at about the knee, and presumably below the

ankle. If this were an upper leg, the upper join is below the pelvis, and the lower join (well below the knees) is not preserved. Maximum width at upper break 72mm; thickness at upper break 74mm; maximum width at lower break 49mm; maximum thickness at lower break 46mm.

The inner leg was carved through on all the length of this piece, and the ridge left by the incisions by saw from the front and from the back is particularly clear at the top of this piece, although it is clear that the piece had been fully sawn through along its entire length. We have regarded this as the left leg because the deep groove separating the legs is usually at the front on comparative pieces, and the flatter surface will be at the front if this is the left leg. At the upper break the groove at the front is 28mm deep and at the rear is 20mm deep. At the lower break the groove at the front is fully 35mm and the groove at the back only 3mm. A point of interest is that the groove at the front is so markedly deep in this piece, while the corresponding groove at the rear is so very shallow, while at the upper break the groove at the back is considerably deeper. The lower break is old; the upper break is also old but there is a recent fracture on part of the upper break surface. Generally good preservation but with some traces of erosion and some pitting in places.

In selecting a comparandum for this piece, it has not been easy to find a large sculpture with so very shallow a groove at the back which has also been completely cut through along the leg. Using NM4691, from the Galanis confiscation (Zapheiropoulou 1980, pl. 238), the groove at the back at the cut-through knee is similarly shallow, whereas toward the ankle it is quite deep. Using NM169 (from Phiondas, this volume, chapter 16), although small, and although the legs are not at any point separated, this piece is similar for the shallowness of the rear groove in comparison with the depth of the front groove between the legs. There is no certainty as to whether this is part of an upper or lower leg. If a lower leg, the calculations indicate the original height would have been of the order of 1100mm. If an upper leg, the original height would have been of the order of 880mm. Taking note of the narrowing of the rear groove, this seems on balance more likely as the upper leg approaching down to the knee, and so the two calculations taking this as part of the upper leg are preferred, leading to an averaged estimate of 882mm. In the circumstances this can only be an approximate measure, which on balance is preferred to the figure of the order of 1100mm when the piece is seen as part of the lower leg.

Fig. 23.2 NM2384. Upper and lower legs of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

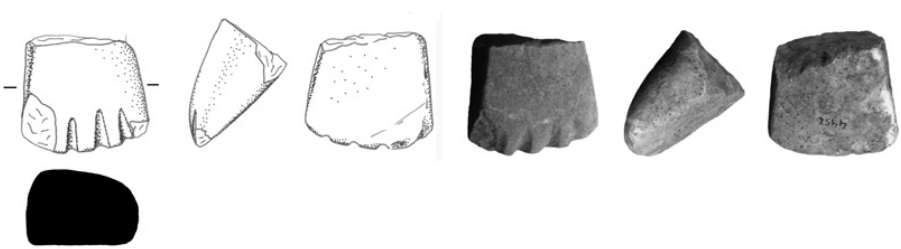

Fig. 23.3 NM4452. Foot of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

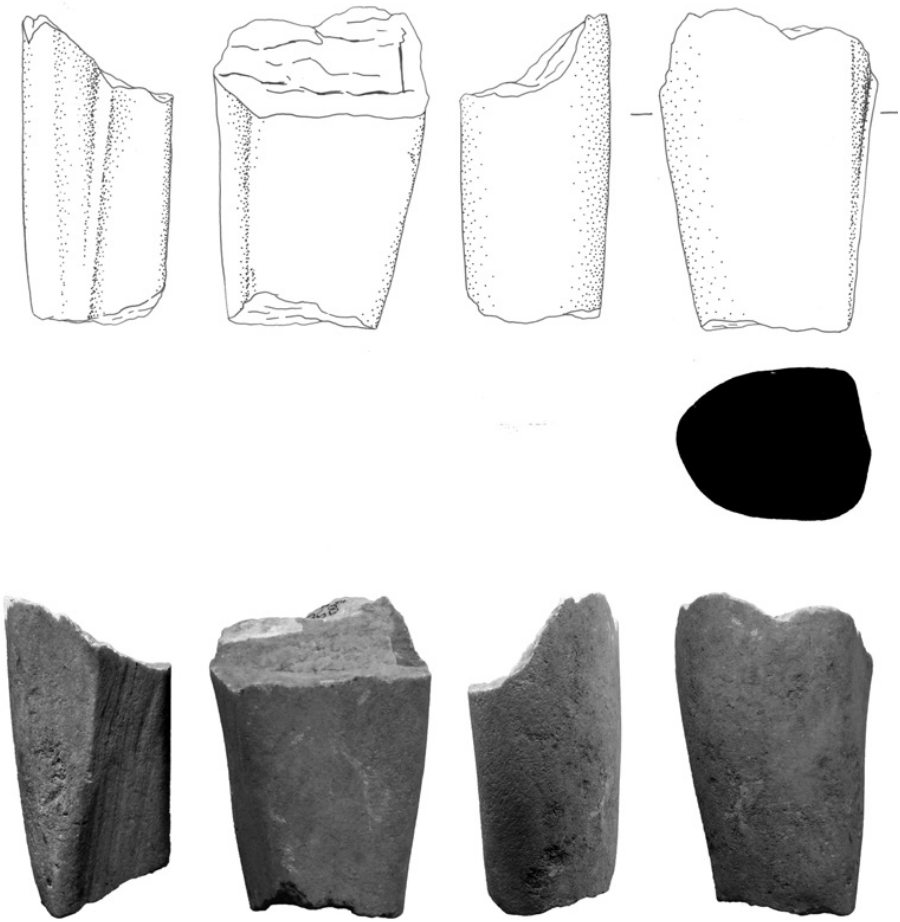

Fig. 23.4 NM8986. Left leg of folded arm figure of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

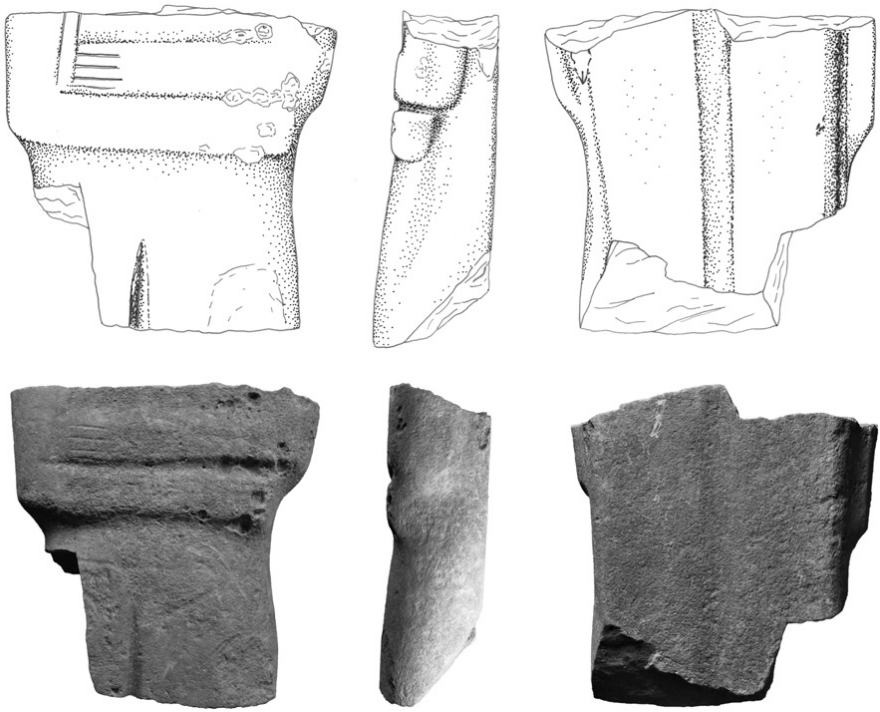

Fig. 23.5 NM4206. Lower torso, waist, pelvis and upper legs of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

NM4206 Lower Torso, waist, pelvis and upper legs of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety (Fig. 23.5).
Recovered by Zapheiropoulou in 1967.
Maximum preserved length: 189mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 141mm. Estimated original height: 794mm.

Lower torso, waist, pelvis and upper legs, preserving arms. The arms are separated by a groove of about 7mm and the lower arms are very straight. The division between the right upper arm and the torso is indicated by a very light incision. The fingers of the left arm are clearly indicated by incisions. Those of the right arm are no longer preserved (although traces of the original incisions are visible). The lower arms are shown only in low relief. The pubic triangle is indicated by a horizontal incision and by two inclined incisions. The waist is not otherwise indicated by incision. The abdomen is short, the distance between the horizontal line of the pubic triangle and the lower arm being 23mm. The groove between the legs begins above the apex of the pubic triangle. The spine is indicated by a notably wide groove (18mm wide and about 3mm deep). The back is very flat. The arms are clearly shown in modelling, being only about 27mm from front to back, while the entire torso is 43mm from front to back (this is very different from those cases where the arms at the back are delineated by incision). The right elbow seen from the rear is about 13mm lower than the left elbow.

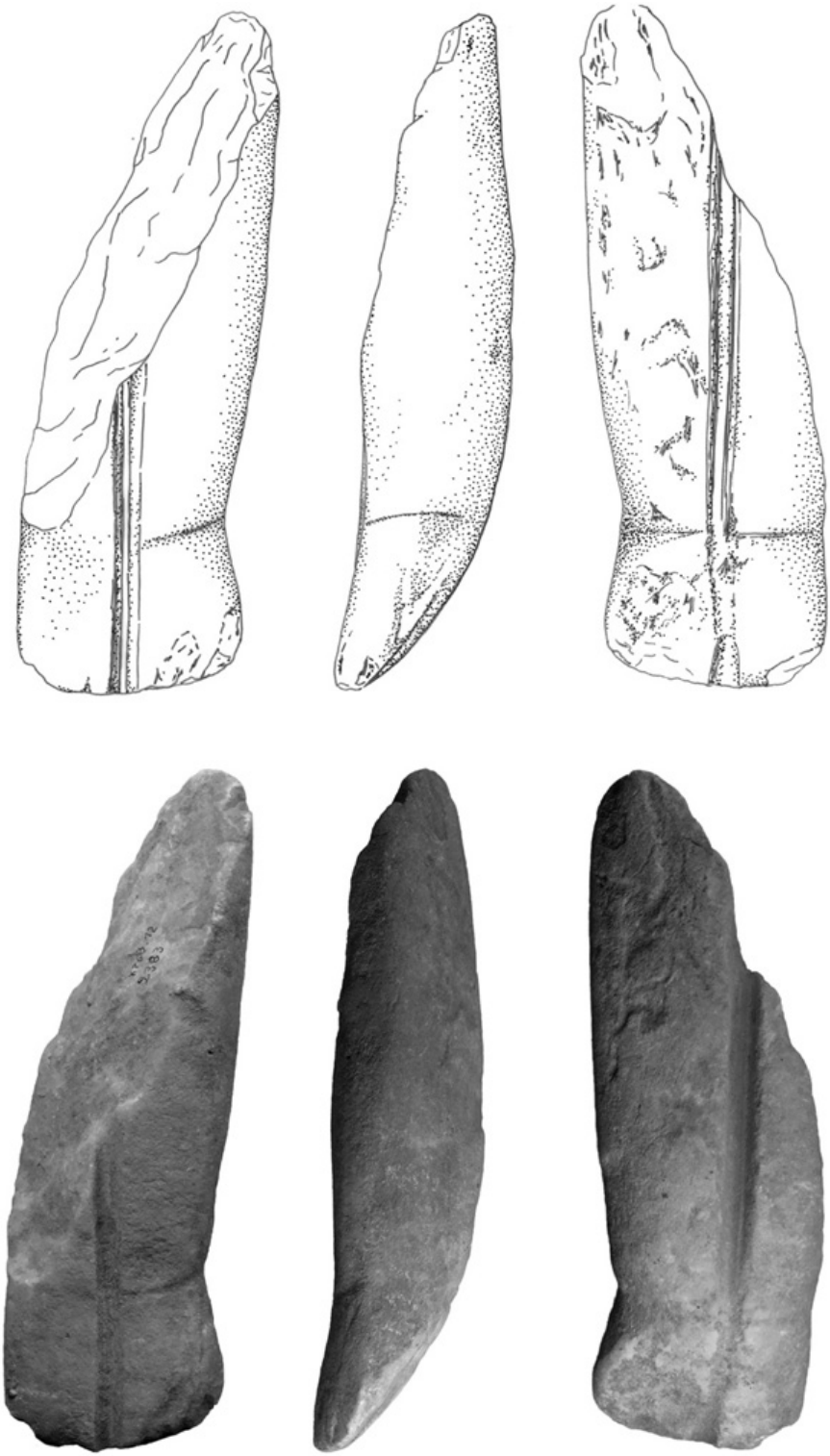

Fig. 23.6 NM2383. Feet and lower legs of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Seen in profile, it is clear how this figure (or the preserved parts at least) has been carved from a single slab of marble whose thickness was not much greater than the preserved thickness of this piece (45mm).

Comparandum: EAM6140.21 from Grave 13 at Spedos in Naxos (Zervos 1957, pl. 114; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 122-3, pl. 54α). Height 396mm.

Comment: A substantial torso fragment which must have been quite difficult to break.

NM2383 Feet and lower legs of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety (Fig. 23.6).
Recovered by Doumas in 1963 (excavation number 63.12). Maximum preserved length: 195mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 190mm. Estimated original height: 780mm.
Broken obliquely, from about left knee to right ankle. A striking characteristic is that the central groove defining the legs continues down to the feet without further separation. The feet are separated by a groove in the front, and by a widening below the ankle, but are otherwise not really separately modelled. At the rear the central groove again continues down to the end of the feet, and the groove distinguishing the feet from the lower leg continues right round. The soles of the feet are a continuation of the lower leg, although separated by the narrow groove at the ankle, and the feet are distinguished only by a change in curvature, rather than by forming a separately distinguished plane. The toes are distinguished by shallow grooves. The left foot splays outward slightly, while the right foot continues in a line from the lower leg.

Comparandum: NM4676 (Zapheiropoulou 1980, 534, no.13, pl. 245). Without provenance (confiscated from looters in 1964). Height 588mm.

NM4278 Left foot of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety (Fig. 23.7).
Recovered by Zapheiropoulou in 1967.
Maximum preserved length: 72mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 63mm. Estimated original height: 755mm.
The join terminates well below the ankle above which the legs were separated. Break at ankle 43mm × 31mm. The toes are distinguished by narrow grooves of length up to 14mm.

Comparandum: NM4677 (Zapheiropoulou 1980, 534, no.12, pl. 244). Without provenance (confiscated from looters in 1964). Height 593mm.

NM4207 Upper torso of a folded arm figure of the Spedos variety (Fig. 23.8).
Recovered by Zapheiropoulou in 1967.
Maximum preserved length: 196mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 178mm.
Estimated original height: 740mm.

Left arm well-preserved, with the hand and fingers of the right arm. The groove for the spine is clear but shallow and goes off-centre, and goes beyond the incisions at right and left delineating the neck. These incisions go over the shoulders but are obscured at the front by the break. Part of the curved incision at the front is preserved together with part of the lowest portion of the neck. The left breast is shown in low relief, adjoining the groove separating the torso from the upper left arm. The lower left arm is delineated above by a straight incision and below by a shallow groove, making a clear space between the two lower arms. The ends of the fingers are separated from the upper right arm by a groove, and the fingers of the left hand are indicated by incisions, as are the fingers of the right hand. At the back the upper arms are clearly distinguished from the torso. The flatness of the piece is very clear in this fragment. The torso gives a very rectanguloid impression.

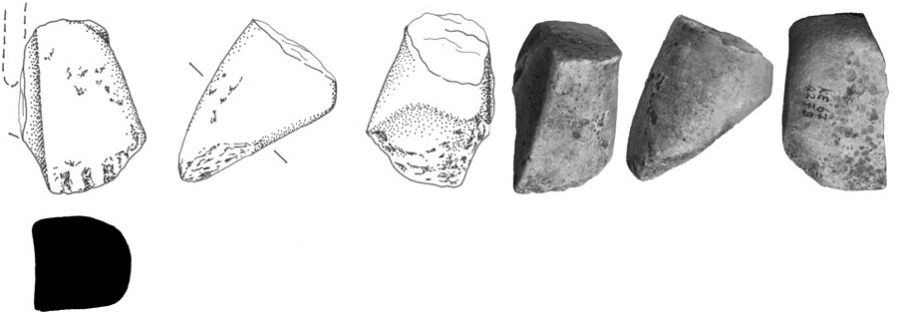

Fig. 23.7 NM4278. Left foot of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

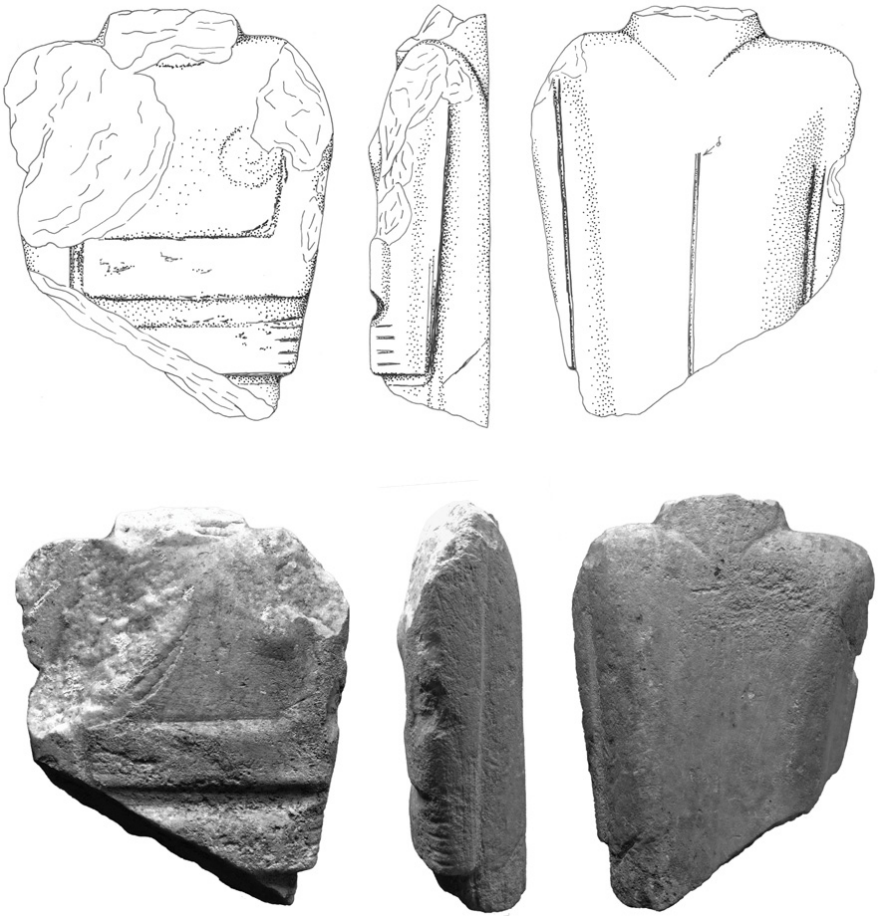

Fig. 23.8 NM4207 Upper torso of a folded arm figure of the Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 23.9 NM4289. Right foot of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Width of base of neck 64.5mm; width of break at neck 55.5mm; thickness at base of neck 40.5mm. Thickness at lower break 56.5mm. Fine tool marks over the left forearm and between the left upper arm and the left breast.

Comparandum: NM4676 (Zapheiropoulou 1980, 534, no. 13, pl. 245). Without provenance (confiscated from looters in 1964). Height 588mm.

Comment: Another large, rectanguloid torso.

NM4289 Right foot of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety (Fig. 23.9).
Recovered by Zapheiropoulou in 1967.
Maximum preserved length: 90.5mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 60mm. Estimated original height: 737mm.
A single break above the ankle. The right foot joined the left foot with a narrow membrane of marble at the ankle and above. The five toes are well preserved and well defined and it is notable that the groove between toes 1 and 2 is 20mm long while the groove between toes 4 and 5 is 11mm long so that the grooves between the toes gradually increase in length. The lower leg and left foot are separated by a groove at the ankle.
Maximum length of sole of foot 77mm.

Comparandum: NM4677 (Zapheiropoulou 1980, 534, no. 12, pl. 244). Without provenance (confiscated from looters in 1964). Height 593mm.

Comment: The alternative comparandum NM4181 from the Special Deposit North (Zapheiropoulou 1968a, pl. 334α; 1968b, fig. 1; 1980, 534, no. 8, pl. 240; 2007, 321, figs

3.23, 3.24; this volume Chapter 22: height 582mm) gives an original preserved height of 728mm.

Discussion

Each of these nine fragments represents a folded-arm figure which, when complete, was probably larger in size than any other folded-arm figure recovered in a controlled excavation. As noted earlier the largest complete figure so recorded is from Tomb 10 at Spedos in Naxos (EAM6195: Stéphanos 1905, 221, top; Zervos 1957, pl. 113; Papathanasopoulos 1962, 114, pl. 46α; height 587mm). The large figure from the Special Deposit North, published by Zapheiropoulou in this volume (Chapter 22), is 582mm in height.

It is worth noting here that several large sculptures, mainly found in rather uncertain circumstances, were documented prior to 1914. As discussed above (Renfrew, this volume, chapter 1) we regard these as likely to be authentic, and so relevant to the discussion. These are:

1. Louvre head 'from Keros' (Ma 2709, MNB 509). Height 270mm. Acquired 1873 (Michon 1929, 255, fig. 5; Marangou 1990a, 167 nos 33–35; Zervos 1957, pls 159–61).
2. Complete figure 'from Amorgos'. Height 1490mm, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (EAM3978). This piece entered the Archaeological Society for Stone Finds on 9th March 1885 (where it had Inventory number 4223) by purchase from Ioannis Palaiologos of Amorgos (Wolters 1891, 47 and note 1; Zervos 1957, pl. 297 and 299).
3. Head 'from Amorgos' in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens (EAM3909). Height 280mm. This piece entered the Archaeological Society for Stone Finds (Inventory Number 4270) by purchase from Ioannis Palaiologos of Amorgos (Wolters 1891, 46–7; first published in *Praktika tis en Athinais Archaeologikis Etaireias* 1888, 62–3, under the heading 'Ἀρχαῖα ἀγορασθέντα'; Zervos 1957, pls 177–8).
4. Complete figure, Ashmolean Museum 'from Amorgos', Oxford (AE 176). Height 759mm. Acquired 1898. (Hogarth 1927, pl. viii a; Sherratt 2000, 155–6: III.7.25, pls 183–6; Zervos 1957, pl. 162).
5. Head 'from Amorgos' in Copenhagen (National Museum 4697). Height 246mm. Acquired 1896 (Renfrew 1969, pl. 8a; Riis *et al.* 1989, 22–3, no. 10).

These are the principal large figures (of original height greater than 750mm) which are well-documented prior to 1914. We do not introduce into the discussion here several large figures acquired on the illicit market after the Second World War, including (a) the large Goulandris figure (Getz-Gentle 2001, pl. 64 c); (b) the large Karlsruhe figure (Getz-Gentle 2001, pl. 64 b); (c) the Bradley Martin head

(Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 279, pl. 199), in view of their lack of secure provenance.

As Galanakis (2013) has pointed out, with the exception of the Louvre head ('from Keros'), the provenance of many of the others ('from Amorgos') may perhaps leave open the possibility of a source for these pieces in the Mikres Kyklades, centred upon Keros. There does remain the possibility that many of these pieces might have been found on Keros itself. That however remains simply a possibility which it would be premature to formulate as a hypothesis.

It should be noted also that were it the case that these mostly fragmentary pieces did all derive from Keros, this would not yet clarify their place of production (nor of fragmentation). For these sculptures were certainly not produced on Keros, where suitable high-grade marble is not available (Dixon & Kinnaird 2013; this volume, chapter 33). The evidence from the excavations at the Special Deposit South suggests that they were not broken at that location.

It cannot be doubted that many fragments comparable to those published here were removed from the Special Deposit North during the looting process. This circumstance makes it difficult to establish now whether or not these sculptures were broken at or near the Special Deposit North during the ritual processes undertaken there during the early bronze age, or whether they were fragmented on other islands and brought already fragmented to Keros. That is the conclusion which has been reached for the fragmentary material recovered from the Special Deposit South. Whether the same conclusion may be inferred for the Special Deposit North, or whether rituals of breakage of a special kind were undertaken there, is currently difficult to determine.

Defining the Akrotiri sub-variety (the 'Schuster Master')

The first listing of a group of taxonomically and stylistically similar sculptures of the sub-variety assigned by her to the 'Schuster Master' was undertaken by Getz-Preziosi (1978, 5–7, figs 7–9) in the aftermath of the exhibition at the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe in 1976. The subvariety was further discussed (Getz-Preziosi 1984, 14–15, figs 12–14), before the publication of more extensive lists (Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 162–3; Getz-Gentle 2001, 167–8). All are canonical folded-arm figures, but, as Getz-Preziosi noted, some seem close to the Spedos variety and some to the Dokathismata variety. Nonetheless they do give the appearance of forming a coherent sub-

group, here regarded as a sub-variety or microstyle.

While acknowledging that the group was first recognised and defined by Getz-Preziosi, it is proposed here to re-name it the 'Akrotiri sub-variety' on the general grounds set out (Renfrew, this volume, Chapter 1) that an appropriate nomenclature for such a taxonomic subclass is the location of the archaeological excavation where a good example was first excavated in context and published. A good example of the sub-variety is afforded by sculpture AKR2684 from the excavations of Spyridon Marinatos at Akrotiri on Thera (Marinatos 1972, 23, pl. 38b; Sotirakopoulou 1998, 140–2, pl. 25). It is here proposed that reference to the unprovenanced example formerly in the collection of a Mme Marion Schuster (Christies 2010, lot 88), and originally the name-piece for this sub-variety (Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 162) should be discontinued. Just two examples in that checklist meet the criteria employed here for inclusion (namely British Museum A16 and NM4186), and they are listed below.

Fig. 23.10 Examples of the Akrotiri sub-variety. Not to scale.

The examples of the Akrotiri sub-variety considered here are (Fig. 23.10):

1. Akrotiri, Thera AKR2684 from the excavations of S. Marinatos (Marinatos 1972, 23, pl. 38b; Sotirakopoulou 1998, 140–2 and pl. 25). Complete. Height 360mm.
2. Special Deposit North, Kavos, NM4186. Published below. Torso. Preserved height 180mm.
3. Special Deposit North, Kavos, NM4187. Published below.

Torso. Preserved height 156mm.
4. British Museum 1854.12-18.23 (Pryce 1928, 8, A 16; Fitton 1989, 50, fig. 59). From head to upper legs. Preserved height 269mm.

Getz-Preziosi (1984, 15) has written of the characteristic features of the style of this form which combines 'the graceful curves of the Spedos variety with the severe angles and often exaggerated shoulder breadth of the Dokathismata variety style'. Among the characteristic features which she notes are 'narrow arms, a rather large pubic triangle bisected at its apex by the beginning of the superficially incised leg-cleft, and on the back a very lightly incised spine, upper arms indicated in a lower plane, and an angular buttock profile'.

In relation to the name-piece, Sotirakopoulou (1998, 142) has written:

These affinities form a long list: the representation of a female figure in an apparently pregnant state, the head with the broad curving top, the long aquiline nose, the neckline which is curving in front and V-shaped on the rear, the narrow arms, the rendering of the left forearm shorter than usual because of the great width of the upper torso, the subtly arching forearms to accent the swelling of the belly, the rather large pubic triangle which is bisected at its apex by the continuation of the leg-cleft, the making of the upper arms much wider on the back than in the front and their separation from the torso by means of wedge-shaped grooves.

Examples of the Akrotiri sub-variety from the Special Deposit North

NM4186 Torso, waist, pelvis and upper legs of folded-arm figure of Dokathismata variety (Fig. 23.11).
Recovered by Zapheiropoulou in 1967.
Maximum preserved length: 196mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 180mm.
Estimation of original height: 359mm.

Splendidly flat torso with a gracefully sinuous profile. The shoulders slope down and are angular at the top of the arms. The upper arms are distinguished from the torso by grooves. The left lower arm is separated from the torso by a marked groove and the two lower arms are separated by a comparable groove. The right lower arm is distinguished from the convex waist (possibly pregnant) by a groove. The pubic triangle is clearly shown by incision and is notably large. The inclining grooves of the pubic triangle meet at an apex and the incision separating the legs extends well beyond this apex into the pubic triangle. The elbows are notably pronounced (right elbow damaged) and the left lower arm rises from the elbow giving at this position the curved appearance of the forearms which is a notable feature of the Akrotiri sub-variety. The lower (right) arm is also lightly curved, although this feature is slightly obscured by the damage to the elbow. The breasts are quite prominent. There appears to be no groove at the front of the neck. At the rear the backbone is shown by a straight, rather shallow incision which extends to the buttocks. These are indicated by the horizontal prominence which is sometimes seen in the Dokathismata variety. The legs are separated at the buttocks by an incision which divides into a broad and deep groove further down. The incisions for the legs and for the back do not quite meet at the buttocks. Seen from the back, the torso is remarkably broad and flat, very slender at the shoulders, curving out gently to the

horizontal line indicating the buttocks. From the rear the arms are notably wide and it is particularly notable that the width of the arm at the shoulder is not much reduced as one goes down to the elbow (in strong contrast with the Kavos sub-variety). On the left upper arm there are a couple of light incisions at the point where the upper arm separates from the back, but the distinction between the arm and back is also made by a thickening of the back. On the right upper arm this phenomenon is repeated but curiously there are three incisions apparently made to create the same effect. From the rear, the left elbow is particularly notable and angular, with the angle between the upper and lower arm being slightly less than 90°. It is of interest that the right and left elbows are at about the same height, whereas on other pieces, following a different convention, the left elbow is notably higher than the right elbow. This circumstance certainly contributes to the upward slope of the left lower arm near the left elbow. Protrusion of breast 3mm.

Note: Plate 40 of Getz-Preziosi (1987a) shows works attributed to the 'Schuster Master' and these in some cases stand close to the Spedos variety, in others to the Dokathismata variety. This piece is very clearly Dokathismata with its straight lines and angular features, whereas the Akrotiri piece stands closer to the Spedos variety. However, in comparing this piece with the Akrotiri name-piece, while there are some similarities, a prominent distinction is that the torso here is much deeper, that is to say, the ratio of the distance from neck to left lower arm divided by the distance between the shoulders is smaller. In this case it is approximately 90/125 = 0.72. In the Akrotiri piece (from the photo) it is 26/80 = 0.325.

Also, seen from the back, there is the noted difference that the parallel-sided upper arms noted for this piece contrast with the markedly-narrowing upper arms of the Akrotiri name-piece, which in that specific respect stands closer to the Kavos sub-variety. On the other hand, the circumstance that the elbows are at approximately the same height is seen both in this piece and in the Akrotiri example.

The curving lower arms are almost a defining feature of the Akrotiri sub-variety and are seen also in this piece. The profiles are also similar although in this piece there is a convex curvature above the buttocks, whereas the Akrotiri name-piece is flatter at this point. This relates to the circumstance that this piece (being close to the Dokathismata variety) is markedly thinner than the Akrotiri name-piece.

It is of note that in this piece, as in many Dokathismata pieces, the ridge indicating the buttocks is at a markedly higher level at the rear than the horizontal incision indicating the top of the pubic triangle at the front.

Measures at break of neck 27 × 16mm; at lower break 50 × 15mm.

Comparandum: Akrotiri AKR2684 (Sotirakopoulou 1998, pl. 25).

NM4187 Torso, waist, pelvis and upper legs of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety (Fig. 23.12).
Recovered by Zapheiropoulou in 1967.
Maximum preserved length: 168mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 156mm.
Estimation of original height: 400mm.

Broken at the torso so that neither shoulder is preserved, nor is the right upper arm. There is also a chip from the left elbow. The figure is broken above the knees and sheared at the front on the left, below the pubic triangle so that the division between the upper legs is scarcely visible. The lower arms show the curvature associated with the Akrotiri sub-variety with the left elbow coming down fairly low, although the right elbow is not preserved and so cannot be compared. The waist is quite large in the vertical dimension, measuring 43mm. The pubic triangle is exceptionally broad, the inclined lines reaching to the left side and to the right side, extending along the whole width of the pelvis. The waist is convex (probably pregnant). There is a groove between the two lower arms. Neither breast is preserved. The groove dividing the upper legs extends slightly across the apex of the pubic triangle, but is not seen further down due to surface damage. The spine is not shown. The groove between the legs extends to the top of the buttocks and stops. The left upper arm is much thinner than the torso. The similarities with the Akrotiri name piece are not very numerous due to the poor condition, but include 1) the light curvature of the lower arms, 2) the line at the bottom of the waist, and 3) the pubic triangle extending almost to the sides of the body. However it should be noted that the distance from lower waist to lower right forearm is proportionally

greater in this case than in the Akrotiri piece. From the rear the proportions are comparable, but this piece lacks the groove indicating the spine. In profile the buttocks are much less prominent here than with the Akrotiri name-piece. In addition, the belly is more convex than in the Akrotiri piece.

Dimensions at upper break 88mm × 40mm; at lower break 50mm × 17mm.

Comparandum: Akrotiri AKR2684 (Sotirakopoulou 1998, pl. 25).

These two pieces, together with AKR2684 and British Museum A 16 may be taken to provide a secure context for the Akrotiri subvariety. Several pieces from the Special Deposit South (Renfrew & Boyd, forthcoming) can be added to this list.

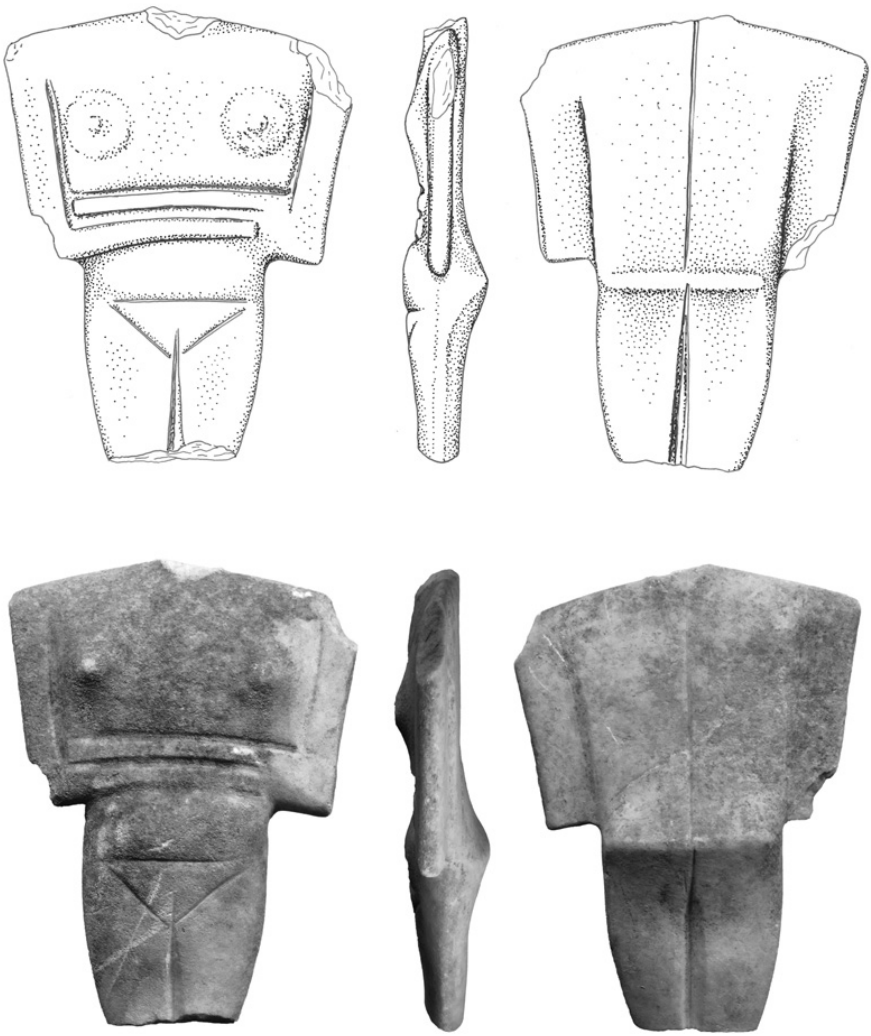

Fig. 23.11 NM4186 Torso, waist, pelvis and upper legs of Akrotiri sub-variety of Dokathismata variety. Scale 1:2.

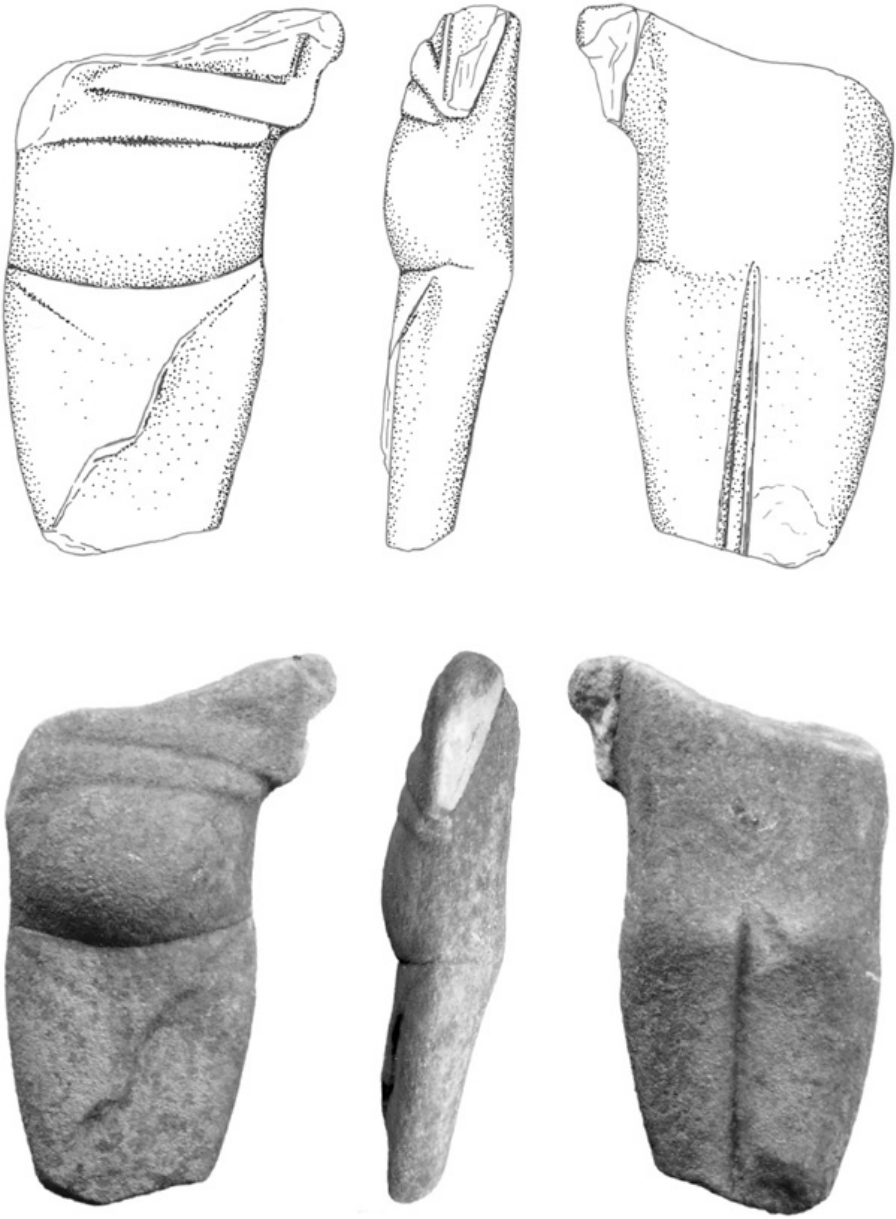

Fig. 23.12 NM4187 Torso, waist, pelvis and upper legs of Akrotiri sub-variety of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Defining the Kavos sub-variety (the ‘Goulandris Master’)

The first sub-variety of the folded-arm figure to be defined and named was the series of figures (of the Spedos variety) assigned in 1977 to the 'Goulandris Master' by Pat Getz-Preziosi (1977, 84). This was an important procedural step. There she stated that eleven nearly complete works and more than forty fragmentary figures could be recognised as by the same hand. However, at that time, only a single piece had been illustrated from a professional excavation, from Grave 23 at Aplomata on Naxos (Kontoleon 1972, pl. 136α), shown only in an oblique view: it has not subsequently been possible to locate this piece in the Naxos Museum, and it remains effectively unpublished.

In her subsequent publications the number of pieces assigned to this sub-variety has risen from 51 (Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 159–61) to 76 (Getz-Gentle 2001, 161–6). But nearly all of these derive from the illicit trade in antiquities, mostly surfacing after 1950. It is still disconcertingly difficult to find any substantially well-preserved example which can be regarded as authentic on the secure basis of an excavation context, or failing that, of a find documented prior to 1914.

This situation initially led one of us (CR) to wonder whether the entire series assigned to the 'Goulandris Master' could be a creation of the later twentieth century, involving forgery on an unprecedented scale. Against this conjecture were the well-published (but recently acquired) pieces in many private collections (see Sotirakopoulou 2005) including three pieces in the Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art (Doumas 1968, 135, no. 281; 121, no. 251 and 127, no. 256), whose style and surface condition gave no explicit grounds for suspicion.

Assessment of the unfortunately fragmentary pieces recovered from the Special Deposit South at Kavos, as well as two, published below here from the Special Deposit North, leads us to suggest that the case for what it is here proposed to term the 'Kavos sub-variety' can responsibly be put forward on the basis of material with a proper archaeological context. We suggest that it is more appropriate to follow the convention of naming the subvariety after a documented findspot than to continue to refer to the 'Goulandris Sculptor'. That it is so difficult to make a really good case for this sub-variety, using wellpreserved examples from secure contexts, is particularly striking. The modest list below of pieces which meet our stated criteria for inclusion is surprisingly short in view of the large number of pieces which has been recognised of this variety.

A further note of caution is needed. The sub-variety was first defined by Getz-Preziosi (1977, 86) largely on the basis of the

proportions of the torso.

In her initial discussion Getz Preziosi (1977) considers the system of proportions employed in laying out these sculptures, and seems correct in suggesting that a system of proportionality underlies the character and recognisability of the form.

This group of traits still seems the most persuasive. However we find it difficult to make ascriptions to this sub-variety on the basis only of a head or just of feet, although we do acknowledge that Getz-Preziosi has shown that the heads of these sculptures, and indeed the feet, are consistently similar. We wish to acknowledge here the acuity of Pat Getz-Preziosi, now Getz-Gentle, in recognising and defining this sub-variety, and in searching out further examples (Figs 23.13 and 23.14).

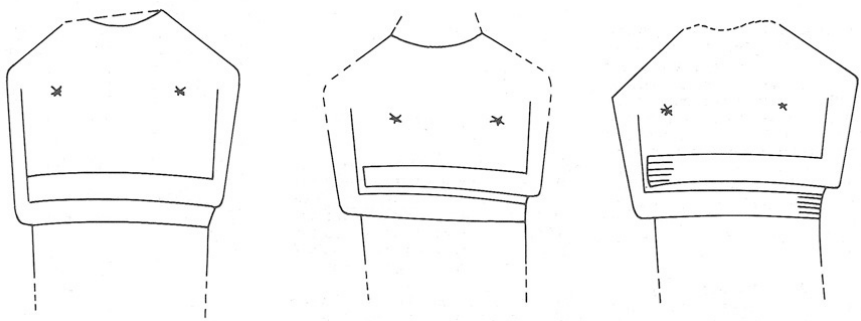

Fig. 23.13 Outlines of torsos of the Goulandris Master (after Getz-Preziosi 1977, 86, fig. 72). Note that these three torsos are without archaeological context.

Fig. 23.14 Examples of the Kavos sub-variety. Not to scale.

1. Kavos, Special Deposit North, NM2375, from the excavations

of Doumas in 1963 (excavation number 63.52). Torso. Height 90mm. Published below.

2. Kavos, Special Deposit North, NM4193, from the excavations of Zapheiropoulou in 1967. Torso. Height 113mm. Published below.

3. Aplomata Grave 23, Naxos. NM5800 (Kontoleon 1972, pl. 136α). Complete. Height 352mm. (It has not been possible to locate this piece in the Naxos Museum).

4. British Museum 84.12–13.6 (Pryce 1928, 10, A 22; Fitton 1989, 65, fig. 82). 'From Amorgos'. Donated by J.T. Bent. Torso. Height 163mm.

5. National Museum, EAM5390 (Getz-Gentle 2001, pl. 73, a1), 'from Naxos'. Torso. Height 150mm. Confiscated in Naxos together with three others (EAM5387, EAM5388 and EAM5389) and sent to the National Museum with document 3248 of the Ministry, dated 26 April 1901.

6. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Reg. 57.22 (Caubet *et al.* 2013, 72, fig. 2). 'Purchased in Paros'. Donated by F. Lenormant 1859. Complete. Height 390 mm. Not illustrated.

Getz-Preziosi (1984, 14) has outlined the characteristic features of this sculptor's classic sub-variety as: 'Markedly sloping shoulders; small widely-spaced breasts; rather narrow arms; a horizontal abdominal groove to which slanting inguinal lines are connected, forming a small pubic triangle; rounded profile contours; convex back with oblique grooves at the neck that do not meet; and the absence of any indication of a spine'.

Examples of the Kavos sub-variety from the Special Deposit North

NM2375. Torso of the Kavos sub-variety of the Spedos variety (Fig. 23.15). Keros excavation number 63.52.

Maximum preserved length: 127mm.

Maximums preserved length along vertical axis: 90mm. Estimation of original height: 519mm.

The name-piece of the Kavos sub-variety. The torso is broken below the neck and above the arms, preserving the breasts and the two upper arms.

These are the principal features seen from the front. The upper arms are divided from the torso by a clear groove, but are also modelled, so that they are substantially thinner than the torso. From the rear the salient feature is that there is no indication of the spine. The rear upper arms are clearly indicated by grooves. Again the arms are thinner than the torso and so are distinguished by modelling as well as by the grooves. At the fracture above the arms the section is clearly lentoid rather than rectangular in shape.

The upper arms are substantially wider at the back than at the front, where they appear notably slender. The breasts are indicated in low relief. The surface is considerably eroded.

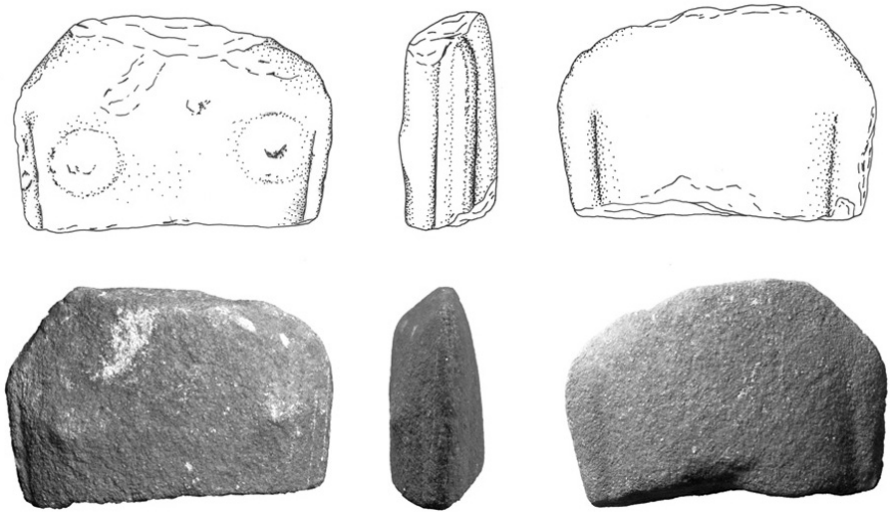

Fig. 23.15 NM2375. Torso of the Kavos sub-variety of the Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Width at lower break 113mm; thickness 34mm. Width at upper break 65mm, thickness 27mm. Maximum thickness of torso 37.5mm.

The features which make this piece closely resemble other pieces assigned by Getz-Preziosi to the Goulandris Master or Sculptor are 1) the sloping shoulders, 2) the general modelling of the front, 3) the wide spacing of the breasts, 4) the lack of spine at the rear, 5) the general treatment of the arms.

Comparandum: in the absence of a complete example from an excavation context, the comparandum used is NM4675 (Zapheiropoulou 1980, 534: no. 11, pl. 243), a complete piece recovered from looters in 1964. Height 390mm.

NM4193 Torso of the Kavos sub-variety of the Spedos variety (Fig. 23.16).
Recovered by Zapheiropoulou in 1967.
Maximum preserved height: 114mm.
Maximum preserved length along vertical axis: 113mm. Estimate of original height: 508mm

Torso and left arm with part of the right upper arm. Front only, since the piece is sheared and the back is not preserved. The right shoulder is badly damaged and the piece, as well as being sheared, is in poor condition. The breasts are difficult to discern. The piece has however been selected for special note since, despite its poor condition, it shares several defining features of the Kavos sub-variety, specifically 1) sloping shoulders, 2) slender upper arms, 3) broad expanse of torso with breasts lightly shown (in this case not clearly evident), 4) the lower arm notably wider than the upper arm.

Width at middle of upper arms 111mm. Width at lower break 95mm. Width of left upper arm 9mm; of left lower arm 13mm.

Comparandum: NM4675, as preceding.
A further piece related to the preceding two and to the Kavos sub-variety is:

NM2374 Neck, torso and waist of figure of the Spedos variety (Fig. 23.17)
Recovered by Doumas in 1963 (excavation number 63.4).
Maximum preserved length: 136.5mm.
Maximum preserved length along vertical axis: 136.5mm.
Estimate of original height: 529mm.

The piece has sloping shoulders. It has upper arms which are markedly more slender than the lower arms. However it differs somewhat from the Kavos sub-variety in having less space between the bottom of the neck and the left arm than is usual in the Kavos sub-variety (see,

however, Getz-Preziosi 1987a, pl. 34: 1, 22, which is similar), and there is a marked separation between the right and left lower arms, which is an uncommon feature in the figurines described by Getz-Preziosi as the work of the 'Goulandris Sculptor', although a feature seen in some so assigned by her. We note also that the lower arms are well-modelled in low relief (this is also a feature sometimes seen in the works of her 'Goulandris Master or Sculptor'; see Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 103–4; Getz-Gentle 2001, pls 74d, 75 a–b), whereas the upper arms are not, separated by a groove from the torso. The waist is clear, delimited at the top by the lower right arm, and below by an incision which is visible here at the right side, although the preservation here does not allow the indication of the side of the pubic triangle. At the back the spine is not shown (a characteristic of the works of her 'Goulandris Master or Sculptor' and sometimes of those of her 'Bastis Master or Sculptor' too). The upper arms are thin, as shown by the modelling, whereas the curvature of the back leads to greater thickness (the curvature of the back is a characteristic of the works of both her 'Goulandris Master' and 'Bastis Master'). It is notable from the rear that the left elbow is much higher than the right elbow, which is a usual feature of the 'Goulandris Master' (and of the 'Bastis Master' too). The break at the bottom of the waist is again lentoid in section. The fingers are not indicated by incision (which, according to her, is also a usual feature of her 'Goulandris Master' and sometimes of the 'Bastis Master' too). The breasts are clearly indicated and widely spaced. In this piece the right breast is markedly higher than the left breast, whereas the opposite is sometimes the case with examples assigned to the 'Goulandris Master' (but sometimes the positioning is similar to that of our NM2374; compare, for example, with the figurines illustrated in Getz-Gentle 2001, pls 73: b1, c1, and 74: a1). From the back the upper arms narrow towards the elbow, giving a triangular impression, whereas in many folded-arm figures the upper arms are more or less parallel from the back (but in many of the 'Goulandris Master' figurines the triangular impression of the upper arms at the back is indeed evident; see, for example, Getz-Preziosi 1987a, pl. 37). The neck is delimited from the torso by a groove at the front. The groove continues downward at the back, meeting in a V at the base of the neck.

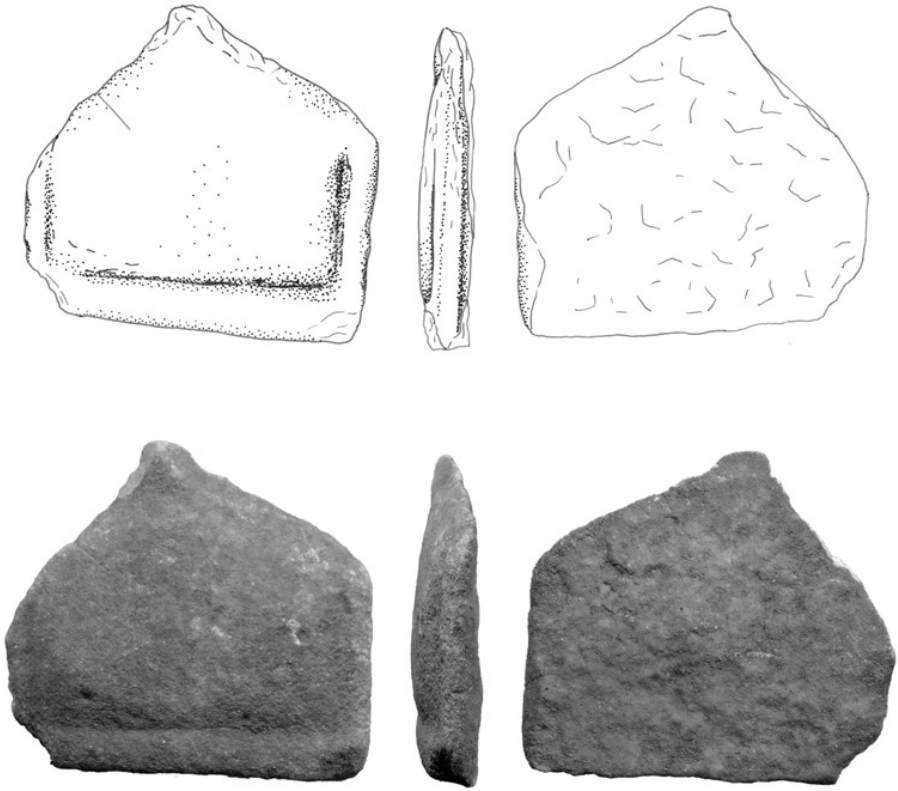

Fig. 23.16 NM4193. Torso of the Kavos sub-variety of the Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Distance from base of neck to right lower arm 41.5mm. Dimensions at upper break 37mm × 40mm; at lower break 42 × 86mm.

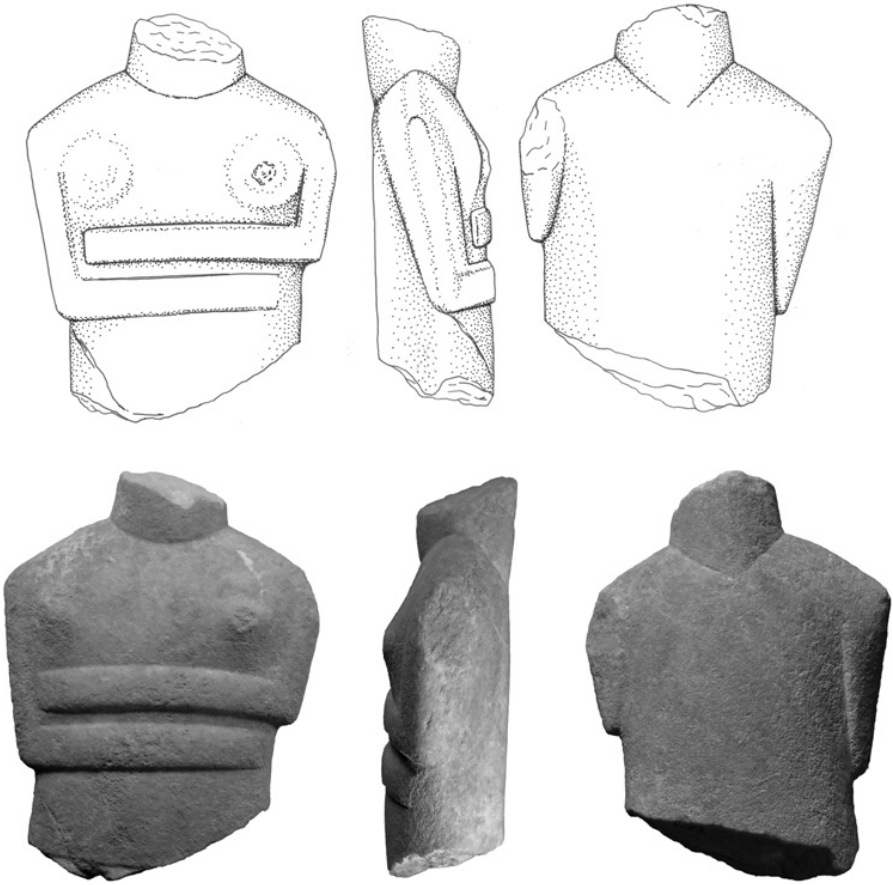

Fig. 23.17 NM2374 Neck, torso and waist of figure of the Spedos variety. Scale 1:2

This piece was originally selected for discussion on account of its similarities with the Kavos sub-variety, although the treatment of the arms at the front is rather different. However when looking for size parallels we found the closest comparandum to be a piece classified by Getz-Preziosi (1987a, pl.38. no.3) as the work of the 'Bastis Master' (however, the space between the lower arms is much wider there, and the closest comparanda with regard to this feature are found on some of her 'Goulandris Master' figurines: see Getz-Preziosi 1987a, pl. 35: 21, 26, 28) and noted also that she illustrates two pieces from Phiondas as being the work of the 'Bastis Master'. The conclusion drawn from the above comments is that the figurines of Getz-Preziosi's 'Goulandris Master' and of her 'Bastis Master' are so similar that they can be considered with reason the works of closely related 'workshops' or 'traditions'. The close similarities between the figurines of these two 'Masters' have indeed been pointed out by Getz-Preziosi herself (1987a, 110, 112), who finally reaches the conclusion that 'these were compatriots in touch with each other' or even brothers.
Comparandum: NM166, reportedly from Phiondas, delivered to Professor N. Kontoleon, 1948; see Legaki, this volume, chapter 16; also Amandry (1949, 533).

The most striking feature of the examples offered here to substantiate (in terms of pieces documented from archaeological contexts) the validity of the Kavos subvariety is the difficulty in finding such documented pieces. The few pieces from the Special Deposit South

which will be added to this list (Renfrew & Boyd, forthcoming) are also fragmentary and not well preserved. In no other case, among the sub-varieties proposed by Getz-Preziosi (1987a; Getz-Gentle 2001), are so many examples available for citation which derive from the recent illicit traffic in antiquities (mainly surfacing after the Second World War) against so few from either secure archaeological contexts or from collections documented before 1914.

It may be that significant conclusions are to be drawn from this circumstance. The most robust, as noted earlier, might be to regard all those without context as forgeries. But the modest list of authentic pieces given above now makes us feel able to reject that position.

Acknowledgements

First we thank Professor Christos Doumas and Dr Photeini Zapheiropoulou for kindly inviting us to publish the sculptural fragments from their excavations in the Special Deposit North, and to the then Director of the KA' Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Dr Panagiotis Chatzidakis, for permission to study them in the Naxos Museum. We are grateful to Jenny Doole for making the drawings. We are grateful also to Mrs Vasiliki Chamilothori for her assistance in the Naxos Museum, and to Daphne Lalayannis for her help in various ways. For their assistance in providing us with information about the original acquisition of antiquities now in the National Museum in Athens we are grateful to Dr Katia Manteli, Dr Maria Salta, Dr Giorgos Kavvadias and Mrs Eleni Zosi of the National Museum and to Mrs Dora Vassilikou of the Archaeological Society of Athens.

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24

THE FIGURINE FRAGMENTS RECOVERED FROM THE SPECIAL DEPOSIT NORTH AT KAVOS IN 1987

Colin Renfrew

Introduction

The excavations undertaken at Kavos on Keros in 1987, in what is now termed the Special Deposit North, allowed a more careful evaluation of the area. The material presumably resulting from the large scale looting of the site prior to 1963 has subsequently been considered by Sotirakopoulou (2005: see also Papamichelakis & Renfrew 2010; Getz-Gentle 2008) in a study which indicates the considerable scale of what was lost to scholarship as a result of the looting process. Following the brief sherd collection by Renfrew in 1963 (Renfrew 2007a), and the large-scale recovery programmes by Doumas in 1963 and by Zapheiropoulou and Tsakos in 1967 (Doumas 1964; Zapheiropoulou 1968a; 1968b), a more restricted project was undertaken at Kavos in 1987 by the Inter-University Research Project on Amorgos and Keros (Renfrew *et al.* 2007). This had as its aim a more systematic investigation of the looted area, and a survey of the surrounding area (Whitelaw 2007). It is briefly discussed in the present chapter.

A new project on Keros, from 2006 to 2008, was able to investigate the nearby settlement at Dhaskalio (Renfrew *et al.* 2013; Renfrew, this volume, Chapter 13), and also had the good fortune to locate and explore a second 'special deposit' on Kavos, soon termed the Special Deposit South (Renfrew *et al.* 2015). Some of the figurines recovered from the Special Deposit South are further considered here (this

volume, Chapter 26), and the cylindrical spools or 'pestles' are discussed by Haas-Lebegyev (this volume, Chapter 27).

The intention here, since the figurines from the 1987 project have already been fully published (Renfrew 2007b), is to give simply a brief review of the material. The marble bowls and vessels excavated in 1987 have also been fully published (Voutsaki 2007; Gavalas 2007; this volume, Chapter 25). The marble bowls and vessels recovered earlier, in 1963 and 1967, have been discussed by Devetzi (1992) but remain unpublished. The figurines recovered in the projects of 1963 and 1967 and now in the Naxos Museum are currently under study (Sotirakopoulou, Renfrew & Boyd, this volume, Chapter 23). The pottery recovered in 1987 has been published by Broodbank (2007).

The figurines

During the excavations and surface survey of 1987 a total of 18 fragments of marble folded arm figurines were recovered, and three of schematic figurines of the Apeiranthos type, together with 13 minor or uncertain fragments of marble figurines. These, with the exception of the minor or uncertain fragments (Renfrew 2007b, fig. 7.13), are shown in Figure 24.1–24.3. Here, for economy of space, photographs are omitted; these are given in the original publication (Renfrew 2007b: figs 7.2, 7.4, 7.6, 7.8, 7.10, 7.12, and 7.14).

Systematic study of the breakages (Renfrew 2007c) revealed that most of the breaks were ancient, although there were also several more recent breakages. The inescapable conclusion was that every piece had been broken prior to burial in the early bronze age. The nature and size of the fragments suggested such breakage was not accidental: every figurine was deliberately and systematically broken – smashed to smithereens. The disturbed nature of the deposits did not permit any conclusions about where the breakage had taken place. However the evidence from the excavations subsequently undertaken in the Special Deposit South indicated that there the figurines recovered had been broken at another location or locations, since the pieces could not be in general re-assembled into complete (or even almost complete) sculptures. The fragments of marble bowls and vessels recovered from the Special Deposit South led to the same conclusion: that the fragmentation was deliberate and that it had taken place elsewhere.

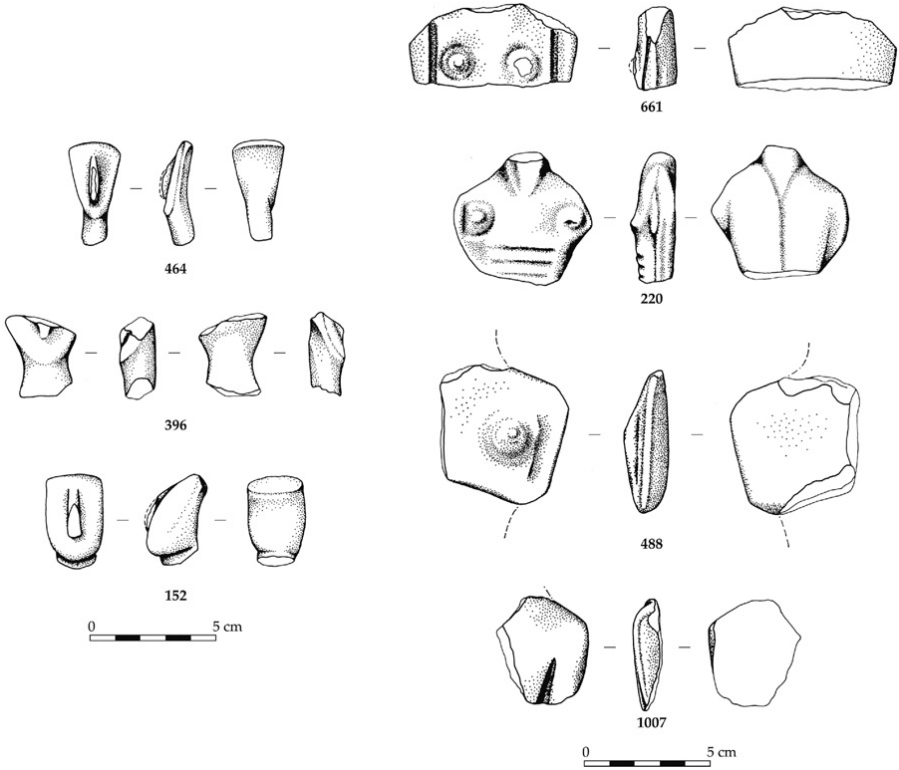

Fig. 24.1 Heads and torsos of figurine fragments from the Special Deposit North, 1987 (after Renfrew 2007, figs 7.1 & 7.3). Scale 1:2.

It remains possible that some complete sculptures were removed from the Special Deposit North during the looting process (see Papamichelakis & Renfrew 2010; Getz-Gentle 2008), although this is now difficult to document. There are indications that some restorable marble bowls and basins were recovered there in 1963 and 1967: these await further study in the Naxos Museum (Gavalas, this volume, chapter 25).That might imply that these pieces were broken at this location, at Kavos, in the vicinity of the Special Deposit North. However it remains clear that the material in the Special Deposit South was broken elsewhere: that may be the case for the bulk of the material in the Special Deposit North also. Study of the pottery from the Special Deposit South (Sotirakopoulou in prep.) has led to similar conclusions.

Consideration of the excavation evidence from the Special Deposit South at Kavos leads to the conclusion (Renfrew 2013; Renfrew *et al.* 2015) that the depositions undertaken at Kavos were of a ritual nature, and were made by visitors to Keros, coming from other Cycladic islands on periodic visits.

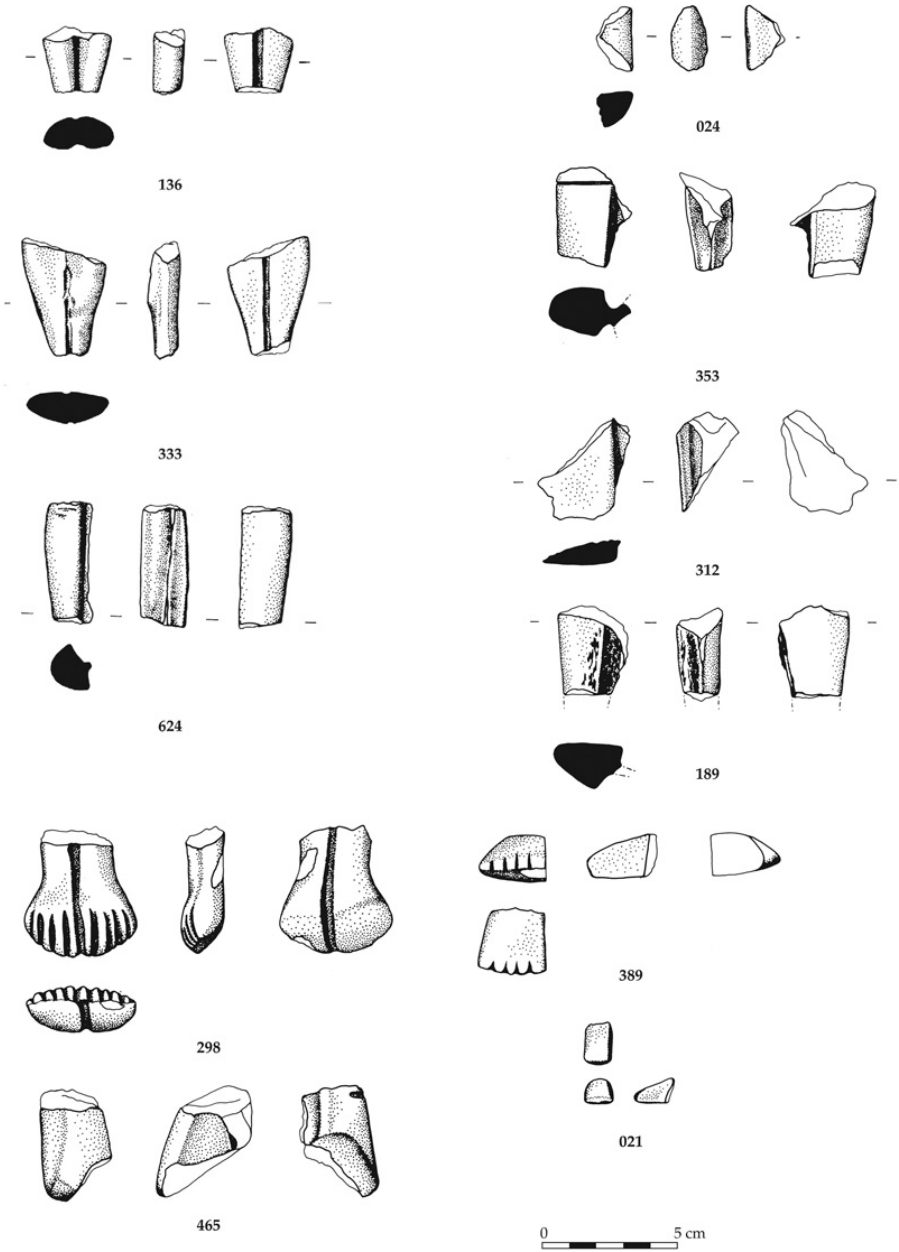

Fig. 24.2 Legs and feet of figurine fragments from the Special Deposit North, 1987 (after Renfrew 2007, figs 7.7, 7.9 & 7.11). Scale 1:2.

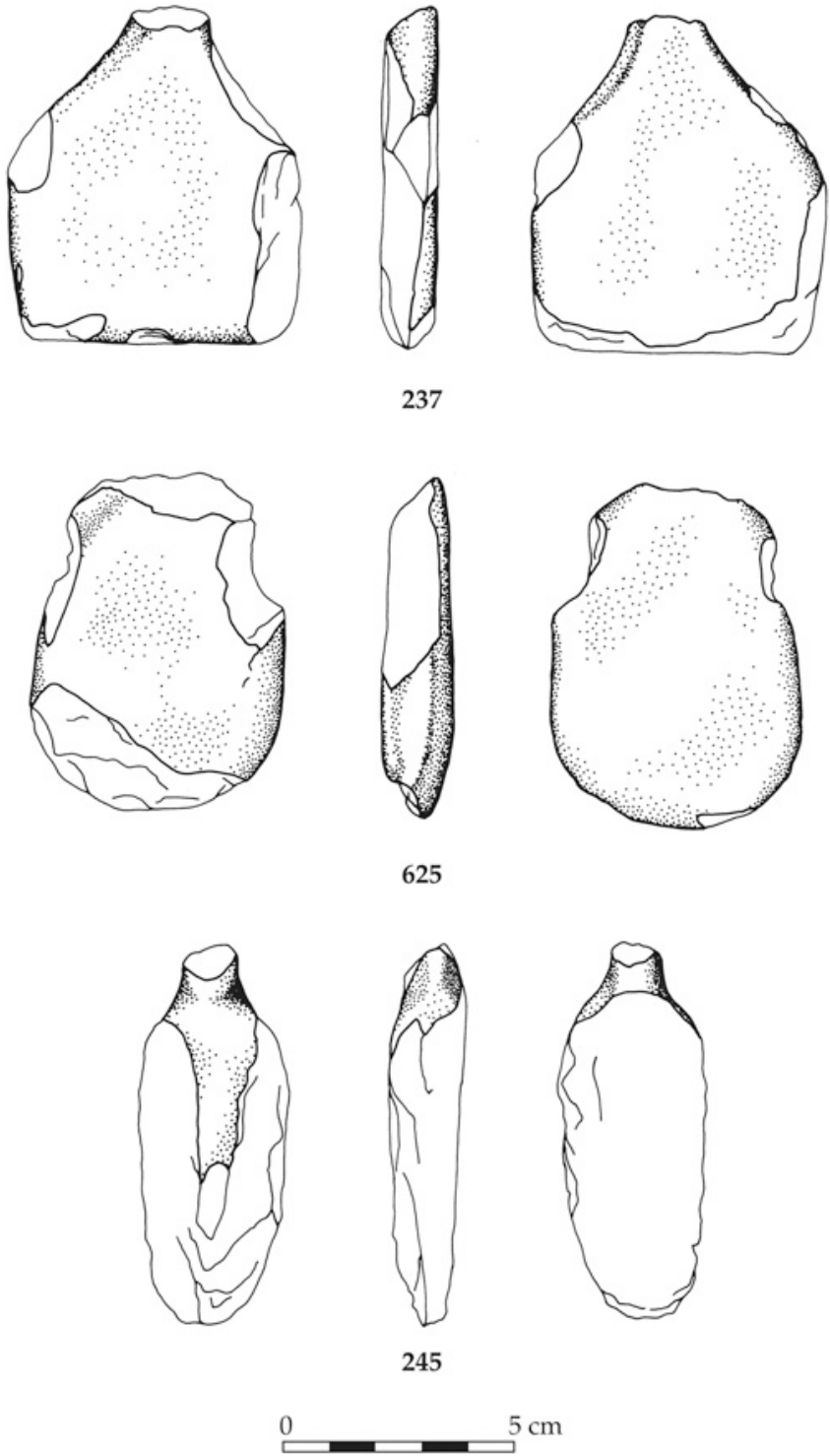

Fig. 24.3 Schematic figurine fragments from the Special Deposit North, 1987 (after Renfrew 2007, fig. 7.5). Scale 1:2.

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25

THE STONE VESSELS FOUND AT DHASKALIO KAVOS IN 1987*

Giorgos Gavalas

The stone vessels recovered in 1987 from both the surface survey and excavation, are in total 336. They have been fully published by Colin Renfrew, Sophia Voutsaki, Giorgos Gavalas and Kiki Birtacha in chapter 8 of the Dhaskalio Kavos 1987 publication (Renfrew *et al.* 2007, 287–351). Here we make some further observations and remarks regarding the raw materials and manufacture of vessels on site, the typology, the dating, the thraumatology, and the joining pieces found after our further study of the material found in 2006-2008.

Stone artefacts vessels and figurines were found in more than one area, as seen in Table 25.1 and Figure 25.1.

Table 25.1 Quantities of stone vessel and marble figurine fragments found in 1987, in all the areas of the 1987 survey, using the nomenclature developed in the 2006–2008 project

Dhaskalio Kavos, Keros 1987	Stone vessels	Marble figurines
Special Deposit North	268	32
Middle Area	23	2
Special Deposit South	45	1
Total	336	35

A notable number of fragments recovered in the survey come from the Middle Area, from a location immediately to the south of the Special Deposit North. Stone vessel fragments were also found in the 1987 surface survey close to the rectangular building excavated by Doumas in 1963.

Forty-five pieces were found on the surface at the area to the south which was covered by dense vegetation where the Special Deposit

South was discovered. This was the main reason for excavating there in 2006-8.

Most were found during the excavation and the survey within the north area where the locus of a special deposit, the Special Deposit North, was identified from the distribution of the marble objects, mainly vessels: in total 268 stone vessel fragments, and 32 figurines.

Raw materials and possible manufacture on site

The fragments of white marble are the main category but there are vessels made of other stones such as grey marble, polychrome, veined, soft, Kouphonisi limestone, chlorite schist, dark steatite and schist. In Table 25.2 the total quantities of fragments according to the material they were made of may be seen.

Table 25.2 Materials and quantities of stone vessels found in 1987

Material	No vessel fragments
White Marble	303
Grey marble	8
Kouphonisi Limestone	14
Schist or steatite	6
Chorite schist	5

Fig. 25.1 Distribution of marble bowl fragments in the 1987 survey, indicated as dots per grid

square, and recovered in the excavations (indicated as isopleths, after Scarre 2007, fig. 5.59).

The marble pieces are clearly imported to the site since there is no source on Keros of fully metamorphosed marble which could be used for their production (Dixon 2013). The same applies for the fragments made of chlorite schist and steatite or other schist for the same reason.

Dark grey limestone is the only suitable raw material available on Keros (Dixon 2013). The veined soft limestone whose colour varies from the dark orange or reddish with light coloured veins to buff and yellow, is available in the nearby islands of Kouphonisia. Vases of this limestone are rare and have been found until now mainly on Keros (Birtacha 2007, 338).

There is some evidence of deposition of partly worked fragments which could suggest along with the attested metallurgical activities (Georgakopoulou 2007, 382–403) and the evidence for obsidian production (Voutsaki 2007, 289; Carter *et al.* 2007, 355) the manufacture of some vessels in the broader area of Kavos or Dhaskalio.

Apart from the observation by Zapheiropoulou (Zapheiropoulou 1968, 381; 1980, 540) at the time of the excavation that there are some pieces that look partly worked and unfinished, there are also some figurines which seem partly worked, as has been generally accepted (Renfrew 2007c, 433). There are also unfinished objects in the so called 'Keros Hoard' (Getz-Preziosi 1983, 42; 1987, 151, n. 109; Broodbank 2000, 231–2).

Stone working and particularly manufacture of stone vessels on or near the site has been documented by two pieces from the Special Deposit North:

- The unfinished Kouphonisi limestone bowl 741 (Birtacha 2007, 340, fig. 8.25, 8.26) was roughly shaped by flaking the original block of limestone is an indication of the transport of the material from the nearby Kouphonisia and suggests that the manufacture of the vessels was taking place in the site
- The unfinished grey marble no 151 (Birtacha 2007, 338–9, fig. 8.26f) is a partially worked. Its exterior surface is very rough, and traces of heavy percussion are clearly visible. On both exterior and interior surfaces there are traces of shaping with a sharp tool. Especially around the base strong traces are clearly visible.

Typology and dating

The 336 fragments are assigned to several different shapes of stone vessels both open and closed. The most common category of open vessel is the marble bowl. Here we suggest and define the different sizes of this generic shape as saucers, bowls and basins. A bowl (φιάλη) could be carried with the use of only one hand. This limits the diameter of the bowl to between 300mm at most and 100mm at the lowest. A basin (λεκάνη, λοπάς) could be carried only with the use of both hands or even by more than one person. Basin diameters lie between 600mm at the largest and 300mm at the lower limit. A saucer (φιαλίδιο) is a small bowl of a diameter less than 100mm.

Marble bowls usually have a rolled rim and are either hemispherical or slightly conical; their bases are plain, slightly concave and the walls are either curvilinear or meet the base at a sharp angle. Some 261 fragments were originally assigned to this shape. One fragment has a plain straight rim and has been assigned to a bowl variant which is conical with straight walls. The 1987 material was studied again and the material published by Voutsaki has been reconsidered especially in view of the much larger assemblage which was available from the South Special Deposit (see Gavalas in prep.). During this study it was noticed (observations made by both Brodie and Gavalas) that measured diameters previously published, correspond in fact to radii (Voutsaki 2007, 290–1, tables 8.4–6, fig. 8.3, 305–16). The re-measured diameters are in agreement with those of the drawn profiles (Voutsaki 2007, 300–2, figs 8.8–10). The rim diameters correspond well with the range of wall thickness measured and consequently thicker walls (larger than 12mm) suggest larger shape (Getz-Gentle 1996, 102). The bowl diameters vary from 100mm to nearly 300mm.

Nine rim fragments have diameters greater than 300mm and they should be reassigned to the basin category; these are large bowls with the same general characteristics but they clearly have a different function (Gavalas in prep.). Large basins were also found previously in Keros; they have a diameter of 380mm (Zapheiropoulou 1968, 381), and there is one example in the Naxos Museum measuring 570mm (Getz-Gentle 1996, 100). It has been noted earlier that the Special Deposit North at Kavos on Keros seems to be the location of many such large examples (Getz-Gentle 1996, 100) which are also seen in other areas such as Naxos and Akrotiri in Thera (measuring about 750mm: Devetzi 1997, 563, note 35).

In total in 1987, 250 fragments of bowls were found, and 11 of basins. None of them bears painted or incised decoration. There are also other bowls of other materials. The polychrome soft limestone

vessels are deep hemispherical and conical bowls with flat angular rims and of diameter between 100mm and 200mm. One intact example of a deep bowl of orange-coloured limestone, now in the Museum of Naxos, comes from Keros (Marangou 1990, cat. no. 125; Zapheiropoulou 1968, 381, pl. γ).

Saucers, very shallow and hemispherical bowls with rounded rims, are represented by two pieces of grey marble: the unfinished 151 and also 144 (Birtacha 2007, 338, fig. 8.23: 151, fig. 8.25: 144) of rather small size around 100mm.

Lugged bowls are present; two of them (nos 403 and 510 Gavalas 2007, 333, fig. 8.16) are small hemispherical saucers with lugs of diameter between 80mm and 100mm. One (no 190, Gavalas 2007, 333, fig. 816) has a diameter of 160mm.

The next category is the drinking vessel: they are mainly of white marble and they are very fine. They are cups, either plain or footed (Gavalas 2007, 327–33, fig. 8.15–6, 8.18–20). They have been classified as two variants: the hemispherical footed cup with 11 examples, one of which is nearly intact (156; Fig. 25.2); and the conical cup with angular body and plain rim, out turned with convex or flat edge (kylix: ten examples). There are also a few small examples in grey marble (Birtacha 2007, 338). Their size varies from 60mm to 180mm, with many examples between 80mm and 120mm. Their wall thickness is considerably thinner than the bowls.

A unique form in the early Cycladic repertoire of stone vessels known only from Keros is the conical fluted cup with out-turned pointed rim (nos 226, 591; Fig. 25.2; Renfrew 2007d, 337, fig. 8.21) with a diameter between 200mm and 300mm. There are similar pieces from Kavos in the Naxos Museum not yet systematically studied and published, which might be associated with these fragments. The form may be reconstructed with a horizontal lug (Renfrew 2007d, 337). More fragments of this piece, one body sherd and part of a flat base were found during 2006–2008 suggesting that the general shape is conical.

A third category of vessel seems to represent a considerable proportion of the assemblage. Two pieces are rectangular trough-shaped palettes or plates with raised rims. One is large (474 Gavalas 2007, figs 8.13, 8.17) and could have been *c.* 250–300mm long as reconstructed from three joining pieces from Keros (Devetzi 1992, NM4312 and NM4315, pl. 45, fig. 77c and 78b). There is also a smaller elliptical one (195) which seems to be rather rare variant.

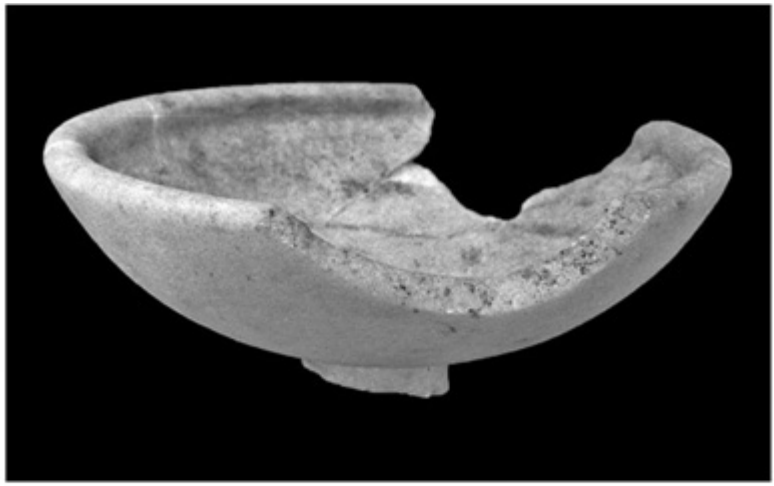
The closed shapes are less well represented. The neck and the rim of a collared jar or krateriskos (no. 269, Gavalas 2007, 325, fig. 8.13,

8.17) and a small fragment of a rim from a spherical vessel (no. 558, Gavalas 2007, 324, fig. 8.13) are the only pieces suggesting the presence of small containers in the assemblage.

The steatite miniature spherical vessels, probably pyxides, with a diameter of 30mm (no. 571 and 438 and 505, Renfrew 2007a, 350 fig. 8.32–3) found in the area of the Special Deposit South are represented in the Special Deposit North by a single piece, no. 366. These are of coloured stone which is otherwise not common in Early Cycladic contexts; the miniature spherical vessel appears in marble in Aplomata on Naxos (Devetzi 1992, cat. nos 29–30 pl. 13, fig. 11c, d, e).

Cylindrical spool pyxides sometimes with incised horizontal, parallel grooves and usually with protruding flanges are mainly of marble. There are three fragments of marble one (no. 311, Gavalas 2007, 323, fig. 8.13, 8.17a) without parallel incisions; there is also a piece of soft limestone (no. 204, Birtacha 2007, 340–1, figs 8.25–6).

The pyxis lid fragment of chlorite schist (no. 327; Fig. 25.2) and the body fragment no. 122, have been assigned to one very rare multiple vessel type, the double cylindrical footed pyxis, apparently exclusive to the Cyclades. Part of a cylindrical pyxis and part of a lid were found during the early 1963 and 1967 excavation; another part of a cylindrical pyxis had been offered as a gift to the Louvre in 1960; this last might be part of the same vessel (Renfrew 2007a, 342–5, fig. 8.27–8.32). The very careful and precise engraving of the relief decoration along with the well-planned and executed work of carving such a complicated form suggest that this is a work of a great master. The chlorite schist multiple pyxides with relief spirals form a coherent group, and the principal finds are from Keros (Kavos), Naxos ('Petasi'), Amorgos (Dhokathismata) and 'Melos' (Renfrew 2007a, 346–8). These masterpieces are dated to the ECII period. Double cylindrical pyxides are also known of grey marble with two lids (Devetzi 1992, NM 4757, pl. 43 fig. 73d). Another two fragments – nos 239–40 – might belong to another cylindrical shape, possibly another type of pyxis.



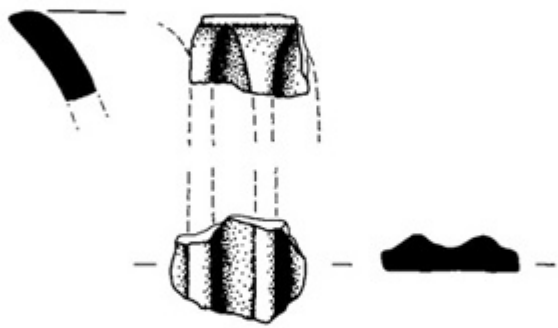


Fig. 25.2 Finds from the Special Deposit North in 1987. Top: hemispherical footed cup (156). Middle: fluted marble vessel (226 and 591). Bottom: lid of chlorite schist double pyxis (327) with joining fragment from Keros in the Naxos Museum (NM4442). Not to scale.

Some other unusual shapes in stone are present in the assemblage. One fragment of a frying pan (Gavalas 2007, 325, figs 8.14, 8.18a,b) which looks like the other found in 1967, but it is larger, *c*. 160mm rim diameter. Two certain and one possible fragments (Gavalas 2007, 325) are assigned to a so-called dove vessel. There is a resemblance between this very rare shape and the frying pan but it is much larger, about 400mm in diameter, and its base seems thinner. Two pieces of such a vessel were found during the excavation of 1967 (Devetzi 1992, fig. 32, pl. 72) and the only other fragments assigned to a similar vase now in the Museum of Cycladic Art is also said to be from Keros (Doumas 1984, col. no. 329, pls 171–4).

The dating of these types is based mainly on typological comparisons. The majority of the pieces presents a rather homogenous assemblage which is dated because of types, such as the collared jar, the cylindrical pyxis, the spherical vessel and the pedestalled vessels, to the EC II period and indeed to its later part. Early types of the ECI-II period related to the Kampos group, like the 'kandila' or the lugged bowl are not present.

In view of the recent well-dated finds from Dhaskalio it should be noted that the conical bowl with the straight walls and pointed rim seems to be a later development of the bowl type and can be dated later than the rest to the ECIII period (Gavalas 2013).

Thraumatology and joining pieces

The preservation of the surface in most of the pieces from the 1987 investigations is fairly good. Of course there are pieces bearing encrustation or having rounded breaks, because of weathering and they have either one or both surfaces eroded. This feature indicates that they were exposed under natural conditions for a considerable time. All the recent breaks suggest their breakage during the modern episodes: after looting, excavation and reexcavation. The 1987 assemblage comprises material left behind in the Special Deposit North after the looters and the Greek Archaeological Service had, between them, removed most of the original deposit of larger fragments. Visual comparison with material now stored or on display in the Naxos Museum shows that the 1987 fragments are on average smaller than those excavated earlier. Very few of those are larger than 100mm; for example from the 41 other marble vessel fragments only three belong to this size class, (no. 474, 256, 156; Fig. 25.1). The largest dimension of the rest is between 20mm and 60mm.

Discussion

It is not easy to estimate the exact area of the excavations of 1963 and 1967 nor to visualise the different nature of the areas which have been investigated. But the density plots of materials from the investigations of 1987 recovered from the trenches suggest the approximate extent of the Special Deposit North to have been a slope going east-west in the centre of the area investigated (Scarre 2007, fig. 5.55–5.62): an area of 25 × 25m, with a higher concentration in an area 10 × 10m (Scarre 2007, fig. 5.59; Renfrew 2007e, 284; see also Fig. 25.1).

Another major problem is to estimate the quantity of finds recovered from that area; only some of these have been catalogued and studied (Sotirakopoulou 2004; Devetzi 1992); the number of artefacts looted earlier cannot be securely estimated. Some fragments of pottery, marble and steatite vessels now in the Amorgos Archaeological Collection securely come from the site; they were collected by the guard during his annual visit to the site, and they should be added to the total (currently under study by Gavalas).

There are also many figurine fragments in the Apeiranthos Museum said to be from Keros and of course there are many more pieces in private collections of which this may be true.

It has been argued that most of the pieces were broken somewhere else and then were brought and deposited in this Special Deposit. But there are at least four cases suggesting that some of the artefacts were probably broken *in situ* since joining pieces were found in 1967 and in 1987 or they are only partly broken:

- The chlorite schist pyxis (no. 327; Fig. 25.2)
- The marble dove vessel
- The marble large fluted cup (nos 226, 591; Fig. 25.2)
- The hemispherical footed cup (no. 156; Fig. 25.2)
- Polychrome limestone bowls (no. 741, joining with NM4483 and with NM6196, from the 1960s excavations)

The limestone conical vase (Marangou 1990, no. 125; Zapheiropoulou 1968, 381, pl. γ) is the only other intact object apart from the large figurine of Spedos variety found in 1967. This could have come for a small cluster of graves further to the north of the Special Deposit North in the area where Zapheiropoulou found the remains of a burial and traces of at least two built graves (Zapheiropoulou 2007a; 2007b; this volume, Chapter 22).

The above analysis of the types found in 1987 suggests that in the

Special Deposit North at Kavos there are present most of the known vessel shapes found in Early Cycladic contexts. This fact along with the many different, sometimes unusual and sophisticated, vessel types that co-exist in this assemblage, makes it rather special. For example the large basins, although they represent a small percentage of the total number of marble finds, are far more numerous than those found in some burial contexts on Naxos or in Akrotiri on Thera.

As to function the main comment to be made is that these are prestigious choice artefacts, equivalent to the figurines and, in that sense, their main function was symbolic.

The evidence for stone vessel manufacture on or near the site is now better established. These partly worked pieces found in 1987 are few when compared with finds from west Turkey (Takaoğlu 2002) where the evidence for local manufacture of stone vessels is very rich, as has been argued by Renfrew (Renfrew 2007c, 432–33). When all these are seen in the context of the recent finds from Dhaskalio where more evidence for stone vessels production has been attested (Gavalas 2013, 505–16) they are more meaningful. The recent finds from Skarkos (Marthari, this volume, Chapter 12) provide comparable evidence of production of various similar shapes at another settlement. The study of all these finds provides the opportunity for further observations about the scale of local manufacture of stone vessels in the Cyclades based on solid data.

There are many issues here which will be better addressed after the study of the material recovered in 1963–1967. The pieces of stone vessels in the Naxos Museum recovered in those years are very numerous (nearly 10,000), and remain unpublished.

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* *Editorial note:* The material discussed here comes from the looted area on the west coast of the island of Keros facing the islet of Dhaskalio. 'Dhaskalio Kavos' (Κάβος Δασκαλιοφ) is simply designated 'Kavos' in other contributions to this volume (eds).

26

SELECTED SCULPTURAL FRAGMENTS FROM THE SPECIAL DEPOSIT SOUTH AT KAVOS ON KEROS

Colin Renfrew and Michael J. Boyd

Introduction

The excavations in the Special Deposit South at Kavos on Keros were undertaken from 2006 to 2008. They followed the earlier rescue excavations and researches in the looted area at Kavos, later designated the Special Deposit North, as described elsewhere in this volume (Chapter 23). The sculptural fragments in the Special Deposit South were recovered *in situ* (Renfrew *et al.* 2007; 2009; 2015), and the circumstances of discovery will not be repeated in detail here. The conclusions reached, resulting from the excavations, were that these fragmentary sculptures were not accompanied by human remains. They were found together with fragmentary marble vessels, broken pottery, damaged spools and other materials which had been deliberately broken elsewhere. They were brought to Kavos on Keros and deposited, over several centuries, probably in a series of bundles. The conclusion was reached that Kavos on Keros acted as a 'symbolic attractor', a sanctuary, a central focus for these ritual depositions. They were undertaken by the participant communities in the Cyclades in what may be described as the Confederacy of Keros (Renfrew 2013; in press).

Here some particular aspects of the sculptural material in the Special Deposit South will be discussed. The undisturbed nature, before excavation, of the Special Deposit South opens the way to a series of conclusions which are no longer possible for the looted

Special Deposit North, where the original archaeological context has been much disrupted.

Size ranges of the sculptures from the Special Deposit South

In this preliminary discussion of size we focus upon the sculptures of the folded-arm type recovered from the Special Deposit South. The schematic sculptures are in general smaller, and they will form the subject of a separate study. The sculptures from Kavos were very fragmented, clearly in many cases deliberately broken prior to deposition. In only a few cases were joins found, despite careful comparison of the fragments recovered. For this reason it has been concluded that the sculptures were deliberately broken elsewhere and selected fragments were brought to Keros already in fragmentary condition. There is no evidence for their being broken at Kavos with the subsequent removal of most of the resulting fragments. These matters are discussed more fully in volume II of the excavation report (Renfrew *et al.* 2015).

Figure 26.1 shows the surviving lengths of folded-arm figure fragments from the Special Deposit South.

It should be noted that the mesh size for the dry sieve, through which all soil from the trenches was routinely screened, was 7mm. A portion (about one-fifth) of the soil was instead subjected to water sieving, with a mesh size of 3mm. However most fragments, including the small ones, were recovered by hand in the trenches: these are all published with three-dimensional coordinates in the excavation report.

Since the folded-arm sculptures can readily be divided into a series of recognisable varieties, it is in general not a difficult matter to assign even very fragmentary pieces to their appropriate variety. Legs of Spedos variety can readily be distinguished from those of the Dokathismata or Chalandriani variety, for instance, and the same applies to other parts of the body. This circumstance makes much easier the task of estimating (approximately) the original size, when complete, of the sculpture represented by each fragment. This was the task undertaken as each sculptural fragment recovered was individually catalogued and described.

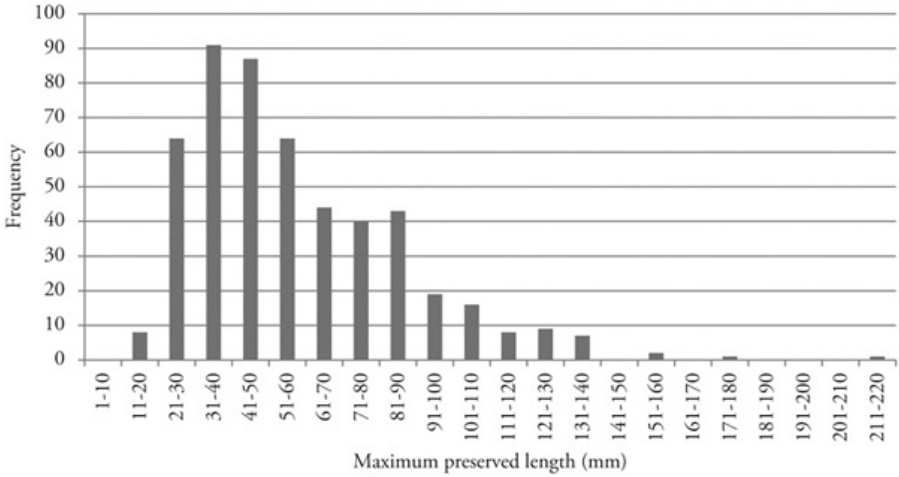


Fig. 26.1 Frequencies of preserved lengths of figurine fragments in the Special Deposit South at Kavos.

Procedure for estimating original size of a sculpture from the preserved fragment

To undertake this task it is necessary first to decide from which part of the anatomy the fragment comes. This is sometimes obvious, but care needs sometimes to be exercised in distinguishing between an upper leg (thigh) and a lower leg (calf), and again, with a leg, the front from the back.

The second stage is to determine which variety of the canonical folded-arm figurine is represented, by comparison with the known examples of the Kapsala, Spedos, Dokathismata and Chalandriani varieties. Usually the fragment will correspond with one of these. But in just a few instances that proves not to be the case and the task then becomes more difficult, for then no usable comparandum can be found.

The third task is to choose a suitable illustrated comparandum of the appropriate variety from a published Early Cycladic excavation which is both well preserved and substantially complete. There is no shortage of choice for sculptures of the Spedos variety. The two examples from Grave 10 at the type site on Naxos (Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 46) were often found convenient. For the Dokathismata variety the two examples from grave 14 at Dokathismata on Amorgos (Tsountas 1898) offered a good basis. For the Chalandriani variety the example from Grave 447 at Chalandriani on Syros, illustrated by Rambach (2000, pl. 63) was the first option. Other excavated examples were sometimes used as comparanda (and these will be

noted in the published discussions). Occasionally, with the Spedos variety, a more suitable and convenient example could be found in the group confiscated in 1964 and published by Zapheiropoulou (1980), since these were readily visible in the Naxos Museum. They were mainly confiscated in the year 1964 (from Ioannis Galanis, whose lands in Naxos lay in the southeast, between Kleidos and Kalandos). But these lack a secure findspot, and their authenticity, although likely, is not guaranteed.

The procedure is then a relatively simple one. It is first to measure on the fragment under study, the specific length, X, of an anatomical dimension (e.g. maximum width at pelvis) which can be unequivocally recognised in the photograph or drawing available for the chosen comparandum. Then the comparable anatomical dimension, Y, is measured in the scale drawing or photograph of the comparandum. Then, third, the total height, Z, in the drawing or photo, of the comparandum piece is measured. (It is not in fact necessary that the height of the comparandum piece be accurately known, although it may be wise to choose a comparandum that is broadly comparable in scale with the fragment under study). In effect this is just a rather crude procedure for 'scaling up' from the fragment to the original total height, on the assumption that the proportions of the fragmentary sculpture were essentially the same as those in the comparandum The estimated original height of the complete figure from which the fragment is derived may then be calculated by the formula:

$$\text{Estimated height} = \frac{X \times Z}{Y}$$

The accuracy of the procedure is dependent, of course, upon the validity of the comparison as depicted in the illustration available for the comparandum piece, and also, if a photograph is used, on the properties of the camera lens and the orthogonal position of the piece in the photograph. We estimate that in many cases a standard error (standard deviation) of the order of plus or minus 5% may apply, so that estimates should be valid to within about 10%. While this procedure offers only limited accuracy, it should allow a good quantitative estimate of the size ranges of the original sculptures represented in the Special Deposit South, prior to their fragmentation.

Size spectrum of original sculptures from the fragments recovered

This procedure has been applied to all the fragments of folded-arm

figurines recovered from the Special Deposit South on Keros.

The overall result for the folded-arm sculptures recovered is seen in Figure 26.2. Note that, of the 498 folded-arm figurine fragments recovered, it has only been possible to estimate original heights for 459 of them; the other 39 are excluded from Figure 26.2.

The sculptures, when complete, prior to fragmentation, thus most frequently lay in the ranges 200–300mm and 300– 400mm. That would tally well enough with the complete sculptures published from the known Cycladic cemeteries. On the other hand the largest recovered from an excavated and published cemetery is EAM6195 from Tomb 10 at Spedos on Naxos (Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 10α) which is 587mm in height. The only complete figure of comparable size from a published excavation is the one recovered by Zapheiropoulou from the Special Deposit North at Kavos (Chapter 24) which measures 583mm in height.

This naturally brings into discussion those pieces from the Special Deposit South, nine in number (two joining), which were originally greater than 700mm in height. They are discussed below.

Sculptures from the Special Deposit South originally greater than 700mm in height

The following figures from the Special Deposit South are estimated as originally greater than 700mm in height, and therefore larger than any known from a published excavation (with the exception of those recovered from the Special Deposit North and now in the Naxos Museum: see chapter 23).

The intention is to publish these pieces, with a detailed description and full illustrations, in the third volume of our excavation report (Renfrew *et al.* in prep.). They are therefore described in more abbreviated form here, with selected illustrations only. They are identified in the catalogue below by excavation special find number.

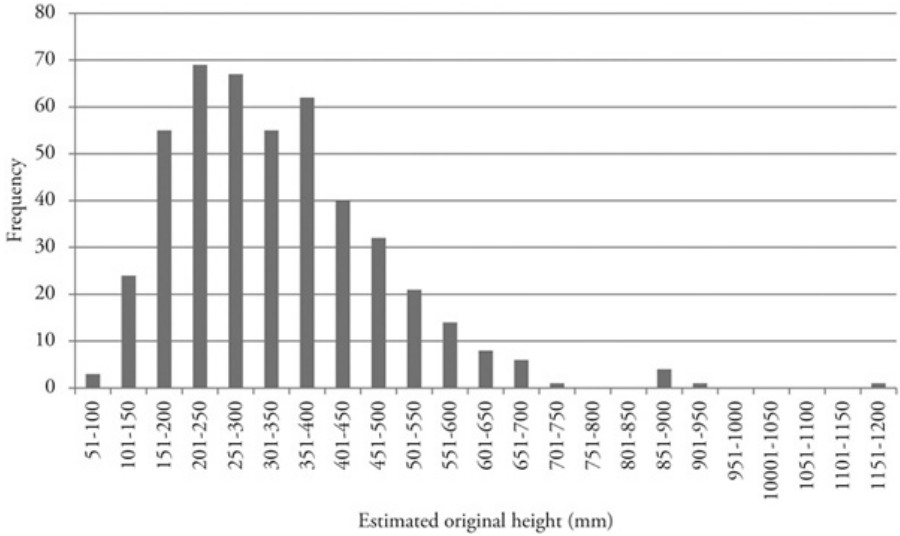
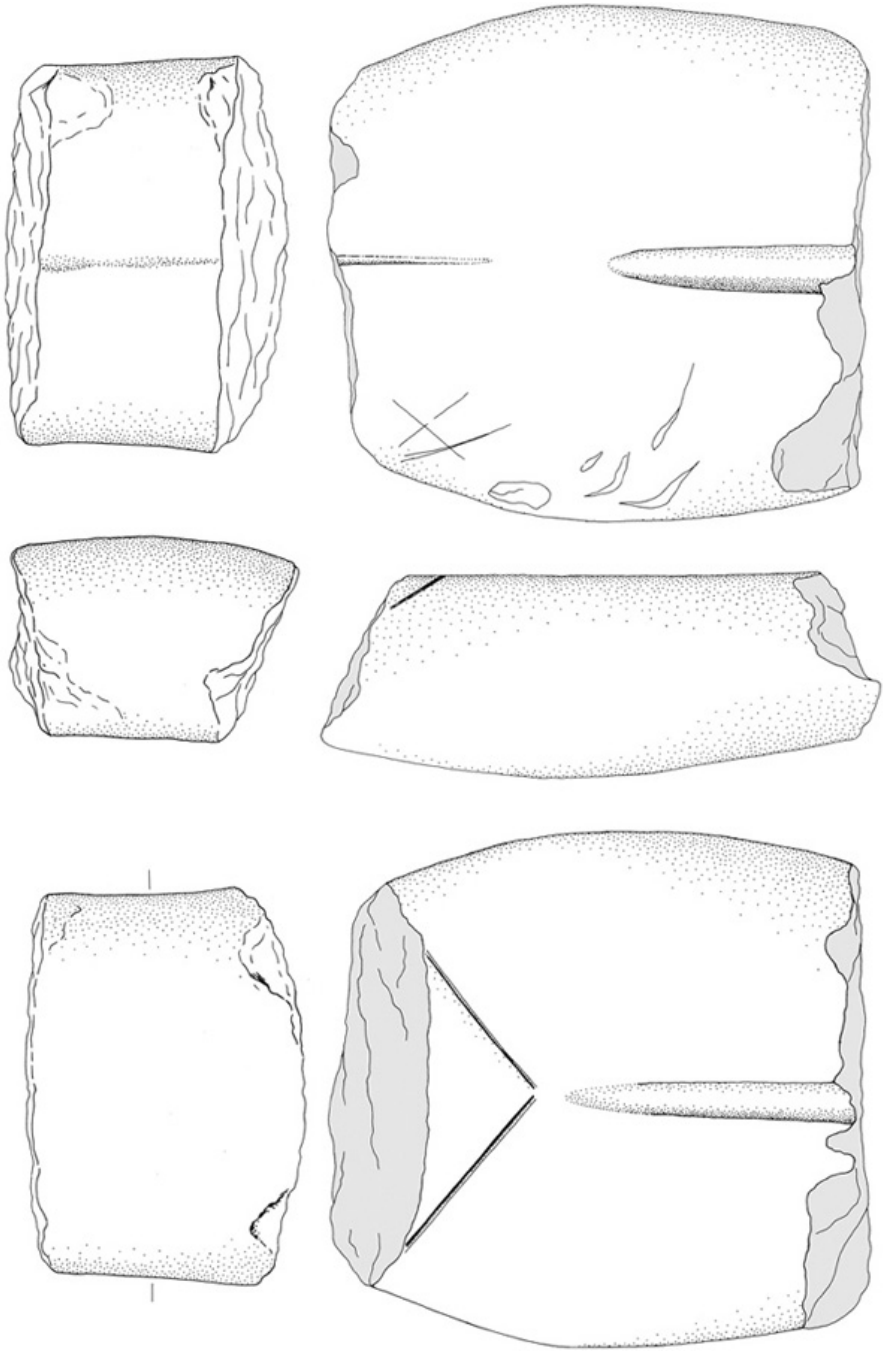


Fig. 26.2 Frequency of estimated original heights of folded-arm sculptures in the Special Deposit South.



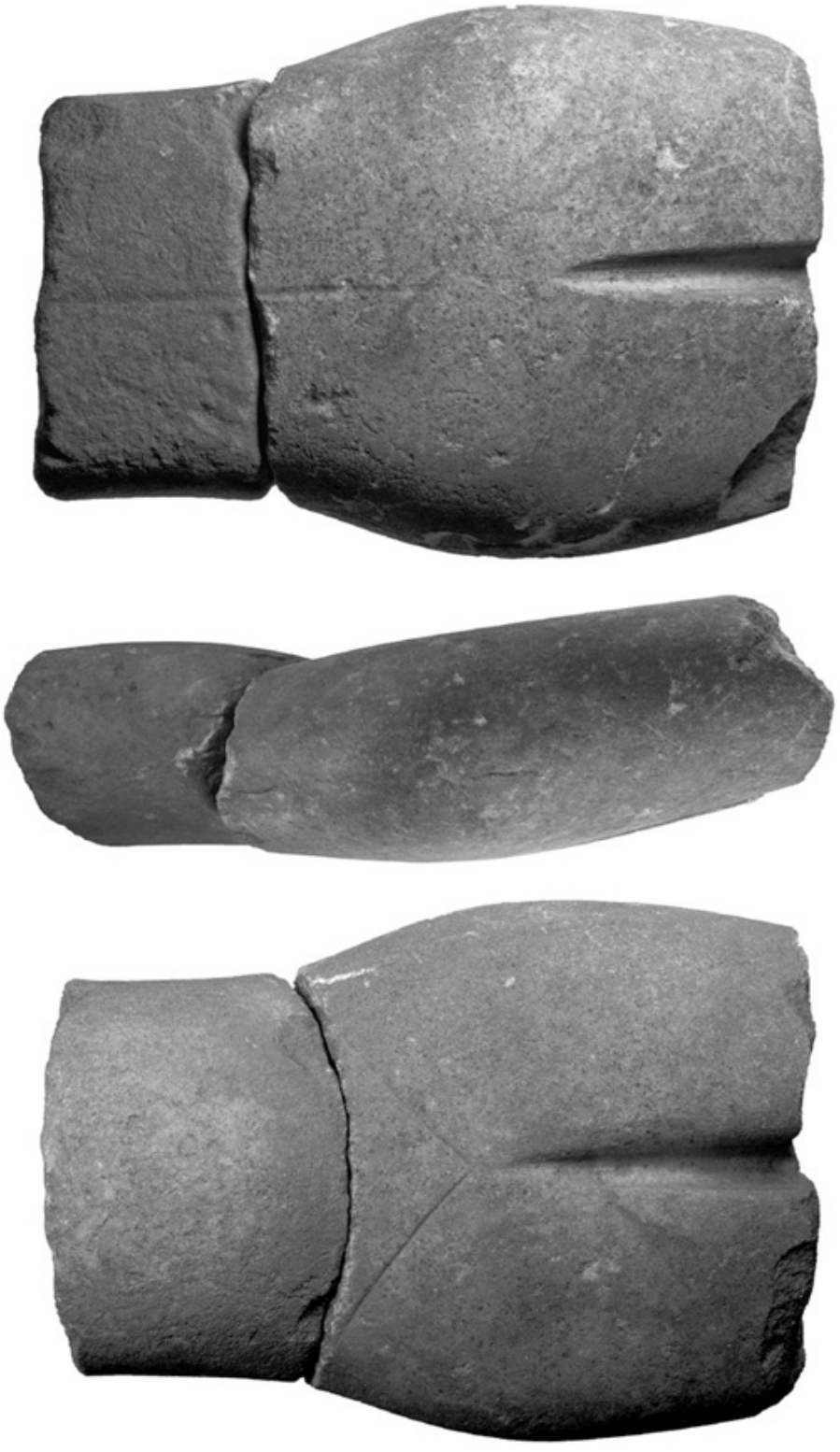


Fig. 26.3 40003. Waist (2307) joining with pelvis and upper legs (6478) of folded arm figure of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

1. 40003. Waist (2307) joining with pelvis and thighs (6478) of folded arm figure of Spedos variety (Fig. 26.3).
Maximum preserved dimension: 262mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 236mm.
Estimated original height ca. 1000mm (see below).
The lower waist neatly joins the pelvis. The back is straight with the central groove clear. The waist is lightly convex and narrow at the join with the pelvis, and thickening by about 8mm in the curve, giving the impression of gentle modelling. The incisions of the pubic triangle do not extend over the line of the break, but there is damage at the two corresponding positions on the lower waist, which may possibly be the result of the procedures undertaken to break the figure at this point, the procedures for which remain unclear. This is made up of the following two components:

(a) 2207 Massive waist of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. From Trench B4, layer 5.
Broken above pelvis and below arms, so that from the front, this is an almost featureless piece of carved marble. At the rear, the spinal column is indicated by a light groove. The piece widens slightly at the lower break, so that the orientation seems clear. In profile, the piece is straight at the back, and lightly convex at the front.

(b) 6478 Very large pelvis and upper legs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety.
From Trench D2, layer 35.
The upper break falls just below the upper margin of the pelvis, and the horizontal incision for the pubic area, if there was one, is not preserved. The public triangle is well defined by 2 lines intersecting approximately at right-angles at the top of the deep groove which divides the legs. The body widens markedly at the hips and then narrows down towards the knees. The rear surface is notably smooth, very lightly convex at the base of the back (where there is no spinal groove), and convex again towards the lower thighs. The buttocks are not separately indicated in any way, but the spinal groove, in line with the groove between the legs, is lightly indicated after a gap of 45mm. The surface overall is well preserved and little eroded. There are some fresh pick marks on the rear of the hip at the left. Note that Yannis Maniatis suggests that this piece has been subject to burning.

For the estimates of the original total height, each part was estimated separately, and then the two together (using the method described above):

For the waist (2207), the key measure is the minimum width at waist: 127mm. Using as the comparandum piece EAM6140.21 from Tomb 13 at Spedos on Naxos (Papathanasopoulos 1962 pl. 54α), this gives an original total height of 870mm. An alternative comparandum piece of more slender form, NM4677, unprovenanced, from the Galanis confiscation in Naxos of 1964 (Zapheiropoulou 1980, pl. 244) gives a height of 1060mm, whereas NM4675, from the same confiscation, a less slender piece (Zapheiropoulou 1980, pl. 243), gives a height of 770mm.

For the pelvis (6478), the key measure is the maximum width at the thighs: 174mm. The comparandum NM4673, from the same confiscation (Zapheiropoulou 1980, pl. 242) gives a height estimate of 1160mm. An alternative height estimation, using EAM6160.22 from Tomb 13 at Spedos (Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 46β) yields a height of 960mm. A further comparandum EAM6195 from Tomb 10 at Spedos (Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 46α) gives a height estimate of 1000mm.

Considering now the two pieces joined together (40003), the key measurements remain the minimum width of the waist and the maximum width of the pelvis. It is clear that the waist is quite high, and also that it is significantly narrower than the pelvis. Here the measurements for the comparandum EAM6195 from Tomb 10 at Spedos seem relevant. These lead, as we have seen, using the pelvis, to a height estimate of 1000mm; using the waist measure leads to a height of 916mm. If instead NM4677 is used the waist, as we have seen, gives a height of

1060mm, whereas the pelvis measure result in a height of 1106mm. Overall we are led to an estimate of 1000mm ±10%.

2. 872 Left upper leg of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety (Fig. 26.4).
Trench B3, layer 4
Maximum preserved dimension: 129mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 110mm.
Estimated original height: 950mm (see below).

Worn and damaged thigh. The groove at the front (only partly preserved) seems to achieve a cut length measured along the surface of 25mm, equivalent to a depth of 20mm, as the groove is oblique. The groove at the rear achieves a cut length of 15mm. The thickness at the upper break is approximately 40mm. The thickness at the lower break is not preserved but is naturally significantly less.

The comparandum piece is EAM6140.21 from Tomb 13 at Spedos (Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 54α). However some problems with the comparative height must be recognised. In particular this could be a calf fragment rather than a thigh fragment, although the calculation then would give a greater height (1160mm). Choice of a comparandum with chunkier (i.e. less slender) legs would give a height of less than 950mm.

3. 2764 Part of head of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 26.5). Trench D3, layer 11.
Maximum dimension: 62mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis 58mm.
Estimated original height: 900mm (see below).

Strikingly broken. This is a remarkably fractured piece with the only preserved original surface being part of the face on each side of the very prominent nose, of which a length of 30mm remains. The nose is remarkably parallel-sided, being of width 12mm at the top and the bottom. The crown and the face below the nose are broken away and none of the original surface is preserved at the back, although the preserved thickness is 45mm. This is therefore a fragment of a remarkably large head. It must have required force and purpose to break the head in this way.

Comparable, parallel-sided noses are seen on figures of the Spedos variety, for instance in tomb 13 at Spedos (EAM6140.21: Papathanasopoulos 1962 pl. 54α), where comparison suggests that this piece may have been between 730 and 1090mm in height. Comparison with preserved pieces in the Naxos museum suggests that it was significantly larger than any there, and a height of the order of 1000mm seems perfectly possible.

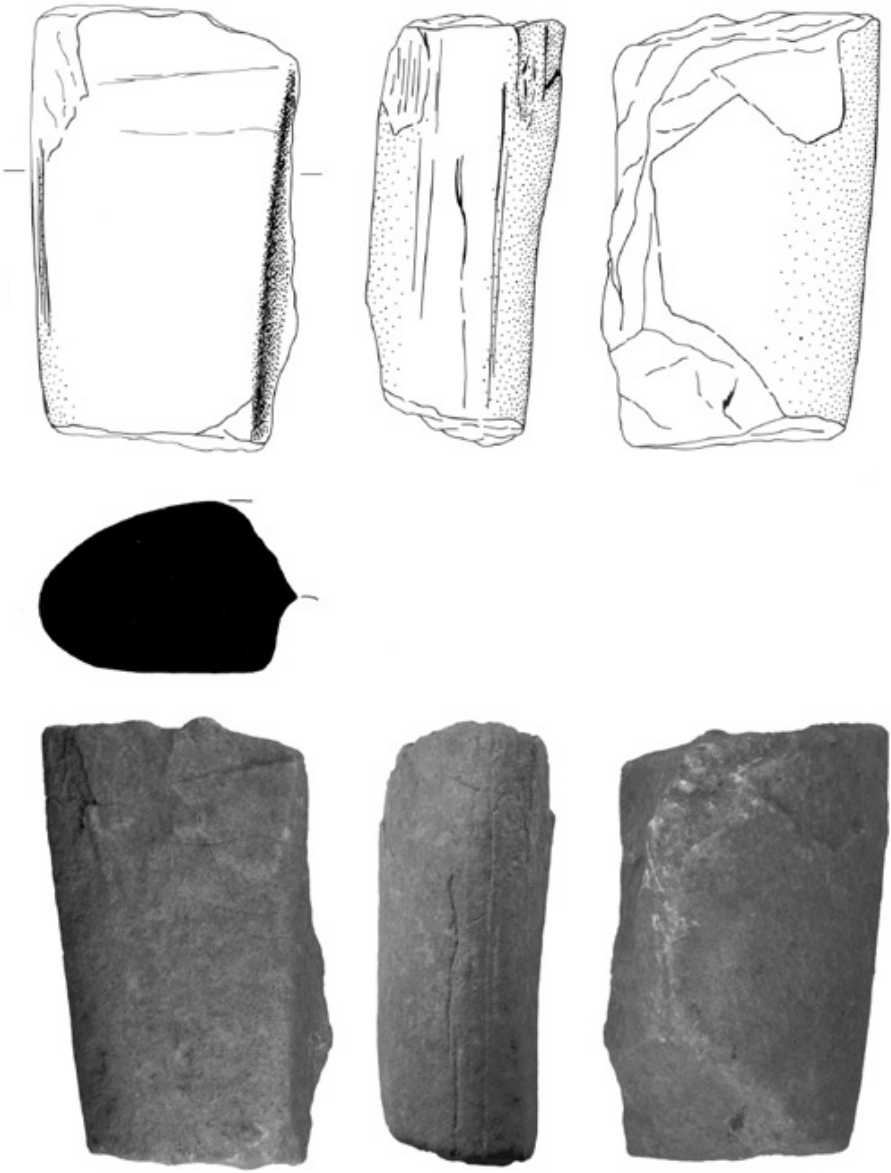


Fig. 26.4 872 Left upper leg of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

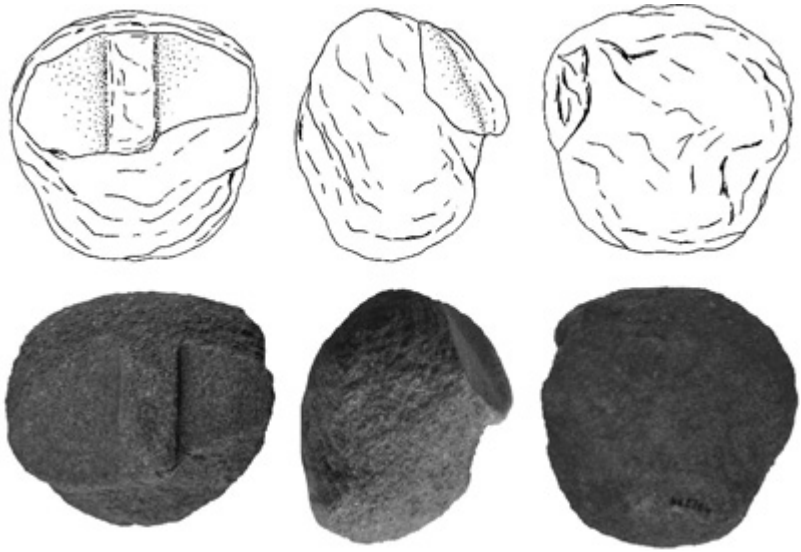


Fig. 26.5 2764 Part of head of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

4. 25061 Large left foot of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 26.6).
Trench RA, layer 14.
Maximum preserved dimension: 75mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 70mm.
Estimated original height: 900mm.

Impressive left foot, the toes well-preserved with four pronounced incision. The sole of the foot is flat. The groove at the rear is 22mm deep, the cut giving a pronounced V-shape at the heel, as if indicating the Achilles tendon. There is a light groove dividing the foot from the ankle at the left side (i.e. outside). The groove at the front is 23mm long at the sole, so that the feet were joined by a membrane of marble 20mm thick at the sole, but narrowing markedly towards the ankle, so it is possible that the legs were separated upwards from the ankle. This was clearly an impressively large figure, and it is noteworthy that no other components have been found.

For the height estimate the key measure is the maximum width at the toes: 52mm. The comparandum piece is EAM6140.22 from Tomb 14 at Spedos (Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 54β).

5. 2816 Large lower leg fragment of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 26.7).
Trench D2, layer 22.
Maximum dimension: 83mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 80mm.
Estimated original height: 860mm (see below).

Broken at both ends, preserving only a short length (25mm) of the outer edge of the calf. The piece has a deep groove (32mm) cut from what was presumably the front, and a shallower groove (14mm) from the back. It is clear that the grooves intersected, there being no break at the intersection, and the legs were therefore separated entirely at this point, which leads to the conclusion that this is a calf fragment rather than a thigh fragment.

Comparison with the complete figure, NM4181 (Zapheiropoulou 1969 pl. 334α; 1980, pl. 240; this volume, Chapter 22), excavated by Zapheiropoulou from the Special Deposit North at Kavos, leaves open the question whether the preserved edge is from the convex curving upper right calf, below the knee, or the convex curving lower left calf, above the ankle. Assuming the former, the estimated height is 810mm. Assuming the latter, the estimated height is 910mm (in both cases the comparative measure is the distance from the outer

surface to the edge of the groove, 47mm). This is an extremely battered piece with three breaks, and is conspicuously rather a small part of what was originally a very large figure.

6. 6291 Left foot of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 26.8).
Trench C4, layer 5.
Maximum dimension: 33mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 30mm.
Estimated original height: 750mm (using maximum width at the toes, 26mm, as comparative measure).

Well executed foot, with four grooves for toes and just a hint of the beginning of the join with the right foot towards the heel. The comparative piece is EAM6140.44 from Tomb 14 at Spedos (Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 54β).

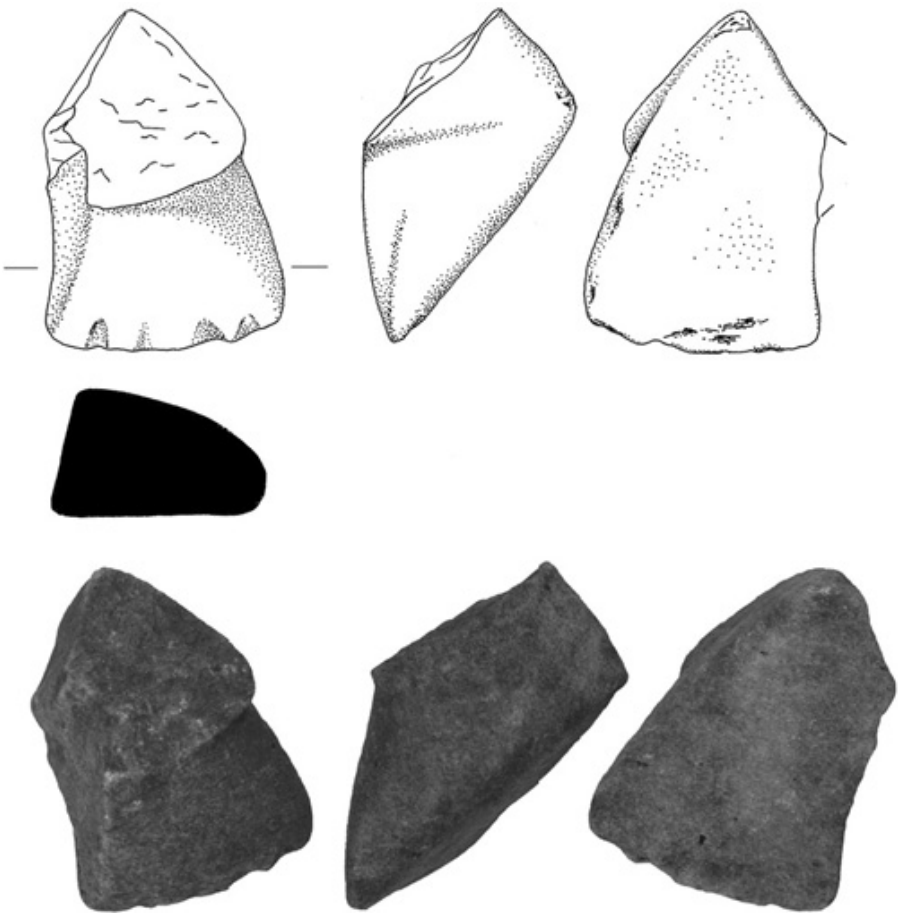


Fig. 26.6 25061 Large left foot of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

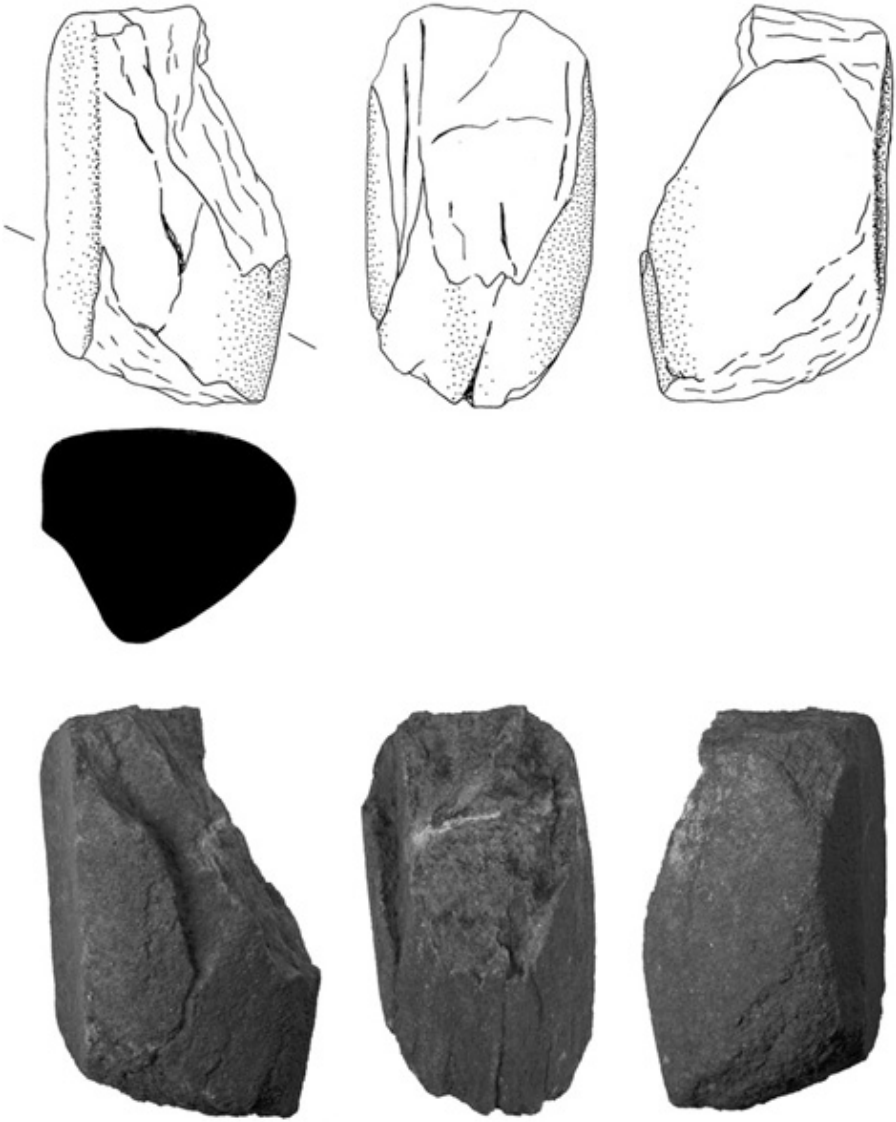


Fig. 26.7 2816 Large lower leg fragment of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 26.8 6291 Left foot of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

7. 625 Right arm and waist of large folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 26.9).
Trench D2 layer 1.
Max dimension: 137mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 86mm.
Estimated original height: 700mm (using width at upper waist, 105mm, thickness, 51mm; see

below).
Surviving height from break at waist to lower arm: 67mm. The break is immediately above the right arm, with the right elbow protruding. The width along the right arm is 116mm. The width of the arm itself is 16mm across. So the ratio of length to width of the arm is 7.2. This is a slender arm with a greater length to width ratio than in the four examples from the Spedos cemetery. In this respect, it resembles works of the Kavos sub-variety (or 'Goulandris Master'). But note that this piece has a well-defined groove at the back indicating the spine. There are no other details on the back and few on the front since the break is above the pelvis. Note that the fingers of the right hand are clearly indicated by four grooves.

It is difficult to find a good comparative piece for this figure. Goulandris Museum 62 (Getz-Preziosi 1987, pl. 34.2) using the waist measure would give an original height of 710mm. Goulandris Museum 64 (Getz-Preziosi 1987, pl. 34.27) would give a height of 630mm. Of the four figures published from the Spedos cemetery, none has such slender arms. The figure from Spedos tomb 14 (EAM6140.20; Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 54β) suggests a height of 600mm. Comparison with the pieces in the Naxos Museum suggests a greater figure than this. Taking NM4677 as comparison, a piece without provenance from the Galanis confiscation (Zapheiropoulou 1980 pl. 244), leads to a height of 870mm. If the height from the break at the waist to the lower part of the right arm is used (67mm), this results in a larger estimate for the original height. Using the Spedos tomb 14 piece cited above as comparandum in this way would give a height of 1070mm, which is probably much too large. Given the range of comparisons, we estimate 700 ± 100mm.

8. 1439 Waist and top of pelvis of large folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 26.10).
Trench C1, layer 15.
Maximum dimension: 116mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 77mm.
Estimated original height: 700mm (using minimum width at waist, 110mm, as comparative measure: see below).

Some cracking at the front. The left side of the pelvis, with clear indication of the groove at the upper left thigh. Very near the lower break there is a horizontal incised groove which presumably represents the top of the pubic triangle. The curious feature is that the groove at the upper left thigh is modelled, indicating the top of the pelvis, as is commonly seen on figures where the top of the legs are indicated by modelling, for example NM4691 (Zapheiropoulou 1980, pl. 238). Such figures however usually lack incisions at the pubic triangle. The waist is very flat. The right side is not preserved. At the back the spinal groove is preserved in part. This allows the measurement of the significant length to the point where the width is minimal, from spine to right hand side (55 × 2 giving 110mm for the complete figure).

A possible comparandum is NM4674, from the Galanis confiscation (Zapheiropoulou 1980, pl. 241), giving an original height of 700mm.

An alternative height estimation using EAM6195 from Tomb 10 at Spedos (Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 46α) as comparandum gives and original height of 790mm.

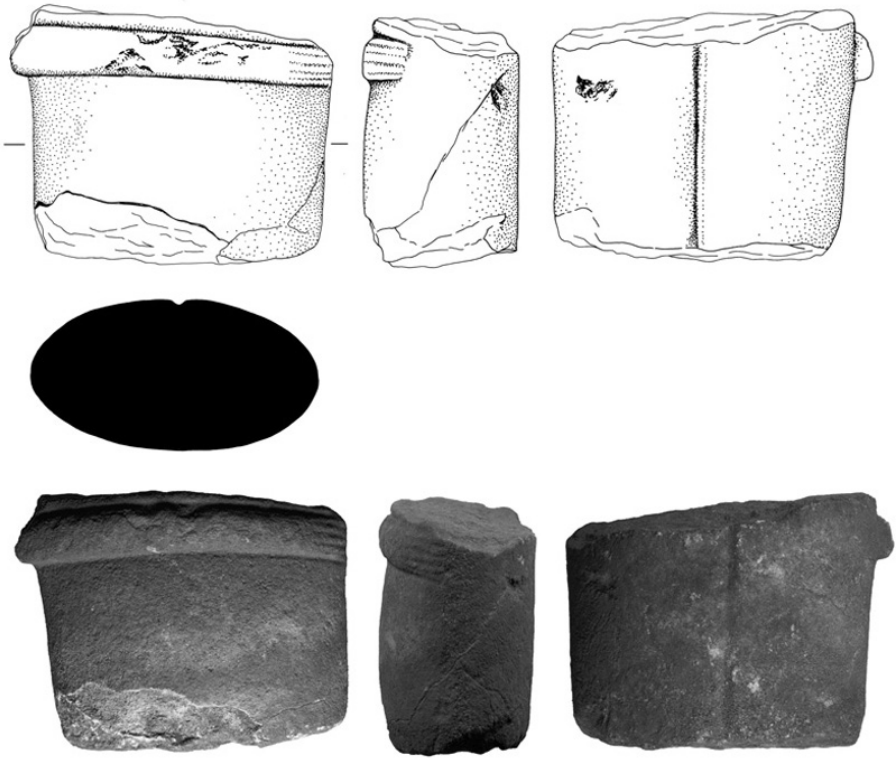


Fig. 26.9 625 Right arm and waist of large folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

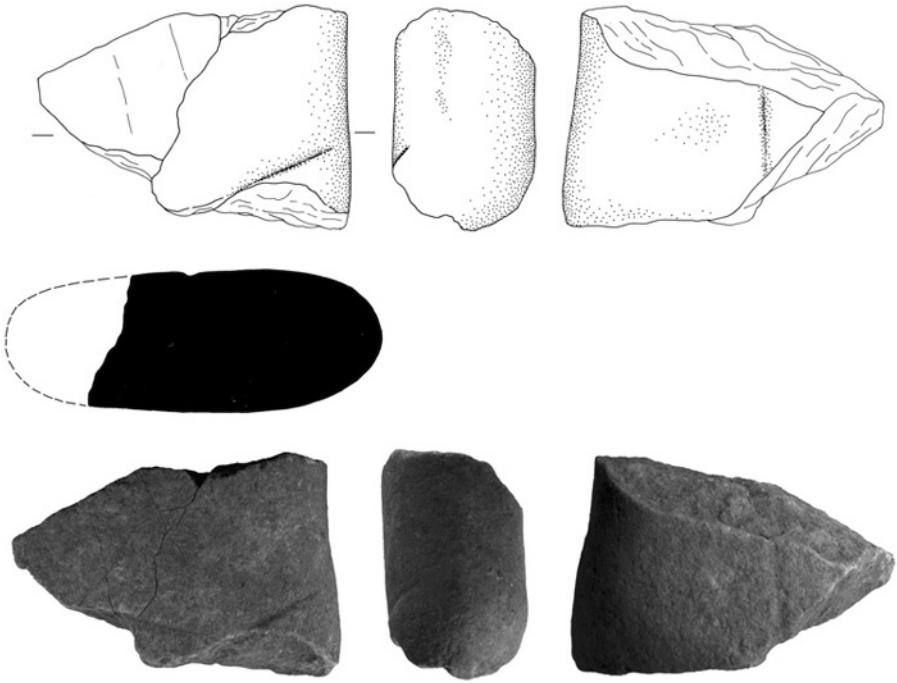


Fig. 26.10 1439 Waist and top of pelvis of large folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

9. 20149 Neck (or possibly waist) of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 26.11).
Trench D4, layer 5.
Maximum dimension: 84mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 75mm. Estimated original height: 700mm.
The width at the upper break is 52mm and the thickness 38mm. There are no specific features at the front and none at the rear (no spinal column). The preserved height is 50mm.

This piece can be seen as a neck fragment. It is remarkably parallel-sided (an oblate cylinder), but so indeed are some comparable necks. The very slight reduction in thickness at the top is not inconceivable below the arms, but perhaps more plausible below the chin. Alternatively this can be seen as the very simple, near cylindrical (oblate) waist of a Spedos figure, broken below the arms and above the pelvis, so that only a slight widening near the bottom of the waist has been reached. Certainly the break at the lower left hand side is suggestive rather of a shoulder that is missing than an oblique fracture of the pelvis. On balance considered to be a fragment of a neck.

Height estimation (as a neck) using NM4677 (Zapheiropoulou 1980, pl. 244) from the Galanis confiscation as a comparandum, gives an original height of 764mm. Alternatively, with NM4676 (Zapheiropoulou 1980, pl. 245) as a comparandum, also from the Galanis confiscation, an estimate of 646mm is obtained. (If the fragment is seen as a waist, comparison with NM4677 and NM4675, gives original heights of 509mm and 314mm respectively). Considered as a neck the estimate is of the order of 700mm.

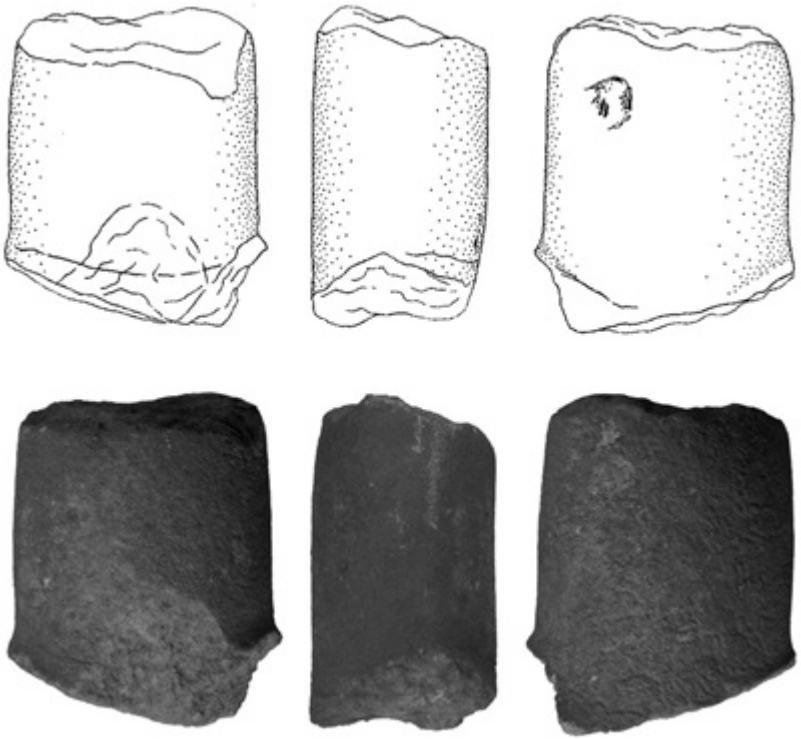


Fig. 26.11 20149 Neck (or possibly waist) of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Discussion

It is without doubt of considerable significance that fragments of several large figures, greater in height than any recovered from the Early Cycladic cemeteries, have been found from the Special Deposit South. A comparable observation may be made for materials recovered from the Special Deposit North and now in the Naxos Museum (Chapter 23). This confirms, on the basis of finds with some archaeological context, recovered in the course of controlled excavations (for the Special Deposit South) or from sanctioned recovery procedures (for the disturbed Special Deposit North), the position which could already be inferred on the basis of unprovenanced finds recovered prior to 1914. The production and use of such large figures is now documented beyond doubt, and earlier scepticism on this general point (e.g. that of Gill & Chippindale 1993) may now be laid to rest. There remains, however, the important question of the manner in which these very large figures were used.

A first reaction might be to see these finds as support for the hypothesis put forward in 1984 (Renfrew 1984) that Kavos might be interpreted as the remains of a sanctuary where large-scale sculptures were once displayed. But the evidence just reviewed relates instead to

fragments which, it has been inferred, were broken elsewhere and then brought to Keros, already fragmented, for ritual deposition. This would imply that if they were indeed publicly displayed, that would have been on other islands. The only large sculpture previously known, and with a seemingly sound provenance from Keros, is the large head in the Louvre (MA3095, 270mm in height) which was donated to the Louvre in 1862 (Michon 1929) as Marangou (1990) had documented. But that head, although impressive, is itself only a small part of a sculpture which we may infer was once complete.

One should note also that other large sculptures, which are alleged to have been found in the Special Deposit North during the looting process (Sotirakopoulou 2005), were in every case found in fragmentary condition. Some were however subsequently restored, using the fragments recovered, to give almost complete figures. So it is possible, if these finds did indeed derive from the Special Deposit North, that they were broken at that location in early bronze age times. It cannot be assumed that the activities at the two special deposits, North and South, were alike in all respects. However it is not the intention here to lay much emphasis upon these unprovenanced finds, whose place of discovery cannot be established with confidence. The possibility that breakage of complete figures did occur at the Special Deposit North cannot however be excluded simply on the grounds that such a practice does not seem to have occurred at the Special Deposit South.

The simplest conclusion at present would seem to be that the larger figures, which have not been found in the Cycladic cemeteries in the course of controlled excavations, were not produced for the purpose of inhumation in those cemeteries. Other uses must be inferred for them. What those uses were still remains at present a matter for speculation.

Sculptures of the Kea sub-variety

One of the most interesting features of the sculptural production in the Keros-Syros culture of the early bronze age Cyclades is the manner in which it was dominated by the canonical folded-arm figure. Moreover it has long been established (Renfrew 1969) that many of these figures can be divided into a series of classes or varieties, which can be explicitly defined. As discussed earlier in this volume (Renfrew, this volume, Chapter 1), the sculptures of these varieties can be further classified into a number of sub-varieties or microstyles. Our understanding of this phenomenon is largely due to the studies of Pat Getz-Gentle (Getz-Preziosi 1987; Getz-Gentle 2001). Her work, as

noted earlier, carries with it the problem that her lists contain many unprovenanced pieces, whose individual authenticity can rarely be established with certainty. Moreover her classificatory scheme involves the attribution of individual pieces to 'masters' or 'sculptors', who are often named after the collections, sometimes private collections, in which the chosen 'name-piece' is curated. Here, as in the earlier contribution to this volume (Chapter 23) the attempt is made to re-define some of the proposed sub-varieties in cases where the authenticity of the pieces involved can be established by their specific context of discovery. The principle is applied here that at least two of the pieces considered should come from documented archaeological excavations, or from discoveries documented and published prior to 1914.

The Kea sub-variety was first proposed and defined in outline in 1969 (Renfrew 1969, 18), where, however, it was classed as a 'variety'. This earlier classification is now seen as inappropriate, since it was based mainly upon the principal defining feature of the presence of horizontal rolls of flesh at the waist, seen as a post-natal (post-partum) feature. This feature is still one of the defining features of the proposed Kea sub-variety of the Chalandriani variety of the folded-arm figure, which is regarded as a sub-group or sub-variety of the Chalandriani variety.

Some features shared by the Kea sub-variety are as follows. First, as is usual with the Chalandriani variety, the torso is of square form, with the upper arms vertical and the lower arms horizontal across the abdomen. Seen from the front the outline of the body is very straight, with an uninterrupted straight line from below the elbow down to the feet, so that waist, buttocks thighs and calves are scarcely indicated by modelling: the front and back surfaces are flat, although the arms are indeed indicated with some modelling and the abdominal folds by grooves. The feet are not always preserved, but in No. 2 here (Kea K.9.55) and the former Erlenmeyer piece (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 137) they have the flattish form of the Chalandriani variety. There is a groove for the spine which usually continues straight across the buttocks to indicate the division between the legs. The abdominal folds start immediately beneath the lower right arm, the lowest fold marking the top of the pubic triangle, which is shown by two oblique incised lines, which usually run up almost to the lower right arm.

The pieces which it is proposed here to include in the Kea sub-variety, as re-defined here, are as follows:

1. Kea, Ayia Irini, K.3.l (Fig. 26.12, 1). Published by Caskey

(1971, 16, no. 8 and pl. 19, 8); see also Renfrew (1969, 18, IV.D.1 and pl. 8, f); Hershenson & Overbeck (this volume, Chapter 29). Headless and lacking feet. Preserved height: 94mm.
2. Kea, Ayia Irini, K.9.55 (Fig. 26.12, 2). Published by Caskey (1971, 16, no. 7 and pl. 19, 7). See also Wilson (this volume, Chapter 9). Headless. Preserved height: 121mm.
3. Kavos Special Deposit South, 1155 (Fig. 26.12, 3). Published below. Torso and pelvis. Preserved height: 89mm.
4. Kavos Special Deposit South, 156 (Fig. 26.12, 4). Published below. Waist and pelvis. Preserved height: 61mm.

A related piece is British Museum A13 (Fig. 26.12, 5). Published by Pryce (1928, 7; acquired 1874); see also Renfrew (1969, 18, IV.D.3). It is headless, preserved height 163mm. However the feet of this piece seem to relate more closely to the Dokathismata variety.

An unprovenanced piece from the Erlenmeyer Collection is now in the Goulandris Museum, no. 137 (Erlenmeyer & Erlenmeyer 1965, 69, pl. 19, 6; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 168 no. 137). It is headless, preserved height 161mm. Note that although this piece has been regarded as part of the socalled 'Keros Hoard' in view of its Erlenmeyer 'provenance', it does not figure in the key photograph of the 'Keros Hoard', taken when in the Erlenmeyer Collection (Getz-Preziosi 1976, 87 pl. 71; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 38, fig.5). Its affiliation with the so-called 'Keros Hoard' is therefore not established. It does however resemble some of the pieces listed here, especially the second (Kea K.9.55)

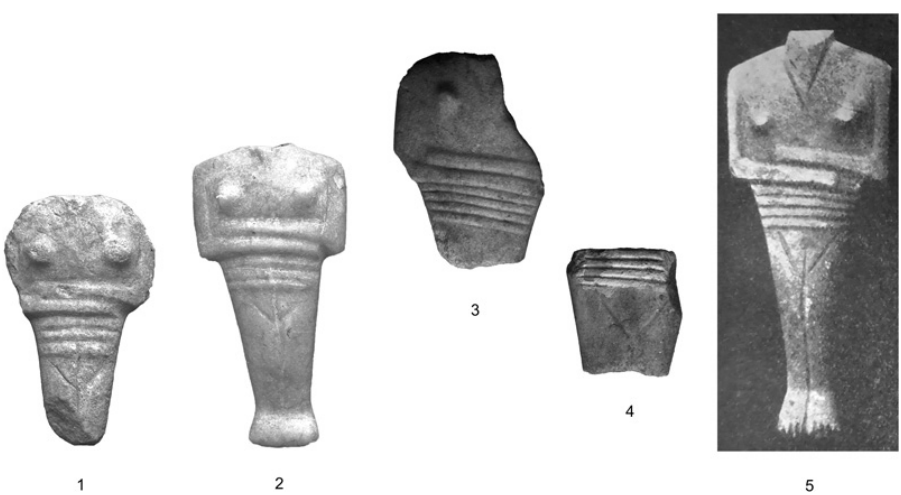


Fig. 26.12 Examples of the Kea sub-variety. Scale 1:2.

Some of these sculptures (the two from Kea and the Erlenmeyer-Goulandris piece) are listed by Getz-Preziosi (1985, plate 48) as works of the 'Dresden Master' (see also Getz-Gentle 2001, 170). However she includes in her list for the 'Dresden Master' several figurines of the Chalandriani variety which do not have the characteristic abdominal folds. Rather unexpectedly a male figure of the 'hunter-warrior' class is included in her list (Getz-Preziosi 1985, pl. 48, no. 5): it is in the Dresden Museum (acquired before 1925), and is in fact 'name-piece' of her 'Dresden Sculptor'. While there are stylistic similarities between that piece and those of the Kea sub-variety (which could indeed hypothetically be works of rather different forms produced by the same sculptor), the sloping arm and other distinguishing features exclude the Dresden piece automatically from the sub-variety as here conceived as a specific type. As indicated earlier (Chapter 1), the notion of sub-variety is conceived as a narrowly defined taxonomic class (see Sokal & Sneath 1963) which does not allow major divergences in form. In view of these comments, the status as a potential sub-variety of the group classed by Getz-Preziosi (Getz-Gentle) as the works of the 'Dresden Sculptor' seems questionable.

A further piece (Doumas 1968, Goulandris Museum 310), included in the original (and now rejected) listing of the Kea 'variety' (Renfrew 1969, 18, IV.D2) is rather different, closer to the Dokathismata than the Chalandriani variety. It is without known provenance. Unfortunately it is the only example among those listed here which preserves the head with the body.

The Kea sub-variety sculptures from the Special Deposit South

Two sculptures of this proposed sub-variety were recovered from the Special Deposit south, numbers 3 and 4 on the list above.

3. 1155 Torso and pelvis of the Kea sub-variety of the Chalandriani variety (Fig. 26.13).
From Trench C4, surface find.
Maximum preserved length along vertical axis: 85mm.
Maximum preserved length: 89mm.
Broken at the neck and across the pubic triangle, this is a notably flat piece assignable to the Kea sub-variety. As with so many of these flat pieces, the marble surface is relatively well-preserved and not eroded. The left side is broken. At the front the upper arm is modelled in low relief, as is the lower right arm. The lower left arm crosses the torso above the lower left arm in the usual way, but the raised area stops some 8mm before the bottom of the lower right arm is reached. In this space indications of incision for the splaying fingers can just be discerned. The abdominal folds, four in number, are indicated by well-executed grooves, and the distance from the uppermost to the lowermost groove is 14mm. There is no horizontal incision for the pubic triangle, but the right and left inclined lines are visible, and there is also a vertical line from the apex of the triangle up to level with the top of the two incised lines. The right breast is prominent, the left breast is missing. At the back the piece is flat except for

the small protrusion of the buttocks. The spinal groove runs uninterruptedly across the buttocks to form the groove between the legs. The thickness of the lower break is 14mm. At the back of the neck there are incisions at right and left giving a V-groove. The body thickens at the back, giving a thickness of 18mm at the break.

A comparandum to estimate original height is difficult to find for this piece, since no complete example exists of the sub-variety from a secure context.

It should be noted that on this piece the buttocks are indicated by a very lightly modelled protrusion, which interrupts the sweep of the line indicating the spine and going on to divide the legs. On this piece there is a space between the lower abdominal fold and the pubic triangle. It is notable also that the fingers of the left hand are indicated by light incisions, rather than by modelling. This is a feature of some post-canonical figurines (Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977).

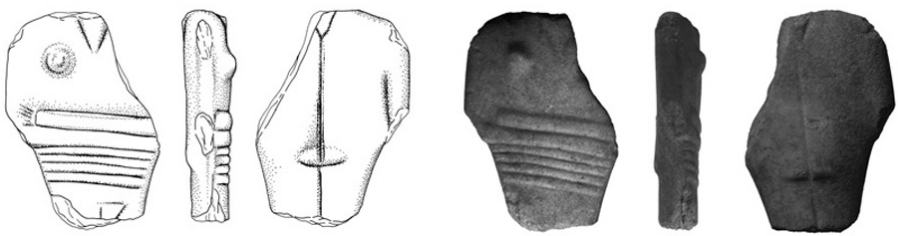


Fig. 26.13 1155 Torso and pelvis of the Kea sub-variety of the Chalandriani variety. Scale 1:2.

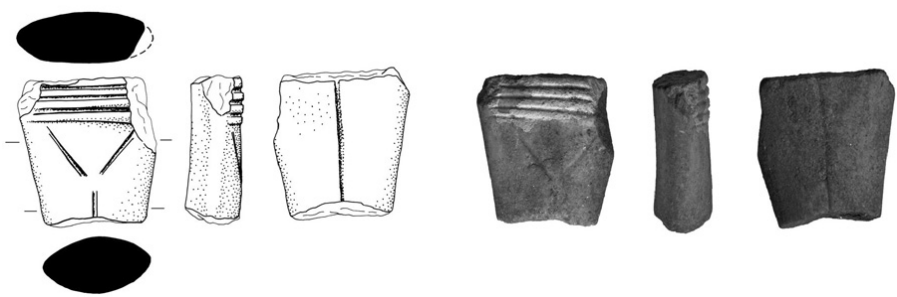


Fig. 26.14 156 Waist and pelvis of the Kea sub-variety of the Chalandriani variety. Scale 1:2.

4. 156. Waist and pelvis of the Kea sub-variety of the Chalandriani variety (Fig. 26.14).
From Trench D1 layer 2.
Maximum preserved length: 61mm.
Maximum preserved length along the vertical axis: 48mm.

A comparandum to estimate original height is difficult to find for this piece, since no complete example exists of the sub-variety from a secure context.

Broken above the topmost abdominal fold and at or above the knee. The characteristic feature is the four horizontal folds of flesh indicated by grooves below the right arm, which is not preserved. The pubic triangle is immediately below the lowest fold, without a horizontal incision, but with inclined inside lines, from which the shallow groove separating the legs descends. The width of the lowest fold (estimated as 2 × 23mm) is 46mm. At this point the lines of the pubic triangle intersect with the fold, showing that it has at this point a length of about 30mm, and therefore does not encompass the full length of the lowest fold. At the back there is a shallow groove indicating the legs. The buttocks were presumably above the break. A significant feature of this figure is that it is not flat and parallel-sided like most of the Chalandriani variety, but fairly rounded at the breaks, with thickness 16mm on the upper break and 18mm at the lower break which seems to be thickening as it approaches the knee.

The section across the legs at the lower break of this piece is, as noted above, more rounded than with the other, flatter pieces listed.

Discussion

The recognition by Getz-Preziosi of several sub-varieties of the previously recognised varieties of the canonical folded-arm figure (seen in her interpretation as the work of individual 'Masters' or 'Sculptors') represents a notable advance in our understanding of Early Cycladic sculpture. Elsewhere in this volume (Sotirakopoulou, Renfrew & Boyd, Chapter 23) the presence in the Special Deposit North of works of the Kavos sub-variety (i.e. of the 'Goulandris Master' in Getz-Gentle's terminology) and of the Akrotiri sub-variety (i.e. of the 'Schuster Master'), has been recognised. Here a further sub-variety, the Kea subvariety, has been identified on the basis of finds from the Special Deposit South, and from other sites, notably Aghia Irini on Kea. In the third volume of the final report of the excavations in the Special Deposit South (Renfrew *et al.* in prep.) a few fragments which can be assigned to the Kavos sub-variety will be published, as well as some of the Akrotiri sub-variety. That so many sculptures which can be assigned to the Kavos sub-variety or 'Goulandris Sculptor' have appeared on the market in recent years, nearly all of them (if authentic) deriving from illicit excavations, when so few of this sub-variety have been recovered during authorised excavations in the Cycladic cemeteries, seems a matter of considerable note. The circumstance that so many of such finds are unprovenanced, and therefore not of secure authenticity, complicates the problems of interpretation. There is, however, more to learn from the finds recovered during the excavations in the Special Deposit South, as it is hoped this paper serves to indicate.

Acknowledgements

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27

MARBLE AND OTHER SPOOLS FROM THE EXCAVATIONS AT DHASKALIO AND THE SPECIAL DEPOSIT SOUTH AT KAVOS, KEROS (2006–2008), AND RELATED CYCLADIC FINDS

Judit Haas-Lebegyev

Introduction

Spool-shaped objects made from marble, limestone, travertine and other decorative stone types or the whitish coloured, thick-walled *Spondylus gaedoropus* shell form an enigmatic category of objects in the Aegean early bronze age. They are frequently found in Cycladic sites and are also common in the Greek mainland and the surrounding areas during the Early Bronze Age II and III periods. They were carved of carefully selected materials emphasizing the attractive features (veining, colours) and were shaped and polished with great care, which suggests a special significance and usage.

Because of their shape and the occurrence of pigments on some examples these spool- or cylindrical shaped objects are frequently termed 'pestles', and therefore seen as objects used for grinding fine substances, such as pigments. Some scholars tried to establish a connection with the figurines, interpreting them as 'aniconic representations of a deity' (Wiseman 1967, 41) or as possible 'head-rests for reclining idols' (Thimme 1975, 10).

More recently Lorenz Rahmstorf put forward the hypothesis that these objects served as balance weights conforming to a weighing

system, with its basic units adopted from the Near East (Rahmstorf 2003; 2006a; 2006b; 2010; 2011, 150–2). Contextual data offering the opportunity to bring us closer to revealing possible modes of usage of this object category are, therefore, of the utmost importance.

General characteristics of spool-shaped objects found in Early Bronze Age contexts in the Cyclades

There are two morphological variants: one has a spool shape with concave curving sides and convex, circular ends; the other is of cylindrical shape with straight sides and flattened or nearly flattened circular ends. Quantitatively the first type is more common in Cycladic contexts. In the settlement of Dhaskalio the ratio is 14:7, while at Kavos, Keros more than 45 examples belong to the spool-shape variant; and only twelve represent the cylindrical type. Because of the nature of the material, some of the *Spondylus* spools have a more irregular shape, and thus cannot be placed in one of the two types.

The materials used are usually decorative stones, such as marble, limestone, serpentine, travertine which could be both locally available or imported to the relevant find places.

There is no apparent correlation between shape and material, although for example among the spools from Dhaskalio and Kavos, Keros a preference for the spool shape can be observed among the examples made from the so-called Kouphonisi limestone.

The spools can vary in size from tiny examples of less than 20mm in length and 4g in weight to huge ones of around 90mm in length, having an average size of around 40mm in length (the largest one known is from Ayia Irini, having a length of 182mm and weighing 790g: Wilson 1999, SF-115, pls 38, 96).

Spool-shaped objects are well known from many EC sites. Up to now the greatest number from a single site is known from the Special Deposit South at Kavos, Keros numbering 66 examples. The settlement of Ayia Irini on Keos yielded more than 30 pieces (25 from Early Bronze Age layers, Wilson 1999, 150–1, 157, eight examples from Middle Bronze Age levels, Caskey 1986, 19). In the settlement of Dhaskalio 23 examples were recovered. They are also well represented in other Cycladic sites, though in smaller numbers, such as at Markiani on Amorgos (seven spools), Akrotiri, Thera (nine specimens

from EC contexts), Skarkos on Ios, Phylakopi on Melos, Kastri on Syros, Mt. Kynthos on Delos, Akrotiraki on Siphnos and from graves in the cemeteries of Chalandriani on Syros and Kapros on Amorgos.

Beyond the Cyclades, spools are widely distributed on the Greek mainland and adjacent islands (for a comprehensive list with distribution map of the pieces see Rahmstorf 2003; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2005, 124, fig. 90, 167–9): They are well represented in Attica (Ayios Kosmas, Raphina, Athens, Kitsos Cave) in Euboea (Manika, Amarynthos), and Argolid– Corinthia (Zygouries, Yiriza, Gonia, Korakou, Corinth, Tiryns, Argos, Asine, Mycenae, Lerna, Prosymna). From Tiryns more than forty examples are known (Rahmstorf 2003, 29). The settlement of Kolonna on Aegina has until now produced more than 25 examples (15 listed in Walter & Felten 1981, 178–9, additional pieces, Rahmstorf 2003, 299), while Lerna yielded 12 (Banks 1967, 189–90, 193). Beyond these areas spools are more sparsely represented, with only one or two examples per site (Asea in Arcadia, Ayios Stephanos and Geraki in Laconia, Eutresis, Orchomenos, Thebes in Boeotia and as the northernmost site, Pefkakia Magoula in Thessaly).

A considerable number of spools was found in the northeast Aegean islands in Thermi on Lesbos; in Poliochni on Lemnos (Bernabò Brea 1964, 674; 1976, 304, 307, 310, 312), and in Emporio on Chios, with a few examples turning up also in coastal sites of Asia Minor (Troy, Kusura, Tarsus).

Single examples are known from even further away, from the Ionian Islands (a grave at Steno on Lefkas, and Pelikata on Ithaka); and from Crete (Archanes, Trapeza cave, Eileithyia cave, and Mochlos (Tristan Carter, pers. comm., for the latter piece). In Crete, in view of some accompanying finds of Cycladic character, they can most probably be regarded as Cycladic imports (Rahmstorf 2006b, 75).

In most of the above sites, spools were usually found as well preserved, neatly polished objects, without apparent use marks or abrasion. If they had a utilitarian function as pestles they must have been used to grind small samples of very soft substances, such as pigments or spices.

Archaeological contexts of spool-shaped objects

Most of the spools are known from settlements, and they are much less frequently recovered from cemeteries in the Cyclades and other areas. The only site with clear religious, symbolic significance (sanctuary) where spools were found in large numbers is the Special

Deposit South at Kavos, Keros, facing the islet of Dhaskalio, where, the same way as other special object categories, spools were deposited in a deliberately fragmented state.

Spools found in settlement contexts

Spool-shaped objects made of stone and *Spondylus* shell are frequent finds in Cycladic Early Bronze Age domestic contexts. This is true for all find categories, but in the case of such controversial artefacts as the stone and *Spondylus* shell spools undisturbed contexts are of outmost importance for a functional and chronological understanding. The most informative are *in situ* assemblages recovered from floor layers, or in layers sealed by or between floor layers. A large number of finds derive from tumble layers which can provide important data for the chronological position of find categories.

Although generally found in settlements, most of the spools were not recovered in primary contexts where they could provide indications for their possible use. From the Cyclades an assemblage from Kastri on Syros (Bossert 1967), from Skarkos on Ios (Marthari, this volume, Chapter 12) and from the mainland, an assemblage from Room 196 in the lower citadel of Tiryns can be mentioned (unfortunately the latter context has not been published so far in detail, Kilian 1982, 422; Rahmstorf 2006b, 25–6). At Dhaskalio spools recovered in the lower trenches (especially in Trench I) and dated to the earlier phases (phases A and B) are the most relevant both contextually and chronologically.

Spools from the settlement on Dhaskalio

Dhaskalio is a tiny, now uninhabited islet located only 90m to the west of the larger, rugged island of Keros, and faces the site of Kavos situated on the western slopes of Keros. The two islands were in the Early Bronze Age connected by a natural causeway. The explorations of the Cambridge Keros Project between 2006 and 2008 on Dhaskalio brought to light the remains of a dense settlement built of largely imported building material and according to the pottery evidence inhabited during the EC II and III periods (Renfrew 2013b, 4–5). Based on an integrated analysis of find groups (especially pottery and ground stone) and archaeobotanical remains it is assumed that only a small population of around 20 people lived permanently on the island, which on a seasonal, periodic basis, related to the ritual practices on Kavos, Keros, could have risen to a figure as high as 400 (Renfrew 2013a, 710–11).

Fig. 27.1 Findspots of spools on Dhaskalio.

During the investigations between 2006 and 2008 seventeen spools made of stone and six of the marine shell *Spondylus gaederopus* were found on Dhaskalio (Haas-Lebegyev & Renfrew 2013, 491–504; Figs 27.2 and 27.3). Of the stone spools three were made of marble, ten spools were made of pinkish–orange coloured, so-called 'Kouphonisi' or related limestone, the remaining examples were made from other varieties of limestone. Besides these, two comparable cylindrical or slightly spool-shaped objects, but made of lead were also recovered on the site (Haas-Lebegyev & Renfrew 2013; Georgakopoulou 2013, 681, 686).

The chronological position of the spools within the settlement is as follows (Fig. 27.1): one spool made of Kouphonisi limestone could be assigned to Phase A (10209, Trench II) which corresponds with EC II of the Keros-Syros culture (for the Dhaskalio chronological sequence and Cycladic comparanda see, Renfrew 2013b, 6, table 1.1). Seven spools could be assigned to Phase B which equates with EC II–III and

in cultural terms to the Earlier Kastri group. From the seven spools six were recovered in Trench I (5135, 5952, 10160, 10171, 10174, 12107) and one marble spool came from Trench II (5438). Concerning their material, three were carved from marble, two from Kouphonisi or related limestone and two from *Spondylus* shell. Thus all the earlier spools came to light at the two sides of the terrace structure east of the summit, in Trenches I and II.

The majority of the spools (13 specimens) is from strata of Phase C which corresponds to the EC III period and culturally to the Later Kastri group. The spools belonging to this phase were found in structures on and around the Summit area, including the Hall and the Summit Enclosure. North of the Byzantine chapel, at the central part of the summit area one example was found in Trench XXV (12860). Two limestone spools (12085, 12090) and a lead cylinder 12092 came to light in the Summit Enclosure in Trench XXIII, and one spool in Trench XXII east of it (11903). On the northern side of the summit area two spools (5789, 11015) and a lead cylinder (5741) were found in Trench VI and one spool in Trench XIII to the east (11360). Several spools were found on the southern side of the summit area, three pieces (10703, 10743, 10765) in Trench VII, and one example immediately to the north of it in Trench XXI (11805). Below the summit on the east side a weathered *Spondylus* spool (12431) was recovered in the dense tumble assemblage in Trench XVIII which in its totality had most probably fallen from the summit during the destruction episodes (Haas-Lebegyev & Renfrew 2013, 492, fig. 25.1; for the context, Renfrew *et al.* 2013a, 291).

Only a few spools were found in primary contexts, on or between floor layers. Contextually the most important observations were made in Trench I, where several spools were uncovered at the western part of the Trench close to wall B, in Area X (Renfrew *et al.* 2013c, 105-9). A marble spool with traces of red pigment on one of its circular ends (5952) was found on the floor surface of Floor Q (layer 18Q, below layer 16/26) together with two large stone discs, a large bowl sitting on top of the easternmost disc (5955), several stone tools (volcanic ash pebble (5150), an emery rubber or hammer (5953), a large quern stone (5980), and a large obsidian core (5951). In addition, *c.* 60mm below the spool a large unworked *Spondylus* fragment (5964) was found which may have served as raw material for manufacturing *Spondylus* spools. In the same area (Area X), on the western side of Floor P (layer 26P, above Floor Q) several spools were found forming part of an assemblage with other objects. The limestone spool 10160

was recovered together with two stone tools (an emery rubber 10163 and a schistose pestle 10164), three clay tuyères (10157, 10161, 10162 fragmentary), a white pebble fragment (10165), and a copper fragment (10166: Renfrew *et al.* 2013c, 105, fig. 9.12). In the same area (from layer 32P, a fill between two floor layers), two other spools, 10171 (of marble) and 10174 (of *Spondylus*) together with a drilled stone (10172), and a stone tool (10173) probably also formed part of the same assemblage. A limestone spool (12107) found in layer 44 under Floor Q along with other special finds formed part of the make-up for the floor (Renfrew *et al.* 2013c, 108).

Also in other areas of the settlement, some spools formed part of deposits above and between floor layers, such as the limestone spool 10743 and 10765 from layer 32 (beneath tumble layer 11 and above the floor associated with layer 38) in Trench VII and the limestone spool 12860 in layer 20 (between floor layers 18 and 23) in Trench XXV. Only a few spools coming from undisturbed contexts were found together with other objects: besides the above mentioned assemblages in Trench I, the limestone spool 12085 in Trench XXIII was found close to an emery rubber (12084) on floor level 12 within the Summit Enclosure in association with a dark staining in the soil containing charcoal (on the context, Renfrew *et al.* 2013b, 196). Below the floor level, from the south-eastern part of the fill of the Summit Enclosure (layer 13) a limestone spool (12090) and the lead cylinder (12092) were found close to each other (Renfrew *et al.* 2013b, 197).

Several spools were found in tumble layers (5135 in Trench I; 5438, 5789, 10209 in Trench II, 5789, 11015, and the lead cylinder 5741 in Trench VI; 10703 in Trench VII; 11805 in Trench XXI; 12431 in Trench XVIII).

Most spools found in Dhaskalio are carefully made, polished, finished products. Only a few pieces exhibit clear traces of use-wear: a marble spool (5952) found in Trench I bears faint traces of reddish pigment on the surface of one of its circular ends. The area with the pigment traces is deepened indicating prolonged use – perhaps related to crushing of pigments or other fine substances. An oval depression along the side and a more rounded one at the edge of one circular end on a limestone spool (10160 from Trench I) also indicate intensive use. A heavily worn piece (5438) with breakages on the edges and sides, and one very rounded end suggests intensive use, maybe as a pestle. Several pieces have minor breakages around their usually rounded edges, which may perhaps denote use (5202, 10160, 10743, 12090, 12860). This is all the more probable as in several cases only

one end has rounded edges with chips broken off around it, while the other end has sharp edges without any damages (cf. 11903). Similar breakages and wear-marks on a spool from Amorgos were interpreted by Sherratt as traces of use for 'breaking up materials with a pounding or hammering action' (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. 8.31, Sherratt 2000, 176).

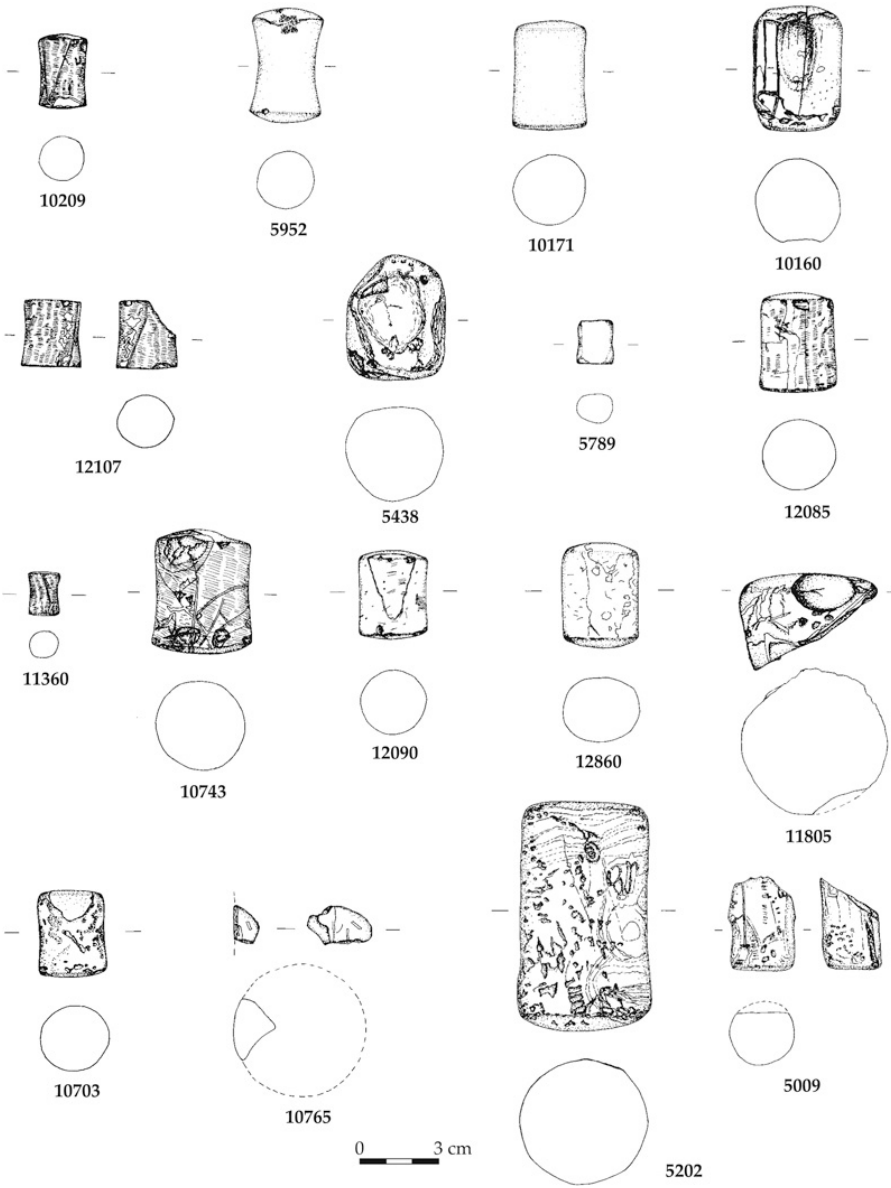

Fig. 27.2 Spools made of marble and limestone from Dhaskalio. Scale 1:2.

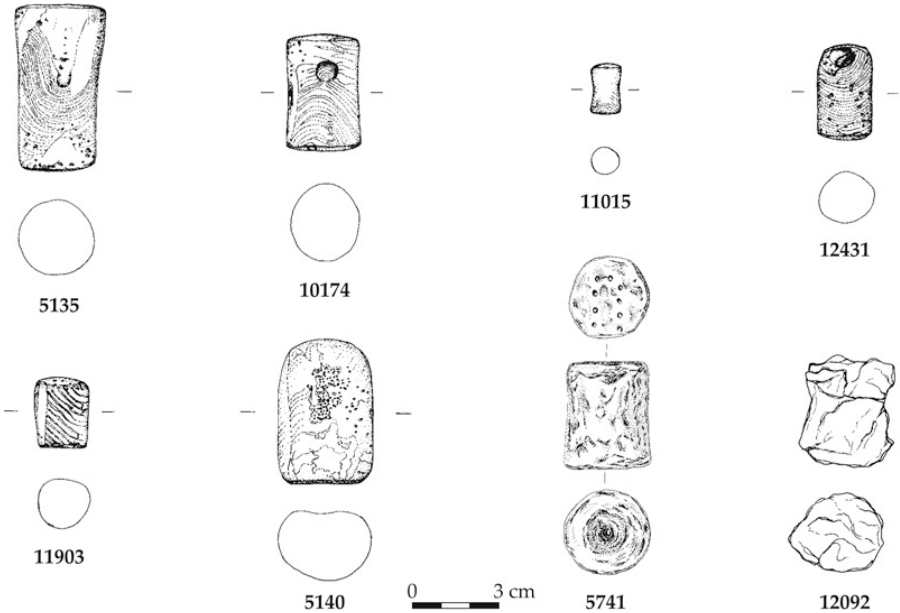

Fig. 27.3 Spools of Spondylus gaederopus and of lead (5741 and 12092) from Dhaskalio. Scale 1:2.

Contextual information is the most relevant in interpreting the possible functions of the spools. In Lorenz Rahmstorf's view spools found in earlier (Phase A and B), seemingly undisturbed, layers are more likely to have been used in a primary way as weights, while in the case of those found in Phase C contexts secondary use as pestles seems to be higher. Also the level of fragmentation is much higher implying such practice as well (Rahmstorf pers. comm., November 2013). Against this interpretation speaks, among others, a marble spool (5952) dated to Phase B with traces of red pigment on one of its circular edges, which could have been (also) used as pestle.

All the spools were weighed and tested to see whether they fit in the hexagesimal weighing system based on the number 60 assumed by Rahmstorf to be adopted from the Near East together with other innovations in the Early Bronze II period Aegean (Rahmstorf 2010; Haas-Lebegyev & Renfrew 2013, 499, table 25.1). One spool forming part of an assemblage in Trench I, 10160 weighing 94g, could fit well to three of the units of the Near Eastern mina weighing 470g which can be reconstructed as 600: 10 × 9.4g = onefifth of a mina, 12 × 7.83g and 8 × 11.75g (Rahmstorf 2010, 95, table 8.3, 102, table 8.5 – these units can be seen as fractions of 60) – note, however, that originally this piece probably weighed more as it exhibited damage around the edges, and has a depressed side due to intensive use. Three other complete spools found in the same area could also conform to

the most widespread 'Syrian' unit of 9.4g: 5952 and 10174 weighing 58g and 59g (6 × 9.4g = one-eighth of a mina), 10171 weighing 73g (8 × 9.4g = *c.* one-sixth of a mina), as their weights can be considered multiples based on the same unit (×6, ×8, ×10). They might indeed had been used as balance weights, although the use-wear seen on two of them (5952, 10160), and especially the pigment traces on the marble spool (5952) does not preclude other uses, such as crushing pigments. Most of the spools, however, do not conform readily to the proposed weight units. As Rahmstorf himself has remarked, it is possible that not all the spool-shaped objects were used as balance weights (Rahmstorf 2006b, 78, and pers. comm.).

The spools from the Special Deposit South at Kavos, Keros – a site of special, religious-symbolic significance

Based on the special character of the site of Kavos, lying on the western shores of the today uninhabited mountainous island of Keros, this island can be regarded as the home of a place of extraordinary ritual deposition: a ritual centre, an open-air 'sanctuary' of major importance in the early bronze age Cyclades and probably beyond it (Renfrew 2013b, 3–4; Renfrew 2015, 555–560)). The site yields two large concentrations of fragmented artefacts, so-called Special Deposits. The northern one was unfortunately largely looted and only a small part could be investigated and saved afterwards (Renfrew *et al.* 2007a). The Special Deposit South, however, fortunately remained intact, which made possible a complete exploration that took place between 2006 and 2008 by the Cambridge Keros Project.

In total 66 spool-shaped objects were found in the Special Deposit South in Kavos, Keros during the investigations between 2006 and 2008 (Haas-Lebegyev & Renfrew 2015, 249–267). This number is by far the highest recovered from a single site to date. From the 66 spools 47 were made from special, carefully selected stones (Figs 27.4 and 27.5) and nineteen from the marine shell *Spondylus gaederopus* (Fig. 27.6). Of the stone examples two were made of marble and the rest of limestone. A large number of the limestone spools were carved from the so-called Kouphonisi limestone, but other decorative stones, such as laminated limestone or travertine are also present in the material.

Morphologically the majority of the spools belong to the spool shape variant with more than forty five examples; and only twelve represent the cylindrical type.

Fig. 27.4 A selection of stone spools from the Special Deposit South at Kavos, Keros. Scale 1:2.

In spite of their great number, the proportion of complete examples is rather small. Of the 66 spools 57 were fragmentary and only 9 were complete (less than 14% of the total), compared with 18 of the 23 spools found in Dhaskalio (almost 80% of the total). It is worth noting that all the marble spools found in both sites were complete. According to the study of the breakages, most of the spools recovered in the Special Deposit South, like other categories of finds, were systematically fragmented, in many cases by several breakages, the remaining piece often representing only one quarter or even less of the original object. A large number of the fragmentary spools recovered in the Special Deposit South have very regular, sometimes perfectly straight breakage surfaces, indicating deliberate breakage made by cutting with a saw (Fig. 27.7). Of the 57 fragmentary pieces at least twenty were fragmented in this way. About the same number were fragmented by splitting and several pieces by the combination of the two methods. However, in view of the rejoined pieces, sometimes having irregular breakage surfaces most probably caused by hitting the object with a sharp edged tool, the actual number of intentional breakages could have been even higher. In contrast, in other sites spools are usually found in a complete state with a minimal amount of breakages, which are of an accidental nature and mostly related to

use. In Dhaskalio from the five fragmentary pieces only two were broken in a way that indicates deliberate breakage made by splitting. Others were apparently broken accidentally, due to heavy use or probably during the manufacturing process. On most spools found in the Special Deposit South no apparent use-wear can be observed. In the few examples mentioned above breakage of chips around the edges of the circular end might point to previous use.

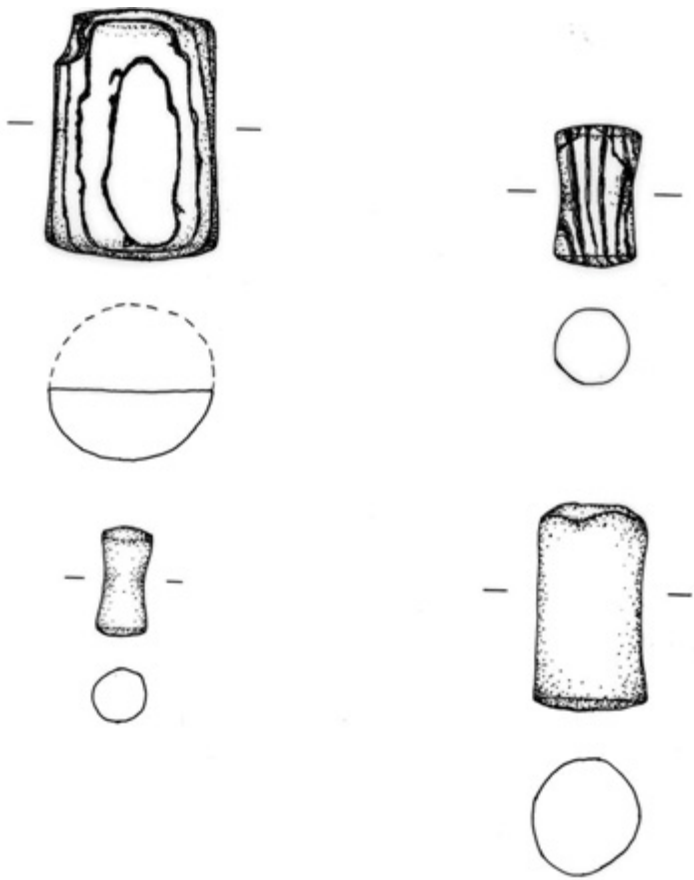

Fig. 27.5. Complete and fragmented spools made from marble and other decorative stones from the Special Deposit South at Kavos, Keros. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 27.6 A selection of Spondylus spools from the Special Deposit South at Kavos, Keros. Scale 1:2.

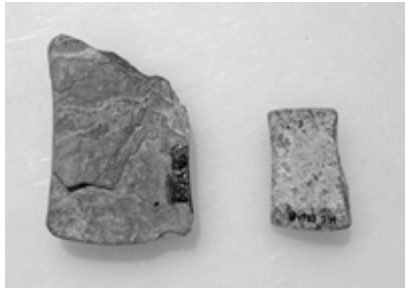

Fig. 27.7 Stone spools fragmented by sawing, Special Deposit South. Scale 1:2.

Due to extensive fragmentation, spools found with a complete profile in the Special Deposit South are mainly small sized, ranging from 18mm to 38mm in length, with an additional example of 44mm rejoined from three pieces (979, 1443 and 3114). On average, spools from the Special Deposit South are around 25mm in length. The spools found in Dhaskalio, however, are on average larger, ranging from 17mm to 88mm, with a peak at around 39mm.

Compared to the well-preserved polished surfaces seen on most of the spools from Dhaskalio, the spools recovered in the Special Deposit South usually have worn, eroded surface with no traces left from the polishing, indicating long-term exposure to natural destroying forces. The place of recovery does not correlate with the extent of surface weathering: some pieces found on or close to the surface had still sharp edges and preserved traces of polishing, while others excavated in deeper layers were of much inferior condition. It is, therefore, likely that much of the weathering observed occurred prior to deposition (Renfrew *et al.* 2007b, 112).

The extent of erosion and the random location is most apparent in the case of the matching fragments which sometimes were found at a considerable distance from each other and exhibiting highly different degrees of surface wear: Two fragments (1308 from Trench D3 and 6836 from Trench J2), which constitute together an almost complete

spool, were found in two adjacent trenches several meters from each other; the smaller fragment, 1308, compared to the larger piece 6836, has a more weathered surface with lighter colour, and a breakage surface with more rounded edges, suggesting long-term exposure on the ground, and maybe indicating earlier deposition than the larger piece. Two small fragments, (25002 and 25093) were found in the same trench, Trench RA, but with a difference of *c.* 2.60m in depth (they form together a complete circular end, but still representing only around a fifth of the original limestone spool). Three fragments (3114 from Trench D3, 1443 from Trench C1 and 979 from Trench F3, were found at a distance of *c.* 8–10m from each other, forming together around two thirds of the original limestone spool. The differential weathering is the most striking in this case: 979 has an extremely eroded, abraded surface compared to the two other pieces (1443 and 3114), where the original smooth surface, with the attractive veining of the stone still can be seen. The different degrees of weathering could in this case as well perhaps point to subsequent deposition.

In spite of the thorough excavation of the Special Deposit South and the application of systematic sieving methods, of the 57 fragmentary pieces only seven matching pieces were found. It seems therefore reasonable to suppose that the fragmentation did not take place at and around the Special Deposit, and that only parts and not all of the broken pieces of the original spools were deposited on the site. The missing parts of the large amount of fragmentary pieces could have been deposited elsewhere, and never brought to the site, or if the breakages occurred somewhere nearby the Special Deposit, these missing fragments were subsequently taken away.

Based on the work of Sotirakopoulou on the ceramic material, the peak of the deposits was in Phase A and B, and particularly Dhaskalio Phase A, although in a smaller scale they continued in use into Dhaskalio Phase C (Boyd *et al.* 2015, 224; Sotirakopoulou 2015, 564). This is in contrast with the evidence from Dhaskalio, where Phase A and B are restricted to structures East of the Summit, to Trenches I and II, while most of the other buildings including the Hall on the Summit area and south of it, the structures of Trench VII belonged to Phase C (Renfrew 2013b, 17). However, the chronological position is inevitably less clear-cut for the spools and spool fragments deriving from the sometimes disturbed stratigraphy of the find contexts in the Special Deposit South on Kavos.

The largest number of spools – 23 examples – was found in Trench D3, at the northern part of the Special Deposit, and predominantly, as noted during the excavation, in the eastern part of the trench (Fig.

27.8). It is worth noting that in the case of other special find categories, such as marble figurines, the highest number also came from this trench. Next in frequency was Trench C1, to the southeast, with twelve spools. Both in Trench J2, to the north of Trench D3, and to the south of it, in Trench D2 four fragmentary spools were found. In the other trenches one to three pieces were recovered on average. On the basis of the distribution of the finds, the focal place of deposition, in the case of the spools, at least at some point of the deposition history of the site, could have been in the area of Trenches D3, D2 and C1 (on the distribution of the spools see also Boyd 2015, 373–374).

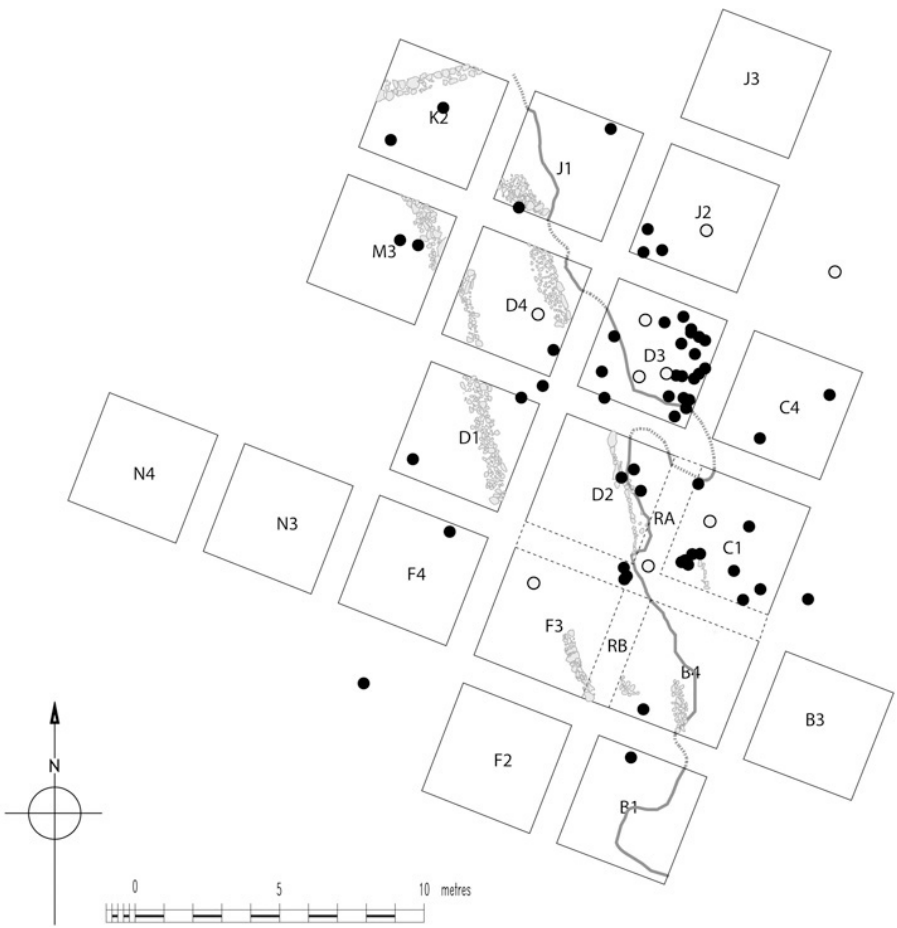

Fig. 27.8 Plan of the Special Deposit South with findspots of spools.

Although spools were recovered in considerable quantity at both sites, the nature of the contexts, and therefore several features observable on the spools discussed in detail above, are clearly

different. The characteristics of the spools from Dhaskalio (complete state, variety of sizes, usewear) can be paralleled from other, comparable settlement sites in the Aegean, whereas the distinctive features of the spools from the Special Deposit South (exceptionally large number of finished, but seemingly unused spools in a heavily fragmented state with evidence of deliberate breakage, and with very eroded surface due to long-term exposure) are unparalleled from other sites. The only comparable evidence for deliberate breakages comes from the disturbed Special Deposit North, where a much smaller number of spools was found during the investigations of 1987–1988 (Scarre 2007, 360).

These differences therefore are indicative of a distinct function and significance of the spools recovered in the two sites. Spools from domestic contexts, as also the ones discovered on Dhaskalio, sometimes bear traces of usewear, and more rarely (only in one case in Dhaskalio, 5952) also exhibit traces of pigments on the surfaces of their circular ends. Based on the few such pieces spool-shaped objects in general are often interpreted as pestles used for crushing pigments. It is possible that several spools from Dhaskalio with noticeable use-wear were indeed used for crushing some special, relatively soft material like pigments. Other pieces, however, without any distinctive use-wear might have been used in another way, for example as balance weights (see above).

The almost total absence of use-wear and the large number of deliberate breakages suggest a different, special meaning for the spools recovered in the Special Deposit South. Together with other special, probably high status artefact types, such as marble figurines, marble and stone bowls and special pottery they form part of a structured deposit of heavily fragmented objects. The spools in this context (whether used previously for other purposes or not), in the same way as other finds of clearly special significance, had or acquired a special, ritualized meaning.

Spools from other Cycladic settlements sites

In order to place the spools found in Dhaskalio and Kavos, Keros in perspective, it might be meaningful to present a short survey of spool-shaped objects found in other Early Cycladic sites.

Besides Dhaskalio, spools were recovered in a number of other Early Cycladic settlements. Spools, and assemblages which also included spool shape objects, were described and published from the following settlements: Ayia Irini on Keos (Wilson 1999), Markiani on Amorgos (Scarre 2006; Marangou *et al.* 2008), Kastri on Syros (Bossert 1967), Akrotiri on Thera (Devetzi 2008) and Skarkos on Ios (Marthari, this

volume, Chapter 12).

A comparable amount of spools as in Dhaskalio was found in the settlement of Ayia Irini on Keos in period II and III contexts, (22 stone and three *Spondylus*, Wilson 1999: 150–1, and 157 resp.) which corresponds chronologically with Dhaskalio Phases A and B (Renfrew 2013b, 6, table 1.1). As at Dhaskalio, the majority of the spools in Ayia Irini were associated with later, period III, contexts: only four spools were found in earlier, period II layers, while 17 were of period III date (Wilson 1999, 150–1, 157, on the relative chronological sequence, Wilson 2013). Spools were recovered in and around the three EBA II houses (E, ED and D) of the Western Sector on floor surfaces or in fills above or below floor layers, or forming part of tumble layers and other kinds of collapse debris (Wilson 1999, 168–211; 2013, 388–9). One stone spool (SF-111) came to light in Room 2 of the period II House E (Deposit AI, in a fill beneath floor). A significant number of spools was recovered in Room 4 of House ED belonging to the early phase of period III, either in a fill beneath floor (deposit BM, one spool: SF-130), in floor debris (deposit BO, six spools among them the huge SF-115 stone spool), or in collapse debris (deposit BP, five spools, Wilson 1999, 195–7). It is worth noting that in deposit BM (fill beneath floor) besides the marble spool (SF-130) also a lead cylinder (SF-24, similar to 5741 found in Dhaskalio) and a *Spondylus* shell SF-244 (interpreted as container) was found (Wilson 1999, 195). From the late period III House D a spool was found on the paved floor of room 3 (Deposit CC), and another was recovered in a deposit from the removal of a paved floor and foundations of room 1 (Deposit BY: Wilson 1999; 2013, 389).

A comparable assemblage to the one found in Trench I at Dhaskalio was found in the settlement of Kastri on Syros: in room 11 a closed find-group – interpreted as a metalworker's hoard – besides several metal tools included six spools as well (Bossert 1967, 63, fig. 1, 13 (metal), 15–9 (stone). Some of the tools, notably the saw, would rather suggest a tool kit of a carver, or at least a craftsman involved in different craft activities (metal working and stone- or wood-carving: Renfrew 1972, 315). In this context, the spools, some of them with traces of use, were described as rubbers (Bossert 1967, 61, 63; Renfrew 1972, 315), however, as proposed by Sherratt, they could also have been used for smoothing and polishing metal (Sherratt 2000, 175).

In the settlement of Skarkos on Ios a stone and a *spondylus* spool were recovered in the House of the Figurines, together with 11 figurines, an unfinished marble bowl, marble flakes and other finds,

such as an emery tool and lumps of red pigments. The context, most probably related to stone carving, is presented in this volume (Marthari, this volume, Chapter 12).

Nine stone spools of EC date have been found so far at the site of Akrotiri on Thera, all of them recovered from the new pillar shafts (Devetzi 2008, 141). They all came from mixed deposits: from debris or from final destruction contexts mostly scattered across the eastern section of the excavated settlement (Devetzi 2008, 142).

Seven limestone spools were found in the rural Early Cycladic settlement at Markiani on Amorgos (Scarre 2006, 177, fig. 8.4; Marangou *et al.* 2008, 103, fig. 11.8). Three of them came from trench 3 assigned to Markiani III period, and two came from period IV contexts, dated to the later part of the ECII Keros-Syros culture, contemporary with the Kastri group (Scarre 2006, 177).

Other, sporadic occurrences of spools include the settlements of Phylakopi on Melos (one example, Bosanquet & Welch 1904, 199, pl. xl: 38), Kynthos on Delos (two examples, Plassart 1928, 29–30, fig. 28) and Akrotiraki on Siphnos (one example, Papadopoulou, this volume, Chapter 11).

Some significant contexts from settlements in the Greek mainland

In the Lower Citadel (Unterburg) of Tiryns in Room 196 a group of spools was found in the debris of a destruction deposit together with other finds, including a Cycladic import marble bowl with traces of red pigment in it, and an assemblage comprising of pottery, bronze pins, stone and bone tools (Kilian 1982, 422, Abb. 45, 46). One of the spools was marked with an incised dot on its circular end. Two other similarly marked spools were found in Tiryns in secondary contexts: one of them was also marked with one incised dot, and had the same weight (*c*. 9g), and another, four times heavier (37.6g) was marked with four incised dots. The correlation of the number of the incised dots with the weight of the spools led Lorenz Rahmstorf to suggest that these marked spools, and thus all the similarly-shaped spools found in the same room were used as balance weights based on the Near Eastern sexagesimal weight metrology, and its so-called Syrian unit of 12 corresponding to 9.4g (Rahmstorf 2003, 294; 2006a, 25–6; 2006b, 75–6; 2011, 151).

At the coastal settlement of Ayios Kosmas in Western Attica eight spools were found associated with settlement structures (Mylonas 1959, 142). Spools made of stone and *Spondylus* shell were found in

several rooms containing stone tools and other small finds: on two spools (Nos 2 and 5, on one of the circular ends) traces of red pigment were visible at the time of their discovery (Mylonas 1959, 28, 30, 32, 36, 38, 43, 142).

The 15 spools found in the settlement of Kolonna in Aegina comprised of three find groups recovered on the floors of three houses. On the floor of the 'House at the Rocky Outcrop' belonging to Stadt II, eight spools were found together with pottery, stone tools and two lead plaques (find group VIII, Walter & Felten 1981, 140, 142). Seven spools were recovered in the two most important buildings of Stadt III: three of them were found on floor layers of separate rooms of the 'White House' together with a large amount of other finds, such as pottery, weaving equipment, ornaments, stone tools, and two lead weights (one of spool-, and one of cylindrical shape: find group IX, Walter & Felten 1981, 140, 142). Four spools were recovered in the nearby 'Dyer's House' together with murex shells, pottery, and two lead weights (one spool-shaped, the other of cylindrical shape: find group X, Walter & Felten 1981, 140, 143).

Spools found in funerary contexts

Compared to settlements, spools are rarely reported from Early Cycladic funerary contexts. The two cemeteries where spools were found are Kapros on Amorgos and Chalandriani on Syros (Rambach 2000, 13–14 and 108-9; Devetzi 2008, 145).

In the cemetery of Kapros on Amorgos in grave 17, a disturbed circular shaped grave, on the bottom of the pit under the stone cover a spool made from obsidian was found together with a long oval-shaped pierced stone pendant and fragments of two clay vessels. In addition, above the covering stones, fragments belonging to at least two marble vessels and a schist stone palette were recovered (Tsountas 1898, 137, 145, pl. 8.9; Rambach 2000, 13–4, spool: Taf. 3, 4; 155, 9 – only the spool and the stone pendant were found and inventoried by Rambach during his re-study of the finds).

In the cemetery of Chalandriani on Syros two spools were found in grave 338 (Tsountas 1899, 100, 111, pl. 10: 35, 36; Rambach 2000, 109, pl. 45; Hekman 2003, 231): one was made from aragonite and the other with a raised centre was carved from greenstone, a semiprecious stone rarely used for shaping spools. The rectangular grave contained one burial lying in contracted position on its left side. The two spools were recovered with other finds, such as three marble bowls, a pair of bronze tweezers, a bronze scraper, two carved bone tubes and a fragmentary ceramic vessel between the lower legs and

the left side of the grave. During the re-study of the contents (marble bowl and two bone tubes) of grave 399, Hekman found a small marble spool (28mm in length) lying inside the marble bowl (Hekman 2003, 245).

On the mainland, spools are also known from funerary contexts. Three spools were found in graves belonging to the settlement of Ayios Kosmas in Western Attica: a concave spool of greenstone bearing traces of red colour on its upper side was found together with two stone palettes outside grave 7 (Mylonas 1959, 84). A cylindrical grey marble spool was found among bones in grave 9, a cist grave used as ossuary (Mylonas 1959, 89). The third, fragmentary, spool was found outside grave 21 together with two beads and a marble cup fragment (Mylonas 1959, 98). It was made of white coarse-grained marble and showed traces of blue colour on one of its end which was flattened by long use (Mylonas 1959, 99).

The burial associations of the above cited funerary contexts suggest a connection with pigments for the spools: as utensils used for crushing or mixing pigments in marble bowls.

Conclusions

On the basis of the above presented contextual evidence and viewing the objects themselves these cylindrical or spool-shaped objects elaborately fashioned in a standard shape from decorative, carefully selected, and sometimes not locally available stones and the nicely veined thickwalled whitish *Spondylus gaederopus* shell were most likely prestige items used for a variety of functions in EC settlements depending on the contexts and the momentary needs of their users, such as crushing or weighing pigments, or small quantities of other substances of a valuable nature, such as gold and silver scraps. Their high number among the fragmented artefacts in the Special Deposit South in the sanctuary of Kavos, Keros can be explained by their prestige character and general symbolic significance which in this context acquired an additional ritualized dimension.

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SITES WITH EARLY CYCLADIC SCULPTURES IN LATER DEPOSITS

28

RECONTEXTUALISED NEOLITHIC AND EARLY CYCLADIC FIGURINES AT THE ACROPOLIS OF KOUKOUNARIES, PAROS

Stella Katsarou & Demetrius U. Schilardi

Introduction

The programme of annual excavations carried out at the acropolis of Koukounaries (Fig. 28.1) between 1976 and 1992, under the sponsorship of the Athens Archaeological Society (Schilardi 1975; 1976; 1977; 1978; 1980; 1982; 1983; 1986; 1987; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991), demonstrated that the site witnessed a long period of occupation, starting from the Neolithic and the Early Cycladic period (Schilardi 1991; Katsarou & Schilardi 2004; 2008), and ending around the time of Archilochus (early 7th century BC; Schilardi 1992; 2000, 54, 57). Notably, at the end of the Mycenaean period (LH IIIC–Middle), the site witnessed the arrival of refugees, probably originating from mainland Greece, who converted the hill to a fortified acropolis (Schilardi 1984, 184). The administrative seat of the acropolis was a fortified building, constructed on the summit. When excavated, the building produced masses of fineware vases, luxury artefacts and bronzes, all suggesting that it was a palatial structure (Schilardi 1984, 187–9). The building was destroyed by fire about 1150 BC (Schilardi 1984, 200, 203). After the end of the Bronze Age, the site witnessed continuous occupation from Protogeometric through the Geometric and the Archaic period. During the Iron Age Koukounaries became a significant settlement and centre for worship

(Schilardi 1992).

As the topic of this volume deals with Early Cycladic (EC) figurines related to stratified evidence, we will offer here a list of such pieces of sculpture of marble and terracotta, dating from Late Neolithic (LN) to Early Cycladic. A number of figurines was retrieved from stratified contexts in various parts of the Mycenaean Mansion, within the accumulations which had collapsed from the upper storey onto the basement floors, during the destruction (Fig. 28.2). It is important to say that it is by the excavation of these particular contexts of the late Mycenaean IIIC-Middle that the EC presence on the hill first became known, before the actual Neolithic and EC deposits of Koukounaries were excavated. More figurines however were later added to the collection from *in situ* FN and EC deposits excavated in the Lower Plateau.

Figurines and contexts

The contextual details of the Neolithic and EC figurines from Koukounaries, as also assessed in terms of their stylistic features and cultural references, are discussed below by their year of discovery.

1. EC I–II Schematic Figurine; Mycenaean Mansion: corridor to First Storeroom (Fig. 28.3).
Context: the figurine was found in 1977 (Schilardi 1977, 370) during the excavation of a corridor leading from the First Storeroom towards North (Square C2; Fig. 28.2: no. 1), in the basement of the Mycenaean complex. In fact the artefact was retrieved from a LH IIIC destruction deposit excavated underneath an east-west post-destruction wall (Sc hilardi 1977, 365, fig. 1; see also detailed plans in Schilardi 1978, pl. Z; 1984, 266, fig. 2). According to the excavation records, the figurine was retrieved from 'the south and west part' of this wall (Schilardi 1977, 370), amidst the destruction sediments. Subsequent fieldwork proceeding deeper at the same spot in the following year revealed that the deposit also contained incinerated remains of domesticated animals which were trapped in this narrow spot during the conflagration (Schilardi 1978, 199). The location of the figurine within the upper sediments of the destruction phase, right underneath the later wall, implies that it had originated from the equipment in the upper storey of the Mycenaean Mansion.

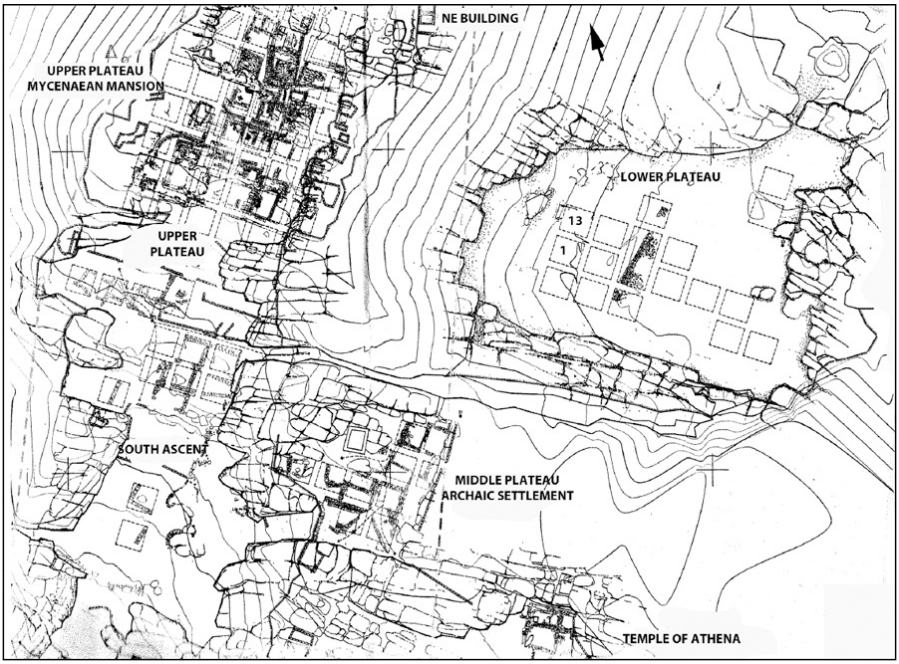

Fig. 28.1 Plan of the hill of Koukounaries, showing plateaux and terraces.

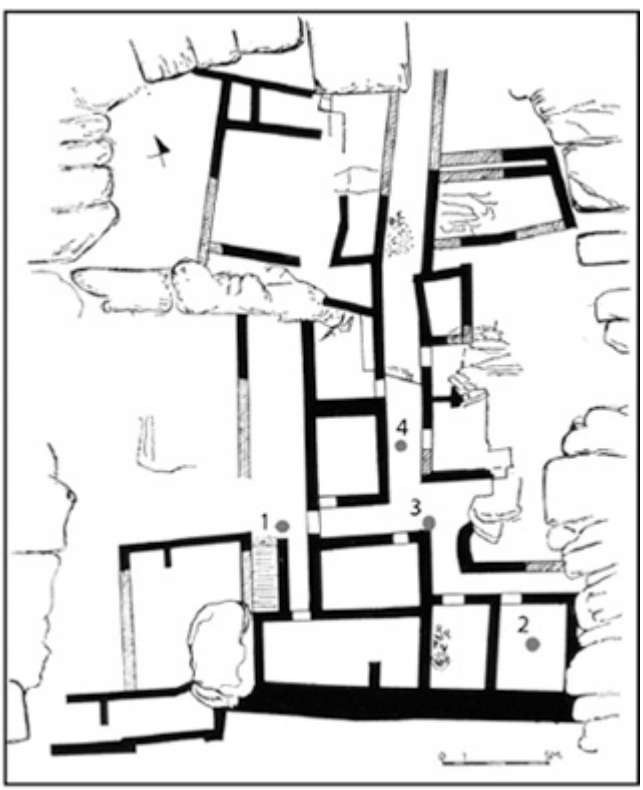

Fig. 28.2 Plan of the Mycenaean Mansion, where the location of figurines 1–4 is indicated.

Form: the figurine is 155mm long, almost intact, with only a small chip or manufacture defect at the lower part (Schilardi 1977, 370, pl. 188a). It is schematic, oblong with two opposing triangular stumps for arms at the upper part. The stumps curve slightly inwards. Over the stumps, a pair of symmetrical convex profile lines indicates the neck which ends in a trapezoid head with rounded top. A small triangular knob at the centre of the head suggests the nose, while two slight cavities diagonally situated on each side are possibly suggestive of the eyes. The lower part of the body is an oblong rectangle of prismatic form with rounded edges. The back of the figurine is flat. Its overall outline is regular, and in profile it is in places thin, curved or prismatic. The body parts are symmetrical. The artefact is made of soft whitish, coarse-grained marble, presumably Parian.

Fig. 28.3 Schematic figurine from the corridor. Scale 1:2.

Date: the classification of the figurine is uncertain. From one point of view its schematic outline could possibly compare well with the EC II Apeiranthos sub-category of schematic figurines (Renfrew 1969, 14–5; 1977, 59–71 and 434–5; nos 57–62; Thimme 1977, 70, no. 60; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 54; see also more recent assemblages: Sotirakopoulou 1998, 119–21, and especially no. 6817). The term 'schematic' here recalls Thimme's (1977) terminology as applied to figurines with one, two or more bodily features, as opposed to primary abstract forms that give no indication of bodily features. The distinctive element for classifying this figurine in the Apeiranthos group of the schematic category, is the clear indication of the head, in contrast to the 'shouldered' schematic variety (Getz-Preziosi 1995, 31–2; Sorirakopoulou 1998, 119; 2005, 54).

A few more examples of this particular figurine type are recorded from Paros (Renfrew 1969, 14: VI.15–17). More specimens, closely comparable with the piece from Koukounaries, are attested from Apeiranthos, Keros, Chalandriani and Skarkos, as well as in the collection of unprovenanced sculptures of the Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens (no ΝΓ0352). One piece

excavated at Manika, Euboea, is closely comparable (Sampson 1988, fig. 70; see Sotirakopoulou 1998, 119–20; 2005, 54, for references).

The secure EC II contexts in some of these places document the chronology of the schematic figurines alongside the canonical EC folded-arm sculptures. However, we note Thimme's (1977, 427 and 445–7) remark that the mere distinction of the head from the schematic body is not a sufficient reason to consider such schematic figurines as belonging to the time of the Keros-Syros culture. On the contrary, he would regard them as hybrid and transitional forms typical of the Grotta-Pelos phase, and date them to the EC I or the transitional EC I–II phase (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 120).

So taking advantage of Thimme's remark, we would emphasize that this particular schematic figurine from Koukounaries also shows features in common with no 1658, a shouldered figurine from Akrotiri assigned to the EC I period in view of the form of the lower body (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 113–4, fig. 2), although the Koukounaries piece is considerably larger. We may also consider that, in terms of its oblong and symmetrical outline, it is comparable with another early marble figurine from a grave at Leivadia, Despotiko (Tsountas 1898, 163, t omb no 129, pl. 11: 12), although this is of the abstract class, showing no arm stumps and being irregularly thick. The clay figurine from Strofilas, dated to the FN (Televantou, this volume, Chapter 5, no. 11), is also similar to the sculpture from Koukounaries in terms of posture, naturalism of the body, and outline.

Two marble schematic figurines exhibited in the Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens (nos ΝΓ0209 and ΝΓ0785) should be of particular relevance here. They show remarkable similarities, in terms of height (12mm and 182mm), separated head and arm stumps, and prismatic lower body, with the artefact from Koukounaries, but are at the same time considered to be unfinished pieces. Their rough semi-worked surface resembles the coarseness of the Koukounaries figurine. In fact the fractured base may indicate the mid-stage of the production process, or even suggest why the artefact from Paros was finally discarded. Both the Museum exhibits are assigned a date in the EC II period, but their unstratified origin would make this assumption uncertain.

An overall comparison of size between the securely dated early and late pieces of the known schematic figurines shows that the latter are smaller (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 54). This would in fact place the idol from Koukounaries, measuring 155mm, as an outsider in the EC II size range, but a normal piece within the EC I range. In view of the above data on schematisation, size, stone material and quality we would consider the Koukounaries figurine to be an ECI unfinished hybrid of the schematic group.

2. FN Clay Figurine Head; Mycenaean Mansion: Third Storeroom (Fig. 28.4).

Context: this clay figurine was revealed in 1980 (Schilardi 1980, 273–6) within the thick destruction deposit accumulated in the Third Storeroom (Square F1; Fig. 28.2: no. 2), at the east end of the row of storerooms attached to the fortification wall of the Mycenaean Mansion (Schilardi 1976, 291). Like the first figurine mentioned above, this was retrieved from an upper level (level 6) within the stratigraphic sequence of the room. The storeroom contained rubble, a removed threshold, burnt bones of domesticated animals, obsidian blades, shellfish, fragments of plaster, as well as fragments from LH IIIC–Middle houseware and large rope-decorated storage pithoi. The location of the figurine within the higher part of the deposit again suggests its possible provenance from the upper storey of the building.

Further excavation throughout the layers underlying the fallen debris revealed that the actual occupation floor of the room and several structures or benches on it had been founded on top of the natural bedrock, and contained domestic ware and tools that were also dated to the LH IIIC–Middle, like the debris material. It is important to note that any pre-Mycenaean deposits that might have been expected to lie on the bedrock were in fact totally absent. This may be the result of the building activity of the LBA settlers in laying the foundations for this basement against the adjacent fortification wall.

Fig. 28.4 Clay figurine head. Scale 1:2.

Form: the artefact, only measuring 28mm, consists of the head and part of the neck of a clay figurine. The head is of trapezoidal outline; the nose was formed by pinching the wet clay strongly out of the face to make it look triangular in profile. Arched incisions drawn downwards on either side of the nose, indicate the eyes. In profile, the head tilts slightly upwards although this is not so apparent from the front. The neck is truncated and attached upright to the back of the head. The piece has a red-brown slip, as is usual with plain FN/EC I pottery from the hill. It is smoothed only on the face; its back is left totally untreated, with the vertical striations from the formation procedure still visible.

Date: the naturalistic clay eyes, and the form of head and neck recall the figurative style of the various different-sized statues of the LN/FN period with their small, slightly tilting head set on top of a long cylindrical neck, and their varying facial attributes. The clay figurines of this style from LN/FN Ftelia and Strofilas illustrated in this volume (Sampson & Mastrogiannopoulou, this volume, Chapter 4; Televantou, this volume, Chapter 5) attest to the Cycladic background of this style. The broad record of many more comparable clay figurines from the Neolithic mainland, such as those from Attica, Boeotia and Euboea (Marangou 1992, 425; Orphanidi & Sampson 1993, 205, fig. 200; Orphanidis 2008) show that the geographical range of this style extends well beyond the Aegean coastline.

The expressive facial attributes of the EC I Plastiras group sculptures in marble, 'adding interest and character to the representation', to use the words of Getz-Preziosi (2001, 7), make obvious the legacy which the Final Neolithic bequeathed to the figurative art of the EC I period. That figurines with expressive features were still produced in clay in EM Crete (Morris 2009), in the EBA of the north Aegean islands (i.e. Thermi), and in the EH Greek mainland (Marangou 1992, 147–9) expands the chronological and geographical boundaries of this legacy. Hints of this tradition long continue, as suggested by the incised curved eyes on the face of a late EC II figurine from Dokathismata (Getz-Preziosi 1995, 55, fig. 19).

3. EC I–II Precanonical Figurine Head; Mycenaean Mansion: room to the north of First Storeroom (Fig. 28.5).

Context: the third figurine head of this collection was uncovered in 1982 (Schilardi 1982, 242) during the excavation of the east wall of the Mycenaean room stretching to the north of the First Storeroom (Square D2; Fig. 28.2: no. 3). The artefact appeared while uncovering the wall, under the east balk of the square, 'at the top of the rubble wall debris'.

Form: the figurine head measures 38mm in height and has a fanshaped outline that widens at the top and narrows at the chin (Schilardi 1982, 242, pl. 151a). The nose, rendered in relief and with a flattened upper surface, is symmetrically placed along the middle of the head, and thins out at both ends. The mouth is denoted by a thin and straight horizontal incision rather wider than the nose. The eyes are shown by two very small cavities. The fracture at the join between head and neck preserves the indication that the neck is truncated and the head tilts backwards. The figurine is made of fine grey-white marble, presumably local.

Fig. 28.5 Precanonical figurine head. Scale 1:2.

Date: the head should be placed among the late EC I–early EC II sculptures of precanonical style, judging from the mix of early features with a trend towards the canonical folded-arm figurines. In particular the mouth would be a naturalistic trait comparable with the EC I Plastiras group, a feature seen less by the time of precanonical sculpture in late EC I–early EC II (cf. figurines AKR1615 and AKR1621 from Akrotiri: Sotirakopoulou 1998, 134–8). The almond-shaped outline of the head is similarly early. The backward-tilting of the head and the truncated neck however point to a developed stylistic stage. Precanonical figurines constitute a rather limited group within EC sculpture (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 56). Most identified specimens are unstratified: they are reported from various islands, including one from Paros (Bent 1884, 50–1; Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 250, 451, no.116).

4. EC I–II Early Canonical Figurine Head; Mycenaean Mansion: basement of hegemonic building (Fig. 28.6).
Context: the fourth figurine head was recovered in 1983 (Schilardi 1983, 279), during the excavation of Square D3 (Fig. 28.2: no. 4), where a Protogeometric deposit accumulated between an overlying rectangular structure or bench of Late Geometric date (attached to Late Geometric wall 3) and a principal northsouth corridor constituting part of the underlying Mycenaean building (Schilardi 1983, 279, fig. 2). Investigation was facilitated by the partial removal of the schist floor of the Late Geometric construction. The marble figurine was found on top of the rubble stretching over the Mycenaean Mansion and apparently part of the collapsed LBA content of the building. On top of the figurine a large ash deposit containing good Protogeometric pottery was found.

Form: the figurine head is 39mm high and preserves most of the neck (Schilardi 1983, 279, pl. 184c). The head is almond oval, showing slight asymmetry at the upper part. The nose is denoted in relief while other facial features are missing. The head is convex, tilting backwards in profile, and stands on a truncated neck that joins the back of the head by a curved profile. The back seems to be unfinished or badly preserved, and the upper outline is slightly chipped. It is of white fine-grained marble, presumably local.

Fig. 28.6 Folded-arm figurine head. Scale 1:2.

Date: the stylistic aspects of outline and the facial features of the figurine point to an early date, within the canonical folded-arm type of EC II. More specifically it could be compared with the Kapsala variety (Renfrew 1969, 15; Sotirakopoulou 1998, 138–40; 2005, 57–8), as indicated by similarities with a long-known idol from Naxos (Renfrew 1969, pl. 3d) and with

another published example from Akrotiri (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 139, no. 6816) that fall within this type. A few figurines of this class are also known from Paros and Antiparos (Renfrew 1969, 16, IV. A6 & A9), but most known pieces come from Naxos and the eastern Cyclades (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 57, with references). However the round head can be also compared with specimens dated to the early Spedos variety of EC II (Getz-Preziosi 1995, 43, figs 32, 43, 79). The assignment of this specimen from Koukounaries to the early stage of EC II enriches the Parian record of this time, and better establishes a link for the hill with early EC II chronology and culture.

5. EC II Canonical Figurine Body from the settlement of the time of Archilochus (Fig. 28.7).
Context: the fifth figurine is a find unrelated to the Mycenaean palatial Mansion. The fragment was also discovered in 1983 (Schilardi 1983, 283), inside a disturbed layer associated with a house of the Early Archaic settlement (*c.* 700–650 BC), excavated at the stepped terrace XI of the South Ascent (baulk C03–C04), to the southwest of the fortified plateau. The stratum produced Geometric and Subgeometric pottery and even some LH IIIC Mycenaean pottery fragments in a deposit of ash, containing animal bones and shellfish, but without any earlier material. It is not clear however whether the figurine was brought to this place by the Mycenaean or the later occupants of the house, after discovery on some part of the hill, or instead that it was indeed deposited *in situ*, inside some EC occupation strata on this area, which are still unexplored.

Form: the fragment is about 60mm long and preserves the thighs of a female body in marble, broken across the waist and the knees (Schilardi 1983, 283, pl. 186a). The sex is denoted by the slightly incised pubic triangle. An ample vertical groove that starts from the pubic triangle increasingly deepens downwards to divide the two legs, but not so far as completely to separate them. The thighs have a regular outline, and are rather flat in profile. The complete figurine may have been around 200mm high.

Date: the figurine should be classified within the canonical group of folded-arm figures which is widespread in the Cyclades at the time (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 57–8; cf. also no. 6816 in Sotirakopoulou 1998, 139), and in Paros in particular (Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 268 and 467, no. 164; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 58 and 80, n. 223). We would particularly stress how the fragmentation of the artefact relates to the pattern of fragmentation observed among EC II figurines, and which is most clearly evident in the case of the 'Keros Hoard' (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 90, fig. 7, and 267–70).

Fig. 28.7 Folded-arm figurine pelvis and upper legs.Scale 1:2.

6. EC I Zoomorphic Figurine Head; Lower Plateau (Fig. 28.8).
Context: this zoomorphic figurine is the first piece of EC sculpture from Koukounaries discussed here to be recovered from a secure and undisturbed context. It was excavated in 1991 (Schilardi 1991, 239) in layer 6 of Square 1, at the western zone of the Lower Plateau of the hill, just below the easternmost cliffs of the flat peak. From the topsoil down to layer 4 (Schilardi 1989, 264; 1990, 212), sediments at this location were loose and contained mainly mixed Mycenaean, Geometric and later pottery, while a few EC pieces became more abundant

as excavation proceeded. The content of the EC layers starting from layer 5 included EC II pottery (Schilardi 1991, 241), obsidian flakes, animal bones, shellfish and pieces of pumice.

The animal figurine was found in layer 6 (depth of 1.70m), very close to the northwest baulk of the Square. Layer 6 could be safely considered as an undisturbed EC I–II occupation deposit judging from the consistency of the ceramic features and the absence of intrusions from other periods that ceased from layer 5 onwards. Layer 6 was of a homogeneous grey-brown colour, consisted of loose earth with numerous small schist and stone slab fragments, and contained the figurine and other artefacts. Large granite stones appeared in the baulks, but no architectural features were found in association with the artefact. Some flat stones also appeared at a lower level. The underlying deposits were of considerable thickness down to the bedrock (depth of 2.55m), including some red clay possibly from eroded housing material.

Form: the animal head measures about 40mm in height, and most probably represents a bovine (Schilardi 1991, 239, 241, pl. 150 a–b). It was not a freestanding figurine, but the zoomorphic attachment on a composite ceramic container. The figure is roughly formed on a thick slopping cylinder attached to the side of the converging walls or concave neck of the vase, to represent the head and neck of the animal. Looking at the back of the artefact we can observe that it was hollowed on the inside and opened through the wall of the vessel in the same manner as a spout; but its frontal end, featuring the animal's snout, was closed and could not have been used for pouring liquids. A small part of the interior wall of the container has been preserved at the back of the head, attesting to the practice of using a clay layering to secure the attached head to the vessel body.

The cylindrical head narrows towards the lower front part denoting the animal's muzzle. The rendering of the animal's facial features is exceptionally naturalistic and expressive: a slightly plastic rib for the nose runs along the full length of the head. On either side the eyes are indicated by small deep incisions. At the front of the head-cylinder two small holes are made for nostrils, and a very deep groove denotes the animal's open mouth. But none of the three apertures goes through to the interior of the vessel. Part of the upper left side of the head, which probably carried the animal's horns, is missing. Below the head a thick rippled neck is a detail further strengthening the identification of the figurine as a bovine. A pre-firing hole goes across the neck, probably for suspension of the container, assuming that a similarly perforated figure existed on the opposite side of the vessel (Schilardi 1989, 241).

Fig. 28.8 Zoomorphic figurine head. Scale 1:2.

The artefact is made of coarse clay, fired to red-brown and grey colour; it shows no trace of polishing or other treatment, however the interior wall of the container shows evidence of some smoothing and a thin dark slip.

Date: the figurine is dated to the EC I–II period on the basis of evidence provided by the pottery in the same deposit. It incorporates contrasting cultural legacies which include Cycladic and non-Cycladic influences in terms of imagery, style, material and profile.

Bovines – oxen and bulls – are only rarely represented in EC I–II imagery, which usually favours b irds, hedgehogs and pigs. Moreover EC I–II zoomorphic art is often seen in stone rather than in clay, either with stone containers such as pyxides and rhyta depicting animal figures with the entire body (cf. marble vessel no. 285 at the Museum of C ycladic Art,

possibly from Naxos), or by freestanding figurines (cf. the marble bird from Pyrgos, Paros, National Archaeological Museum, no. 4825; see also Marangou 1992, 385, fig. 36).

Contrasting with their rarity in the EC record, bovines constitute the most popular animal portrayed in the North Aegean EBA and in EH zoomorphic art (Marangou 1992, 167–8 & 330, table 14). Pullen (1992) has argued that bovines and bulls are considerably more popular in EH II contexts, specifically in Boeotia, Euboea and the east-southeast Peloponnese, because the extended plains in these regions supported subsistence based on large herds. Lithares, Corinth and Tiryns in particular have provided some noteable collections of bovine and bull figurines (Tzavella-Evjen 1984; Phelps 1987, nos 41–59; Marangou 1992, 113). More figurines from the Argive plain depict slaughtered animals (Marangou 1992, 190), while Manika in Euboea has produced bovines figurines as attachments to clay vessels (Marangou 1992, fig. 36i,j). By comparison with their Cycladic counterparts, Helladic figurines are much more schematically rendered, and are usually made of fine light-coloured fabric, and often carry painted details.

The bovine head from Koukounaries falls within the stylistic trend of EC I–II zoomorphic art which is exceptionally notable for its expressive, naturalistic and lively style. The animal is modelled in a lively way. These traditions of expressive qualities in clay figurines may maintain an old mainland tradition going back as far as the Neolithic period (cf. the similar discussion above for clay human figurine no. 2). A Neolithic bovine head featuring similar facial attributes is published from Sesklo (Theocharis 1973, fig. 186), while other comparable figurines of various animals are recorded from other Thessalian sites (Theocharis 1973, 173, figs 101–2), and from Sitagroi in East Macedonia (Gimbutas 1986, 284).

The bovine head from Koukounaries interestingly demonstrates a number of overlaps between Cycladic and Helladic tendencies, and between Neolithic and EC traditions.

7. LN Female Pendant Figurine; Lower Plateau (Fig. 28.9).

Context: the figurine was found in 1990 (Schilardi 1990, 221–3, and 242–3) in layer 6 of Square 13, at 1m to the north of Square 1, at the western area of the Lower Plateau where there was a strong slope to the east. Down to layer 5 deposits contain mixed ceramic material from the early historical periods, and from the Mycenaean and EC phases. However from layer 5 downwards the deposits become compact and consistent around a large rock that covered much of the trench (Fig. 28.10). Layer 5 contained handmade pottery of FN-EC I, including bowls, a pyxis with incised spirals, a piece of a vertical lug attached to a bowl rim, perforated lugs, strip handles, and incised rim fragments (Schilardi 1990, 222–45, fig. 4, pl. 131). It is important to note that this context also contained a significant bone assemblage from domestic animals, as well as a concentration of obsidian blades and débitage.

The succeeding layer 6 which was excavated in the periphery of the rock in that year revealed the figurine in a FN ceramic context (Schilardi 1991, 244–5). The FN layer thickened to the western part of the trench, as further research confirmed in the following excavation season (Schilardi 1991, 245, figs 5, 6). Some fragmentary architectural remains were also revealed in this area (Schilardi 1991, 242–5, figs 4–6), including a row of stones, several paving slabs and a probable post-hole indicating the interior of an occupied space. The overview of the stratigraphy here reveals that occupation of this location was continuous from the FN–EC I boundary to the EC I–II transition. It may go further down towards a core of the Final Neolithic period and even further down to some LN deposits, as indicated by typical dark burnished wares and obsidian hunting points.

Form: the artefact, with preserved 32mm maximum width, is formed of a piece of marble, possibly a flat pebble (Schilardi 1990, 222, pl. 131), forming a fragment which represents fleshy feminine thighs. The pubic triangle is indicated by light incisions at the front. The artefact preserves a narrow waist above the thighs and was drilled to permit a suspension cord, probably to form a pendant. The drilled hole is broken, which may have led to the discard of the piece.

On the evidence of the broken back, which exposes the interior of the stone to considerable depth, we can perhaps assume that the pendant has survived from the breakage of a larger female figurine with at least some indication remaining of the upper body and of legs. After the breakage the owner would have repolished the surface and edges of the fragment to restore it, as implied by the polish marks on the broken edge, which underlies the deposited

encrustation. It is not safe to say whether the suspension hole was drilled prior to the breakage, or whether the process of making it a pendant was part of the reworking process, until the further breakage during the drilling process rendered it unusable.

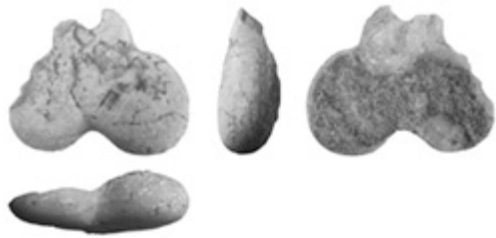

Fig. 28.9 FN pendant figurine. Scale 1:2.

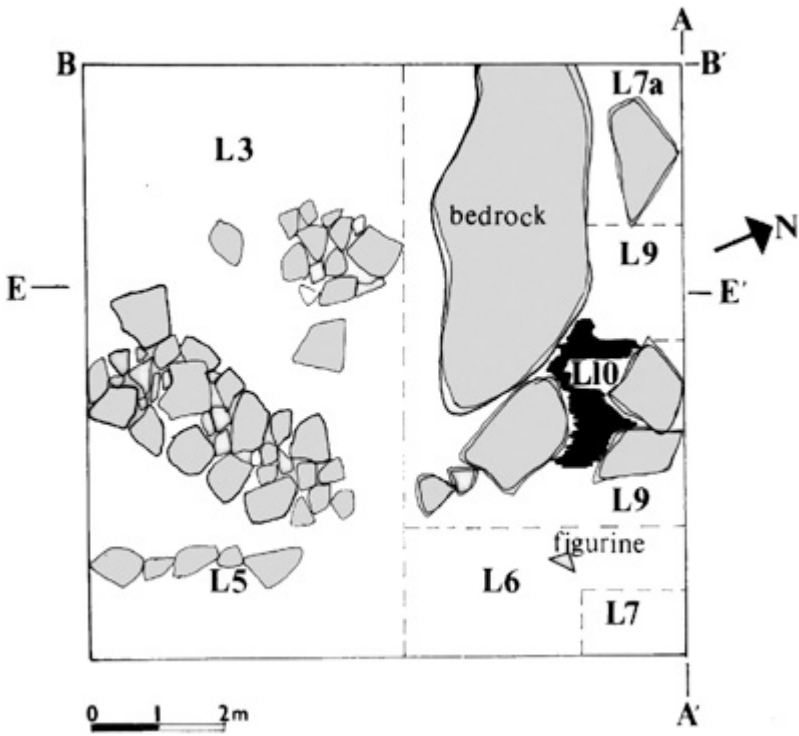

Fig. 28.10 Map of Trench 13, with indication of different levels and location of figurine no 7.

Date: the figurative pendant from Koukounaries can be considered a version on the fat-lady idea (Weinberg 1951; Evans & Renfrew 1969, 28, fig. 75, pl. xlii), but smaller and less rounded, and lacking other body features, and focusing on its use as a pendant. The pendant comes from a FN domestic context on the basis of the associated pottery. However on stylistic grounds, in comparison with the fat-lady type, there is a possibility that the piece is a product of an earlier phase (cf. tables in Getz-Preziosi 1995, 24, fig. 11; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 50–1). The possibility may be supported by the presence of LN deposits deeper in the same trench. It may be relevant to note that the 'Fat Lady' of Saliagos, from the latest stratum of the islet, was also assigned a possible earlier chronological provenance, perhaps deriving from the underlying deposits (Evans & Renfrew 1969, 28 & 63; Theocharis 1973, 110). Other

schematic comparanda of stone are found in Crete and Sparta (Theoc haris 1973, figs 73, 169 & 195) as well at Sitagroi in northeast Greece (Gimbutas 1986, 228–9). The very much narrowed waste on top of the buttocks is also seen in these specimens.

8. FN Female Pebble Figurine; Lower Plateau (Fig. 28.11).
Context: the artefact was found in 1991 during fieldwork in layer 5 of Square 13 (Schilardi 1991), in close stratigraphic proximity to the female pendant figurine described above. Abundant fragments of pottery and chipped stone were found in the same context, suggesting that the place was permanently occupied, and that chipped-stone processing was a long-standing practice on this spot.

Form and Date: the artefact was a natural marble pebble, initially roughly ellipsoid in shape, which is now broken, with a surviving length of 55mm and 52mm thickness. One side of the pebble forms a hollow featuring three lines crossing the rounded fleshy cavity. Between the lines the texture is smooth, similar to the remaining three 'exterior' sides of the piece, presenting a homogenous colour and feel. The marble surface is eroded, coloured grey-white along it surfaces and across the exposed break.

The piece seems natural, and probably caught the attention of somebody who collected it at the neighbouring coast, for its implicit female iconography. The considerable thickness and curved outline on the exterior side of the recess brings it close to the fat-lady imagery. However the incisions of this pebble exceed the proper number occurring in a pubic triangle, and expand in an anomalous way. The fat body and the way the triangle is placed on it are suggestive or connotative rather than corporeally realistic. So the piece was probably kept for its implicit iconicity and was not further modified. A FN schematic marble pendant figurine from Thessaly may be cited here as a useful comparison, for its multiple angular incisions used to denote the female sex (Gallis & Orphanidis 1996, 385, no. 334).

The FN context of the artefact fits well with the chronology of pebble figurines, and the iconography of the pubic triangle seen on the bodies of fat-ladies (cf. the feminine pendant above).

Fig. 28.11 FN female pebble figurine. Scale 1:2.

Discussion

The collection of pre-Mycenaean figurines from Koukounaries, listed here, consists of eight artefacts, six of them anthropomorphic, one zoomorphic, and one a natural piece imbued with human symbolism. In terms of chronology, three figurines are dated to the FN, another three to EC I, and two to EC II, probably to its earliest phase.

The chronology of the figurines of Koukounaries confirms the range inferred for the pre-Mycenaean settlements on the hill, on the basis of the stratified pottery excavated from the *in situ* EC and Neolithic

deposits of the acropolis. These locations include the northeast edge of the Upper Plateau, the Lower Plateau and the southern slopes of the hill, as summarised here below.

On the northeast tip of the peak, the EC Northeastern building is found with the most solid architecture preserved from the pre-Mycenaean phase on the hill (Schilardi 1991, 226–37; Fig. 28.12). It is a rectangular, free standing structure, built completely in stone, and supported by a strong retaining-fortification wall. In plan it is arranged in narrow rooms, along two steps. The lower level preserves a room with a floor of earth and pebbles. Under the level of the floor, the excavation identified a cellar, intended for storing food supplies. Residents at the Lower Plateau and the south slopes of Koukounaries would however have used perishable structures of wood and reeds. At the Lower Plateau we have recovered the longest stratigraphic sequence on the hill dating from the LN through to EC II, overlain by LBA and later deposits. Beyond these two locations, more EC material was unearthed from various spots on the slopes of the hill, including the temple of Athena (Schilardi 1986, 185, 186; 1988, 203) and the adjacent temenos (Schilardi 1987, 235), the ritual deposit (Schilardi 19 86, 199), and the olive-press (Schilardi 1986, 203).

It appears that Koukounaries was home to a considerable number of households in successive periods from LN and through to the beginning of EBA, although there may be gaps in occupation. The time from FN to FN–EC I was the core period on the hill, however documenting different activities of life at the various locations. Considering the differences in architecture indicated above, it may be assumed that an important family may have occupied the Northeastern Building on the Upper Plateau, perhaps dominating the sizeable settlement that had spread over several parts of the hill in the EC period. It is interesting that in all later phases, down to *c*. 700 BC, the Upper Plateau remained the seat of the local leader.

The FN–EC I period of Koukounaries is also important for supporting the argument for an independent cultural stage at this transition, with features comparable to those of contemporary Helladic and Minoan phases (Katsarou & Schilardi 2004; 2008). One issue is to understand the possible synchronism of Koukounaries with the neighbouring early EC I cemetery of Plastiras (Doumas 1963; 1977; Renfrew 1969, 6–8) and particularly to explore why the special type of figurines recovered there (Doumas, this volume, Chapter 6) are absent from the record of figurines revealed on the hill. Plastiras-type figurines are however reported from other Parian sites (such as Glyfa and Lefkes: Tsountas 1898, 155, pl. 10; Renfrew 1969, 6, II.2, pl. 1;

Sotirakopoulou 2005, 55 and 77, n. 169), and from sites on other Cycladic islands (cf. Naxos, Amorgos, Delos, Thera; Sotirakopoulou 1998, 126–34; 2005, 55, for references).

To take this point further, Koukounaries, although yielding a short list of figurines, offers useful grounds to challenge the debate on the prevalence of known Cycladic figurines originating from burial contexts as against those found in domestic arenas. On Koukounaries any funerary association seems very improbable, as no Cycladic tombs have been located on the hill. So the secure domestic context of this list raises issues of cult, symbolism, identity, craftsmanship and aesthetics of the idols occurring in household contexts.

Four of the figurines discussed in this paper were retrieved from the Mycenaean riches of the acropolis where they were recontextualised several hundreds of years after they were first brought to life. In their regenerated life inside the palatial Mansion, the figurines probably had a particular significance as part of a luxury household, equipped with an astonishing amount of exceptional possessions including painted vases, pithoi, artefacts in bronze, lead, obsidian, steatite and marble, bronze tools and arms, luxury items of rock crystal, carved ivory furniture, as well as horses and a bronze horse-bit, all of these demonstrating the high significance of Mycenaean Koukounaries as the seat of a noble Mycenaean family (Schilardi 1984, 201).

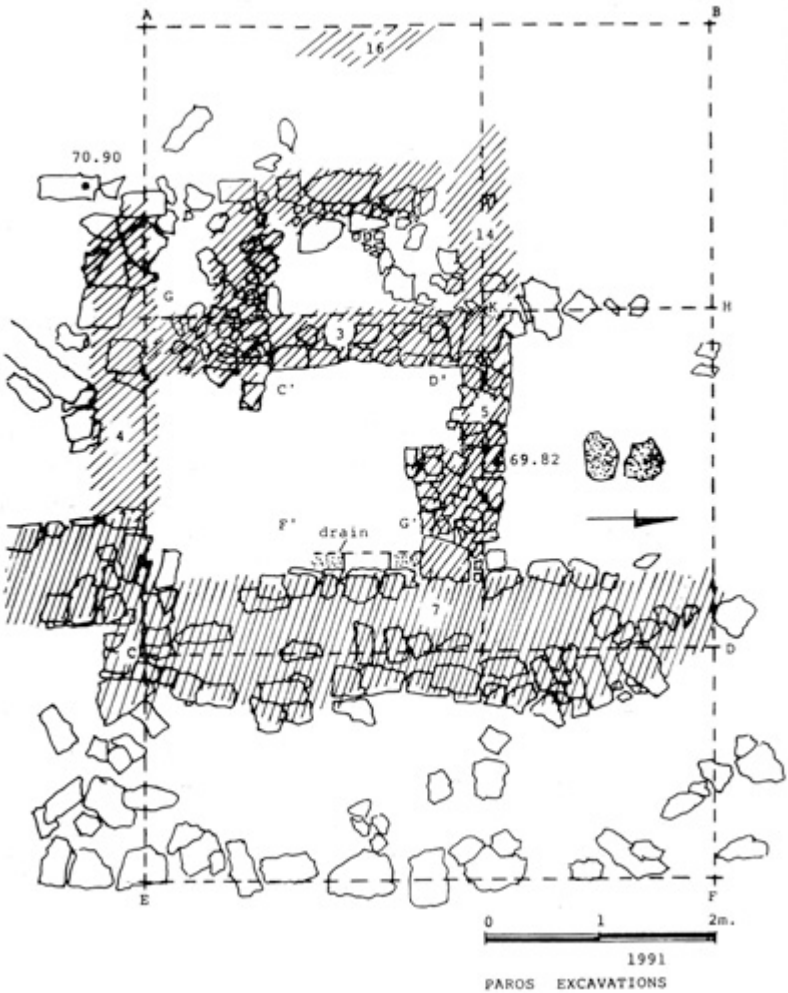

Fig. 28.12 Plan of the Northeastern Building as revealed in 1991.

By becoming part of this wealth, these artefacts would have been enriched within a contemporary (Mycenaean) perspective and understood, by virtue of their ancestral link, to sustain the social purposes of the current settlers. Beyond the sense of status and nobility proclaimed by the contemporary use of luxurious goods and materials, the highly valued figurines would carry in addition a unique significance by establishing for the Mycenaean newcomers a link with the ancestors on the hill, thereby developing a perspective of local heritage and establishing the long history on the site. This perspective was vital to the social values of the LBA, involving kinship with territorial linkages.

Similar processes are implied by more finds of recontextualised EC sculpture on a series of LBA sites in the Aegean, such as Akrotiri on Thera (Sotirakopoulou 1998, 158), Ayia Irini on Keos (Davis 1986, 97), Vassiliki (Zois 1972, 282–3, pl. 255a, b), and Archanes in Crete (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1980, 400, pl. 223b). In some of these cases scholars have been intrigued by the possibility that EC figurines were even used in LBA cult practices. The same possibility may indeed also apply to a couple of Neolithic figurines (of fat lady type, in stone) recovered from LBA occupation levels in the mainland: one at Malthi and another one at Mycenae (Valmin 1938, pl. i, 2a–d; Wace 1949, 424, pl. 64). An interesting theoretical point to raise here is that the recontextualisation of these figurines, involving the development of new values, would have implied their prior decontextualisation, separating them from their initial connotations.

This process by the LBA nobles of the acropolis of using the EC past of Koukounaries as a significant heritage may also open the prospect of our better understanding the functional reuse and modification of other early remains beyond the figurines. This would be of particular relevance for the solid EC Northeastern Building of the Upper Plateau, which the Mycenaean settlers reused in their time (Schilardi 1991, 237). It is interesting to consider that the idea of retaining the past as legacy would have motivated the project of retaining the function of this structure. Going further, we can imagine that such ideological encounters with the past of the hill would have taken place each time a single ceramic fragment came out of the earth, whenever the LBA settlers would dig for a new foundation wall.

In conclusion, the present paper has benefited from the record of the documented figurines at Koukounaries to improve and refine our understanding of the chronological range of the Neolithic and EBA populations of the site. Given that the EC deposits represented dwellings but not tombs, the discussion has verified that figurative art was as important for domestic and household contexts of the period as for funerary practices, and offered evidence to counter the view that EC figurines were intended only for funerary use. Although the exact nature of their domestic functions in the EBA lies beyond our current explanatory power, we can raise the issue of possible cult performances within the household. The zoomorphic attachment (figurine no. 6, above) also attests to the aesthetic and decorative role that the figurines played in some ceramic containers. The deposition of the two FN pieces in the same level as chipped stone debris and domestic houseware may support the suggestions by Marangou (1996, 149) about the frequent location of Neolithic figurines in storage areas

and also in areas with large quantities of tools. Moreover, the episodes of recontextualisation of some of the earlier figurines, brought about by the Mycenaean settlers some one and a half millennia later, testifies to the social and personal power exerted over the hill by its own past and by its local heritage.

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29

EARLY CYCLADIC FIGURINES IN LATER CONTEXTS AT AYIA IRINI, KEA

Carol R. Hershenson & John C. Overbeck

Introduction

Two articles in *Hesperia* by John L. Caskey in 1971 and 1974 published the fragments of EC figurines from A. Irini (Caskey 1971b; Caskey 1974) with photographs, some drawings, preliminary notes on their find spots, and assignment of dates of the find contexts to broad eras in the occupation of the site; Jack Davis provided further analysis of the possible purposes of marble figurines in settlements a decade later (Davis 1984). The fragments from A. Irini remain an important group of EC figurines; in accordance with the focus of this conference, the site was not only excavated rather than looted, but is, like approximately half the sites included in this discussion, a settlement rather than a cemetery. It is more unusual that A. Irini is a multi-phase site with extensive MBA and LBA strata overlying the EBA levels; the vast majority of the EC figurines from A. Irini, moreover, were found in contexts much later than their assumed dates of manufacture. This paper could be viewed as an interim update on the Cycladic marble figurine fragments from A. Irini found in post-EBA deposits; the find-contexts of only slightly more than half have at present received final publication in the *Keos* volumes.

Caskey catalogued a total of 44 marble figurine fragments, including a joining head and neck from different excavation contexts (no. 19); one of the published fragments (no. 20) was from the separate site of Troullos. (In this paper, the catalogue numbers of figurine fragments are from Caskey 1971b and Caskey 1974).

There were, therefore, 43 separately found fragments from the town at A. Irini representing a maximum of 42 figurines. No additional EC marble figurine fragments have been identified at A. Irini since Caskey's second article on the subject, nor have any additional joins been recognized, so the total number of fragments from the site and the maximum number of original figurines represented have not changed.

In the *Hesperia* articles, the contexts in which the figurine fragments had been found were dated to broad eras in the history of A. Irini: EBA, the earlier part of the MBA (from the construction of the fortification wall with a horseshoe tower until the construction of the fortification wall with rectangular towers), the 'main period' of occupation at the site (from the construction of the rectilinear fortifications in the final MBA phase through the widespread destruction of the site at the end of LM IB; see Caskey 1972, 358 for the term 'main period'), and LH IIIC.

Not only did Caskey's own dating of A. Irini evolve (Table 29.1), but subsequent study and publication have defined further subphases of many of his periods (Table 29.2). Twenty-five of the figurine fragments are from areas or periods of the site that have received final publication in the *Keos* volumes during the decades since Caskey's *Hesperia* articles, expanding the available information about the dates and nature of their contexts. This paper offers two advances on the data about the marble figurine fragments published by Caskey four decades ago: for the first time, the find-spots of all the figurines from later contexts are plotted on the site, showing their topographic distribution; secondly, more specific dates can be assigned to their find contexts based on subsequent study of those contexts and of the stratigraphy of the site in general, refining their chronological distribution. The processes by which the figurines might have reached post-EBA contexts and the nature of those contexts are then queried. Finally, information about the 20 marble figurines from post-EBA contexts that have received final publication in the *Keos* series is summarised in an appendix, for the convenience of readers.

Table 29.1 Caskey's changing designations for the periods of occupation and their pottery at A. Irini.

Caskey 1971b	Caskey 1972	Caskey 1979	Period and bibliography (see Schofield 2011)
I	A	I	Latest Neolithic (Wilson 1999)
	B	II	EBA (Wilson 1999)
	C	III	
II	D	IV	The early and middle phases of the MC era (Overbeck, 1989)
III	F*	V	The final phase of the MC era (Davis, 1986)
	G	VI	The first phase of the LBA: LM IA; LH I; and contemporary LC (Caskey, 1979)
	H	VII	LM IB; LH II; and contemporary LC (Caskey, 1979)
	J**	VIII	LBA III (Caskey, 1979)
	K		
	L		
LH IIIC	M		

* Ceramic class E was not a chronological group but comprised 'objects from the graves of all periods' (Caskey 1979, 412).
** The letter 'I' was not used to designate a ceramic class in Caskey 1972 (397)

Table 29.2 Sub-phases of the local stratigraphic periods at A. Irini.

Caskey 1979	Publication periods	Reference
I	I	Wilson 1999, 6–8
II	II, early	Wilson 2013
	II, late	Wilson 2013
III	III, early	Wilson 2013
	III, late	Wilson 2013
IV	IVa IVb	Overbeck 1989, 1
		Overbeck 1989, 1
	IVc	Overbeck 1989, 1
V	V	Davis 1986, 1
VI	VI	Caskey, 1979
	VIIa	Schofield 1985
VII	VIIb	Schofield 1985
	VIIc	Schofield 1985
VIII	LH IIIA1, etc	Sub-phases of Period VIII are labelled with standard LH pottery designations

The corpus of early Cycladic figurines from Ayia Irini

None of the figurines from A. Irini is complete; in particular none of the heads and bodies are united. Most of the fragments, except a few of the necks and legs, are readily recognisable as human body parts or as portions of the schematic types of marble figurines; there are few amorphous chunks of marble and few small pieces (Davis 1984, 17) in the corpus. This could express either the preservation preferences of the inhabitants of A. Irini or recognition biases by the excavators. Two of the figurines (nos 3 from an MBA street context and 31 from the Temple) have holes drilled near broken edges, the latter containing

lead presumably from the clamp to reattach the missing part. This general type of repair is documented on pottery and other materials throughout the Bronze Age occupation of A. Irini (EBA: Wilson 1999, 144–5; earlier MBA, Period IV: Overbeck 1989, e.g. no. 41; final MBA, Period V: Davis 1986, 35; LBA, Periods VI–VII: Cummer & Schofield 1984, e.g. no. 138; Schofield 2011, e.g. no. 168). Getz-Preziosi (1981, 16) compared the drilling of the repair hole in A. Irini figurine no. 3 to that in Early Cycladic figurines from purely EBA contexts at other sites, which may suggest that no. 3, at least, was mended during the EBA; no detailed information has been published about the method used for drilling the repair hole in figurine no. 31.

Fragments of folded arm figurines comprise more than three quarters of the A. Irini corpus (33 fragments from at most 32 figurines), with the remainder from schematic figurines (ten fragments). The folded-arm figurine fragments tend predominantly to be of the Chalandriani variety and Kea sub-type, as previously noted (Renfrew, 2011, 425 fig. 19.7). These are varied, however, by some more rounded examples, including two that are distinctly pregnant (nos 5 and 6; see also Renfrew 1969, 13) and several other fragments that do not appear to be either Chalandriani or Kea types: e.g. leg fragments with bent knees and/or curved hips (nos 11, 12, 15, and 37), a torso with sloping shoulders and protruding buttocks (no. 4), and an oval rather than triangular head (no. 24). A single fragment (no. 10) might have the arms meeting fingerto-finger like the Plastiras type (although see Caskey 1971b, 117). At least half of the schematic figurines are the Phylakopi I type; there is also one violin form (no. 29) and two or three have sharply pinched waists (nos 33, 34, and perhaps 42), which may resemble the notch-waisted schematic type or be a variation of the Phylakopi I type.

In chronological distribution (Fig. 29.1), only five of the 43 marble figurine fragments at A. Irini were found in EBA contexts (see Wilson, this volume, Chapter 9), local Periods II and III; there is a gap in the occupation of A. Irini before the settlement was re-occupied in the Middle Bronze Age. Twelve figurine fragments are from contexts dated to the earlier part of the MBA (Period IV) and ten from main period contexts (Periods V–VIIb) with six more probably the same (not restudied since the *Hesperia* articles), distributed among most of the sub-phases during the earlier part of the MBA and the main period at the site; they were apparently deposited more-or-less continuously (although not evenly) throughout the MBA and LBA until the 'Great Destruction' at the end of phase VIIb that defines the end of the main period of occupation at A. Irini. No marble figurines were found in

deposits dated to periods following the 'Great Destruction' – LH IIB late, LH IIIA1, etc. – until LH IIIC, from which a single figurine was found in the Temple, although there is evidence for human activity at the site throughout the intervening period. Nine fragments are from undatable surface lots or from mixed contexts. The nearby site of Troullos, at which a single marble figurine fragment was found (a very worn head, no. 20), produced pottery dated from the EBA through the main period of occupation at A. Irini (Caskey 1971a, 394) – a chronological range very similar, in other words, to all but the latest of the datable contexts with figurine fragments at A. Irini.

The figurine fragments from post-EBA contexts were not distributed evenly across the settlement at A. Irini (Fig. 29.2). In the Western Sector, for example, there are particularly dense clusters to the west of House F and around the earlier MBA horseshoe tower, and there are also two more diffuse groups in and just outside House A, separated by the central rooms (A.19–28) in which no figurine fragments were found (Fig. 29.1); several more figurine fragments were found in the strata outside the Great Fortification Wall to the west of the site, and others are scattered in other areas of the excavation. The dates of the contexts with figurines in these areas, however, vary widely; although clustered horizontally, they appear to have been dispersed vertically and therefore chronologically.

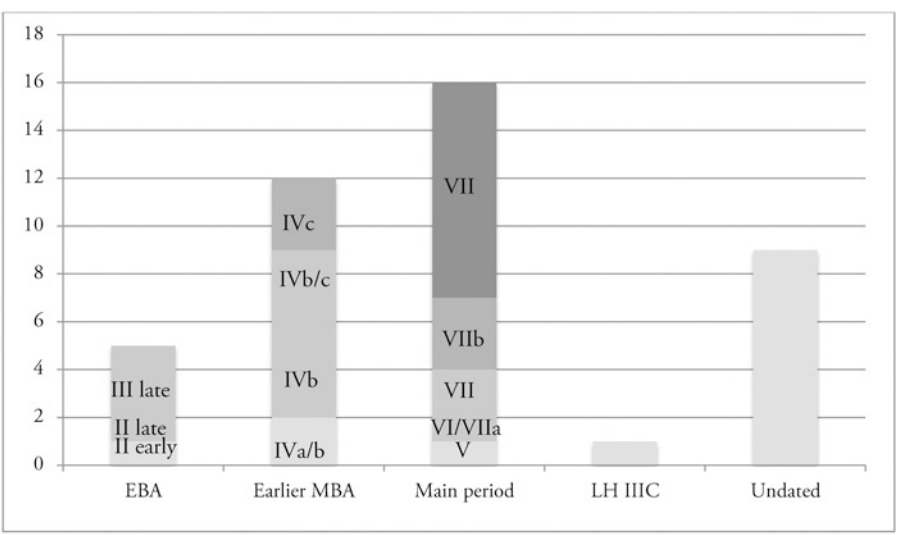

Fig. 29.1 Dates of contexts of marble figurines from A. Irini.

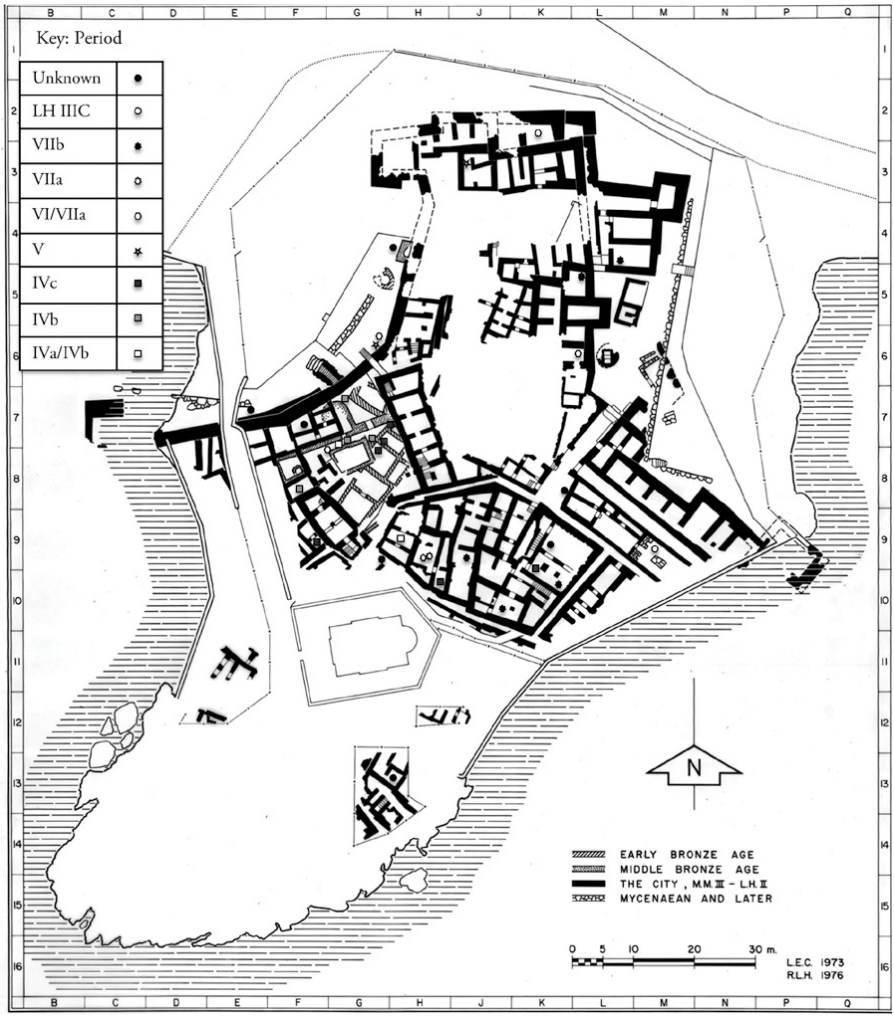

Fig. 29.2 Distribution of figurine fragments from post-EBA contexts at A. Irini. Not on plan: Nos 4 (discarded earth), 6 (found prior to the start of excavation, 20 (Troullos), 38 (modern earth filling), 39 and 40 (modern road filling), and 7, 9, 11, 15, and 37 (EBA contexts: see Wilson, this volume, Chapter 9).

Later contexts with Early Cycladic figurines at Ayia Irini

As Renfrew has pointed out (this volume, Chapter 1), the Cycladic figurines from the later strata of multi-period sites such as A. Irini are of limited value to the themes of this volume; they are useful only as authenticated examples of their micro-styles, but cannot contribute information for a more detailed chronology of the types or about the

uses or meanings of the figurines in their first lives contemporary, more-or-less, with their manufacture. They raise, however, separate questions relevant to their final periods of deposition; the following discussion of the figurine fragments at A. Irini focuses on the two broad questions that have most concerned the authors of this paper: first, how did the fragments from later contexts at A. Irini reach their final find-spots? Specifically, were they (all) found by the MBA/LBA inhabitants of the town in disturbances to the EBA strata of the site, as would seem probable *a priori*, or were they – some of them, at least – obtained from other sources? And second, did the MBA/LBA inhabitants, amongst whose material goods the figurine fragments were eventually deposited, value those fragments in some way, or were they just old rubbish, of special interest among the earlier objects in later contexts largely to the archaeologists who excavated them? Neither of these questions has a single simple answer that applies to all the figurine fragments from published post-EBA contexts; the evidence is contradictory, and individual fragments may have had different histories and/or changing curation.

Did the figurine fragments found in post-EBA contexts at A. Irini originate from EBA strata at that site, turned up in the course of digging later foundations and basements (Caskey 1971b, 123)? The topographic distribution of the figurines, the chronology of their post-EBA find-spots, and their typology provide evidence for this question.

More detailed analysis of the topographic clusters of figurine fragments from post-EBA contexts supports the origin of most of those fragments from underlying EBA levels. Beneath House A, EBA material was noted to have been displaced by MBA activity (Overbeck 1989, 154), and the MBA strata were in turn disturbed by the construction of House A during the 'main period' of occupation at A. Irini (Cummer & Schofield 1984, 29; Overbeck 1989, 153–4); most of the figurine fragments (nos 1, 8, 10, 16, 22, 42 and 43) from House A and the MBA strata beneath it may have displaced upwards in those successive building operations, although it is doubtful whether other fragments found in House A (nos 30 and 33) had ever been deposited in the underlying EBA level (see *infra*). The construction of the MBA fortification wall and horseshoe tower is likely to have disturbed underlying EBA strata (see Overbeck 1989, pls 12–17), and may thus have dislodged the fragments found around them (nos 3, 5, 13, 17, 19 (head), 23, 24 and 36). The construction of the Great Fortification Wall may likewise have displaced the figurine fragments found outside it (nos 14, 18, 21 and 25) or the latter may have reached those positions during dumping outside the western boundary of the

settlement. The figurine fragments around the deep basements of Houses F and C (nos 2, 12 and 28), however, cannot have been thrown out during the digging of those LBA basements, since all were found in MBA strata; these might denote general disturbance of underlying strata within the relatively densely built and rebuilt area of the Western Sector.

The topographic clusters of figurines, moreover, correspond to areas of the site where the deposits and excavation were deepest; they appear therefore to reflect a number of circumstances from different time periods: first during the Early Bronze Age, habitation areas that might have contained figurine fragments; second during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, areas where earthshifting operations such as digging basements, bedding foundations, or dumping earth from elsewhere on the site might have disturbed those underlying EBA deposits or deposited earlier material; and finally in the mid-20th century AD, areas that were excavated deeply enough to uncover figurines resting at different depths.

The chronological distribution of the post-EBA contexts with figurines also generally supports the supposition that most of them had percolated upwards from an original position in EBA strata. There is a direct chronological correlation between the occurrence of figurines and periods during which deep basements were dug and substantial foundations were built, Periods IV–VIIb, at A. Irini. Moreover, deep basements were not dug nor, frequently, were earlier basements even cleared out during the period after the VIIb 'Great Destruction' that ended the 'main period' of occupation (Cummer & Schofield 1984, 33; Hershenson 1998, 162); the gap in the occurrence of figurine fragments after that destruction may thus provide negative evidence in favour of their previous origin in disturbances to the earlier strata at A. Irini, since whatever processes had caused their deposition during Periods IV–VIIb apparently ceased after the VIIb destruction. The exception was the Temple, 'which through the ages was constantly cleared out and rebuilt' (Caskey 2009, 147) and in which a figurine fragment (no. 31) was in fact found in a context later than phase VIIb (LH IIIC).

Finally, the typologies of most of the figurines from later contexts likewise support an origin from the local EBA strata. The majority of the folded arm figurines are comparable in typology to the five examples from pure EBA contexts at this site: Chalandriani types (e.g. nos 1, 3 and 16) and Kea sub-types (e.g. no. 8), with some examples of bent knees (e.g. no. 12) or more rounded buttocks and legs (Renfrew 1969, 28 ill. 4: types IVC, IVD and IVF); most of the folded arm

figurines from later contexts that are not directly paralleled in the EBA strata at A. Irini would nevertheless also be chronologically plausible within EB II, Periods II and III at A. Irini. The possible exception is the worn fragment (no. 10) whose hands may meet finger-tofinger (but see Caskey 1971b, 117); if so, this figurine would predate EB II (Renfrew 1969, 28 ill. 4: type II or earlier).

The typologies of some of the schematic figurine fragments from post-EBA contexts, however, provide contrary evidence that they might not have originated in the strata of Periods II and III at A. Irini, since they appear to date either before or after EB II. A single violinform schematic figurine (no. 29) is to be dated before the reoccupation of the site at the beginning of Period II (Renfrew 1969, 28 ill. 4: Saliagos), and as many as five Phylakopi I type or other cruciform schematic figurine fragments (Renfrew 1969, 28 ill. 4: type VII) are dated after the end of Period III, either when the site was unoccupied or even later. In the former case, the violintype fragment either might have arrived significantly after its date of manufacture, already an antique, or more probably indicates later disturbance reaching down to the earliest (FN) fill deposits at the site, locally termed Period I – and would thus also imply the occurrence of marble figurines, not otherwise attested, with the Period I material; percolation upward is still the most likely explanation for the occurrence of this figurine in a post-EBA context, albeit from an even earlier deposit at this site. The Phylakopi I and cruciform figurines, on the other hand, may indicate that not all the figurine fragments from post-EBA contexts had previously been deposited in earlier levels at A. Irini, and indeed it may be questioned whether they fit the chronological parameters of this examination of Early Cycladic figurines from later contexts at all. On balance, then, most of the Cycladic figurine fragments found in post-EBA contexts at A. Irini had probably been deposited originally in strata at this site more-or-less contemporary with their manufacture, with the exception of the Phylakopi I and cruciform schematic figurines.

Were the figurines found in later contexts at A. Irini valued during the MBA/LBA periods of their final depositions? Two sub-questions might bear on this broader inquiry: had they been broken deliberately or accidentally, and did that breakage occur during the EBA or closer to the dates of the deposits in which they were found? And were they included deliberately or accidentally in the MBA/LBA contexts in which they were finally deposited?

Was the ubiquitous fragmentation of the figurines from post-EBA deposits at A. Irini deliberate or accidental, and when did it occur?

Their universal fragmentation, which may suggest intentionality in breaking them, can be paralleled among the five figurines from EBA contexts at this site, which are also all fragmentary. Similarly, however, the repairs to two of the figurines, which imply that at some time it was thought desirable to reconnect all the extant pieces keeping those figurines as complete as possible, is paralleled by repair holes in marble figurines from purely EBA contexts at other sites (Getz-Preziosi 1981, 24). In short, both a preference for wholeness in the figurines and one for brokenness may date to some phase within their first lives during the EBA. The break to a marble figurine from A. Irini most likely to date to a period after the EBA is the separation of the head and neck of no. 19. The more detailed final publications of some of the post-EBA contexts that yielded marble figurine fragments at A. Irini are not helpful for choosing among the possible mechanisms, some intentional and some accidental, and interpretations of figurine breakage suggested by Getz-Preziosi (1981, 24) and Davis (1984, 16–20) three decades ago, nor are they useful for narrowing the dates of most of that breakage.

Were the figurine fragments deposited deliberately or accidentally? Wilson (this volume, Chapter 9) has argued that four or possibly all five of the figurines found in EBA contexts at A. Irini had been placed intentionally beneath floors or a street surface in some form of foundation deposit, and one figurine fragment from a post-EBA context (no. 29), which was found in a Period V stratum beneath a LBA floor (Davis 1986, 50), might support a similar interpretation. The presence of the body of Kea subtype (no. 8) and the Chalandriani-type torso (no. 1) from the VIIb destruction deposits in House A Rooms 16 (Cummer & Schofield 1984, 69) and 31 (Cummer & Schofield 1984, 122), and of the two schematic figurine fragments (nos 30 and 33) from the floor of Room 7 in the same house (Cummer & Schofield 1984, 54) may not have been any less intentional than that of the other objects from the same contexts. In contrast, however, several figurine fragments, including one of the pregnant bodies (no. 5) and a head and neck (no. 23), were found in accumulations against the door of the horseshoe-shaped tower of Period IVa/b date (Overbeck 1989, 91) and in the lane in front of that tower (Overbeck 1989, 85), respectively; those figurine fragments do not appear to have been placed any more deliberately than the MBA pottery, all quite fragmentary, around them in these open public streets and spaces. The head and neck joined from disconnected pieces (no. 19) were found widely separated in deposits of different dates: the head in

a Period IVc fill from a stone stratum or paving in the Western Sector (Overbeck 1989, 75), and the neck in the Northern Sector with mixed pottery mostly dated to several phases of the main period (Gorogianni, pers. comm.); their scattering and the fill nature of one of their find-spots bespeaks a lack of deliberation in the final deposition of the fragments of this figurine.

Were the marble figurines valued by the MBA and LBA inhabitants of A. Irini, amongst whose possessions they were eventually deposited? The same evidence that suggests a lack of deliberation in the final deposition of some fragments also suggests that the individuals who last handled those fragments did not value them. Again, however, evidence suggests that other fragments had different histories. The 'collection of stone vases' (Cummer & Schofield 1984, 16) included in the VIIb destruction deposit in room A.31 at least permits the possibility that the Chalandriani torso (no. 1) from the same deposit could have been an antiquarian curiosity amid other worked stone objects. Caskey interpreted wear on surfaces of three of the fragments (nos 10, 34 and 35) as evidence that they had been 'used as tools after they were broken' (Caskey 1971b, 123) and Schofield (Cummer & Schofield 1984, 140) speculated that all five fragments of Cycladic marble figurines found in LBA contexts in House A 'may have been reused as implements', so that if they were valued, it may not have been for their aesthetic properties or humanoid form.

The Phylakopi I type figurine (no. 31) found in a LH IIIC context in the Temple offers the strongest argument for later curation and appreciation of its aesthetic qualities or anthropomorphic form. Its ancient repair hole attests that at some time it was thought worthy of mending. Caskey (1971b, 121) described its location as 'with or just under the clay floor of Room BB,' the Protogeometric shrine (Caskey 2009, 150); either position could indicate deliberate placement and therefore value. The famous terracotta head 1-1 set in a ring-stand on a floor of late 8th/early 7th century BC date in the same building (Caskey 1986, 39 and 45) is a reminder that old objects could sometimes be accorded great value; the marble Cycladic figurines from the LH IIIC Mansion at Koukounaries (Katsarou & Schilardi, this volume, Chapter 28) provide comparanda of similar objects in a parallel context, and may hint at some wider LH IIIC interest in certain artifacts from earlier eras. Assessment of the marble figurine fragment from the Temple, however, must await the final publication of its find-spot.

The other figurine fragment with a repair hole, Chalandriani torso no. 3, provides evidence for diachronic change in its valuation. It was

found in a Period IVb ashy stratum up to 0.80m deep 'overlying the early street, the square, and the lane east of Building CJ' (Overbeck 1989, 47), which represents a gradual accumulation over time. While its repair hole indicates curation and appreciation at some point during its life-history, the find-spot of figurine no. 3 suggests casual discard. Although Wilson (this volume, chapter 9) has suggested the same use for at least four of the five figurine fragments found in EBA contexts at A. Irini (foundation deposits), each fragment from a post-EBA deposit may have had a different biography in its MBA/LBA *nachleben*.

Conclusions and avenues for further research

Caskey (1971b, 123) anticipated many of the conclusions presented here; this investigation has revealed, however, the limited scope of each generalization and the possibility that for many questions opposite conclusions may be equally valid for different fragments or for the same fragment at different times. Most of the figurines from post-EBA contexts at A. Irini are of types produced contemporary with Periods II and III at A. Irini. The dating of their types and their general similarity to the five fragments from EBA contexts, together with their horizontal clustering and the locations of those clusters near known (if not always explored or intact) EBA deposits, suggest that later inhabitants might have found many of the fragments when they disturbed the earlier strata. The Phylakopi I and other cruciform schematic fragments, however, post-date the abandonment of the EBA site, and therefore cannot have percolated up from the local EBA strata. The locations of the clusters of figurine fragments near or above EBA deposits, in some cases known to have been disturbed, further suggests that many of them had not travelled far horizontally from their point of discovery in the EBA strata to their place of deposition in the MBA or LBA levels. On the other hand, the scatter of other figurine fragments outside those clusters and the wide separation of the joining neck and head (no. 19) demonstrate that some fragments apparently were carried some distance across the site before final post-EBA redeposition. Some of the post-EBA contexts containing marble figurine fragments appear to have been accumulations of waste, and the figurine fragments in them may also have been discarded; others, however, are destruction or floor deposits in which the surrounding objects are assumed to have been chosen, used, and valued by their owners. All the marble figurines from A. Irini are fragmentary, and yet two had been repaired.

Different marble figurine fragments from post-EBA contexts at A. Irini therefore appear to have had different life-histories and some apparently had different degrees of curation over the long period of their presence at the site.

We close this discussion of the marble figurine fragments from post-EBA contexts at A. Irini with an outline of a possible program of future research that might address some of the questions raised above, following the precedent set by Davis' suggestion of the research necessary to answer the questions he had posed about the functions of the figurines in settlements (Davis 1984, 19–20). One possible approach to the question we have found most vexing – whether the MBA/LBA inhabitants of A. Irini viewed their occasional finds of marble figurine fragments any differently than they did other artifacts of earlier date that they must constantly have turned up whenever they disturbed the earth beneath their feet – might be illuminated by creating similar chronological graphs and topographic distribution plans for other categories of EBA objects found in post-EBA contexts and comparing those to the graph and distribution plan of the figurines presented here. There were, for example, fragments of other stone objects of probable Early Cycladic date in Period IV deposits east of the fortification wall with the horseshoe tower (e.g. Overbeck 1989, 95 nos AP-28, AP-29, and AP-30), in addition to the figurine fragments already discussed. That, however, would be a study for another occasion.

Catalogue of marble figurines published in the *Keos* series

In the catalogue, dimensions and descriptions are from Caskey 1971b and 1974; locational and stratigraphic information is from the cited Keos volume; type and variety (if discernable) are the authors' assessment unless otherwise noted. A concordance of A. Irini figurine numbers republished in the Keos volumes is provided in Table 29.3.

Caskey 1971b, no. 1 (K1.306) Torso of a folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety. (Fig. 29.3).
Room A.31, Deposit A. Destruction deposit: Cummer & Schofield 1984, 122 (Period VII).
Fragment. Preserved from base of neck to pubic triangle; arms chipped.
Preserved height 108mm, preserved width 104mm, thickness 19mm.
White, fine-grained marble.
Folded-arm figurine. IV.C: Chalandriani.

Table 29.3 Concordance of A. Irini figurine numbers republished in the Keos volumes.

Keos Publication	Caskey 1971b; 1974 Cat. nos	Inventory no.	Chora Museum Acquisition No.
Cummer & Schofield 1984, no. 1513	1971b, no. 1	K1.306	CM. 413
Overbeck 1989, 75	1971b, no. 2	K9.9	CM. 381
Overbeck 1989, 52	1971b, no. 3	K9.8	CM. 380
Overbeck 1989, 91	1971b, no. 5	K8.256	CM. 378
Cummer & Schofield 1984, no. 397	1971b, no. 8	K3.1	CM. 355
Cummer & Schofield 1984, no. 1682	1971b, no. 10	K4.10	CM. 361
Overbeck 1989, 113	1971b, no. 12	K1.418	CM. 352
Overbeck 1989, 130	1971b, no. 13	K8.44	CM. 373
Cummer & Schofield 1984, no. 1736	1971b, no. 16	K3.218	CM. 359
Overbeck 1989, 75	1971b, no. 19	K9.12	CM. 382
Overbeck 1989, 168	1971b, no. 22	K3.30	CM. 356
Overbeck 1989, 85	1971b, no. 23	K8.37	CM. 372
Overbeck 1989, 72	1971b, no. 24	K8.180	CM. 375
Overbeck 1989, 153	1971b, no. 28	K1.368	CM. 351
Davis, 1986, no. X-13	1971b, no. 29	K4.98	CM. 364
Cummer & Schofield 1984, no. 140	1971b, no. 30	K8.182	CM. 377
Cummer & Schofield 1984, no. 139	1971b, no. 33	K8.181	CM. 376
Schofield 2011, no. 2566	1971b, no. 36	K8.145	CM. 374
Overbeck 1989, 163	1974, no. 42	K72.17	CM. 389
Overbeck 1989, 173	1974, no. 43	K74.4	CM. 392

Fig. 29.3 K1.306. Fragment of a folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety. Scale 1:2.

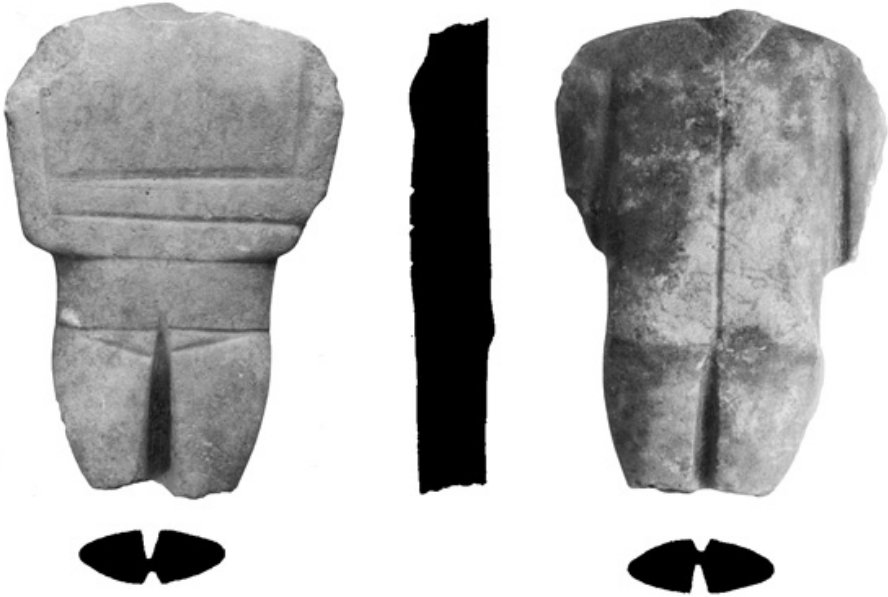

Fig. 29.4 K9.9. Torso to knees of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

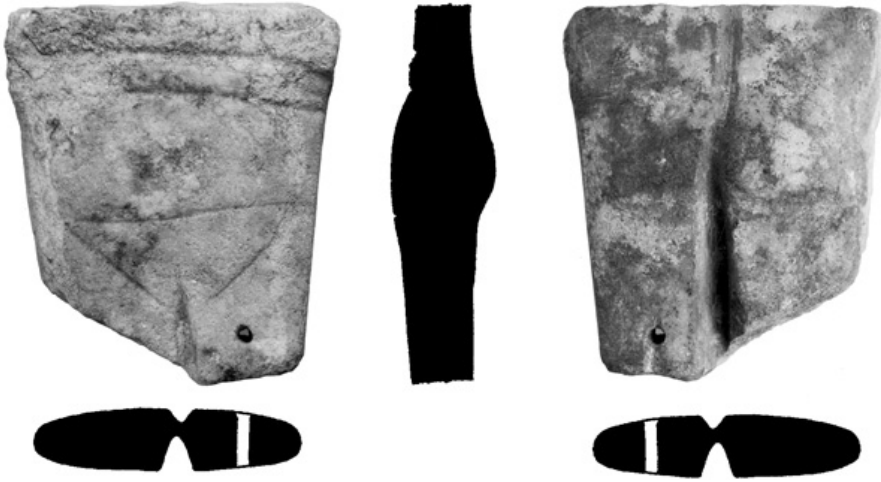

Fig. 29.5 K9.8. Folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety. Scale 1:2.

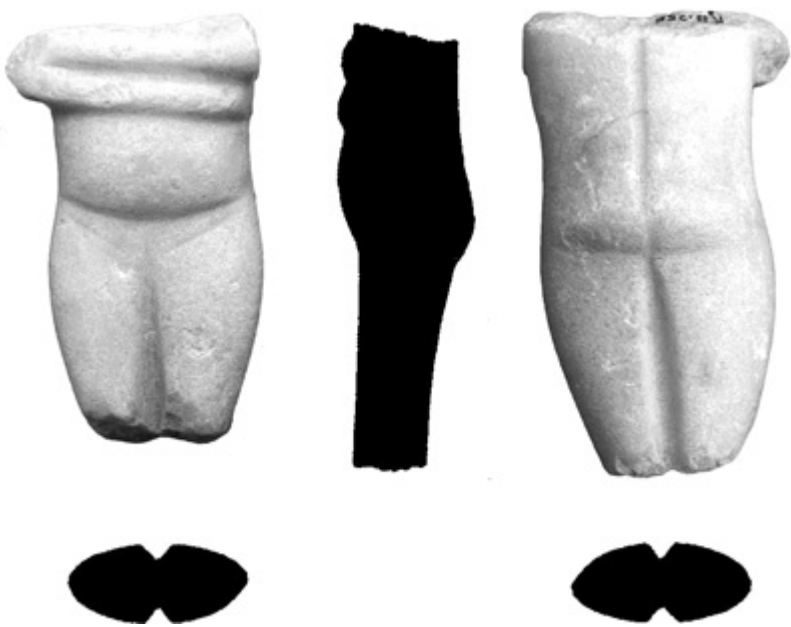

Fig. 29.6 K8.256. Waist to knees of pregnant folded-arm figurine. Scale 1:2.

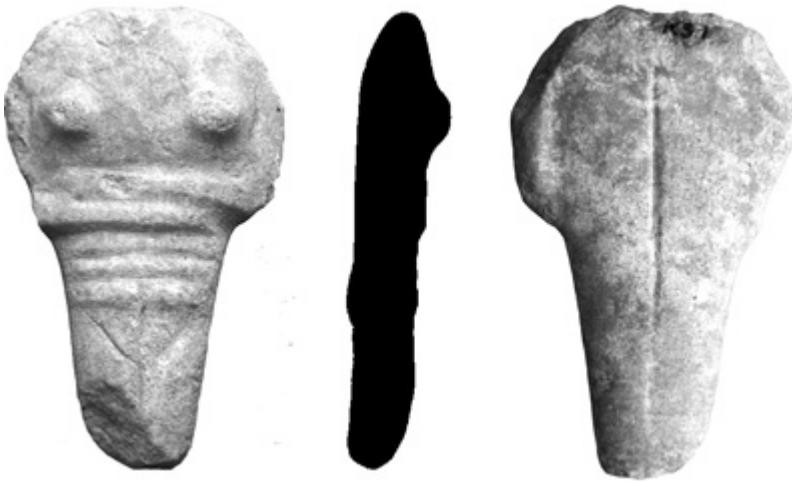

Fig. 29.7 K3.1. Torso to knees of folded-arm figurine of Kea subvariety,. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 29.8 K4.10. Figurine fragment, possibly Plastiras-type. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 29.9 K1.418. Lower legs of folded-arm figurine. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 29.10 K8.44. Leg of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 29.11 K3.218. Head of folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 29.12 K9.12. Head of folded-arm figurine. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 29.13 K3.30. Head of folded-arm figurine. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 29.14 K8.37. Head of folded-arm figurine. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 29.15 K8.180. Head of folded-arm figurine. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 29.16. K1.368. Fragment of schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 29.17 K4.98. Body of schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.

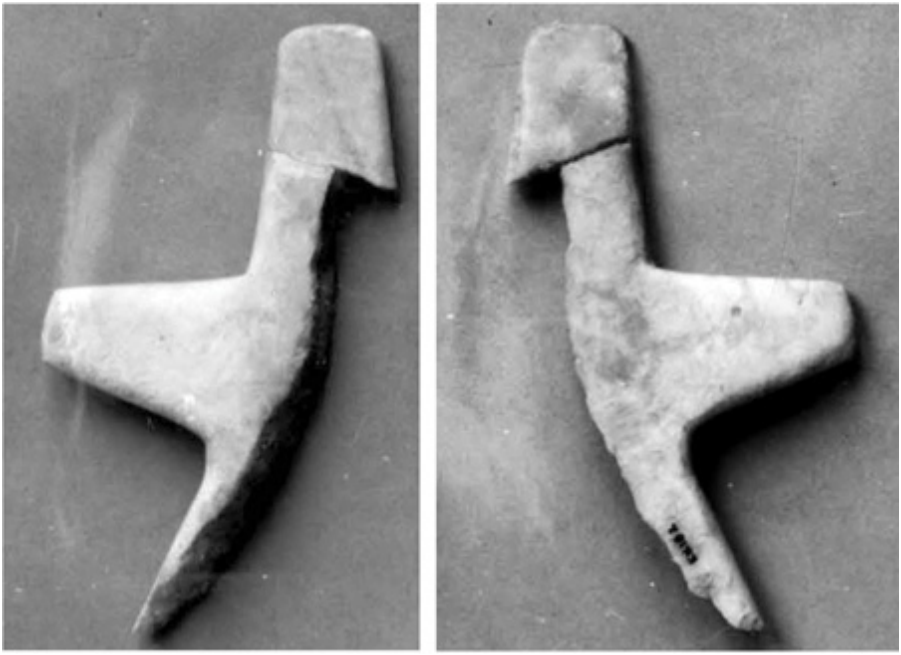

Fig. 29.18 K8.182. Fragment of Phylakopi I-type figurine. Scale 1:2.

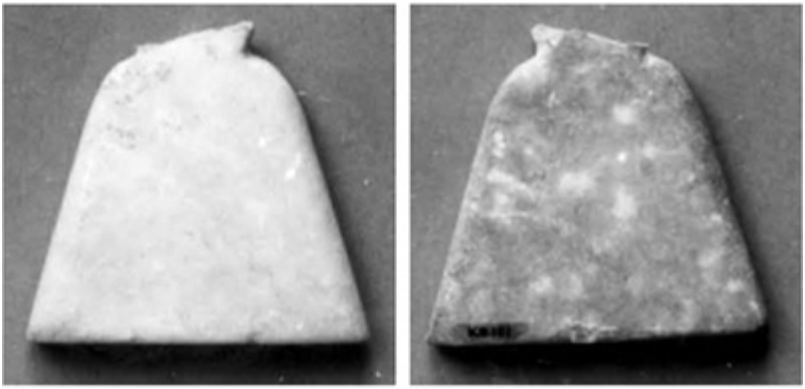

Fig. 29.19 K8.181. Fragment schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 29.20 K8.145. Fragment, perhaps of schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 29.21 K72.17. Fragment of schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 29.22 K74.4. Head of folded-arm figurine. Scale 1:2.

Caskey 1971b, no. 2 (K9.9) Torso to knees of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 29.4).
Group AE, 'continuous and well defined extent of the stone stratum or paving, in the NE quadrant of Square G 8 and extending to the east and NE': Overbeck 1989, 73 (Period IVc)
Fragment. Preserved from base of neck to knees.
Preserved height 118mm, maximum width 79mm, thickness 19mm.
White, fine-grained marble, discoloured light brown; very smooth.
Folded-arm figurine. IV.F: Spedos.

Caskey 1971b, no. 3 (K9.8) Folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety (Fig. 29.5).
Group S, 'gray and ashy stratum overlying the early square, the lane east of Building CJ and the lower (north) part of the stepped street': Overbeck 1989, 47 (Period IVb)
Fragment. Preserved from arms to thighs. Mending-hole through top of left thigh with grooves downward on front and back for bars of clamp.
Preserved height 116mm, maximum width 101mm, maximum thickness 32mm.
White, moderately coarse-grained marble, laminated vertically, micaceous; discoloured brown, especially on back, flaked and eroded in front.
Folded-arm figurine. IV.C: Chalandriani.

Caskey 1971b, no. 5 (K8.256) Waist to knees of pregnant folded-arm figurine (Fig. 29.6).
Group AO, 'undifferentiated… stratum in the long stretch of lane west of the tower door': Overbeck 1989, 87 (Period IVa/b)
Fragment. Preserved from arms to knees.
Preserved height 86mm, maximum width 43mm, thickness 26mm.
White, fine-grained marble.
Folded-arm figurine. Pregnant.

Caskey 1971b, no. 8 (K3.1) Torso to knees of folded-arm figurine of Kea sub-variety (Fig. 29.7).
Room A.16, Deposit B, Destruction deposit: Cummer & Schofield 1984, 69 (Period VII)
Fragment. Preserved from neck to knee-level; chipped and worn.

Height 94mm, width 34mm, thickness 16mm.
White, moderately fine-grained, micaceous marble, discoloured light brown.
Folded-arm figurine. IV.D: Kea (Renfrew 1969, 13).

Caskey 1971b, no. 10 (K4.10) Figurine fragment, possibly Plastiras-type (Fig. 29.8).
Courtyard A.36, Deposit D, 'from top of hearth to floor at +3.40m.': Cummer & Schofield 1984, 133 (Period VII)
Fragment. Preserved from neck to forearm across chest.
Height 35mm, maximum width 37mm, thickness 14mm.
White, fine-grained, micaceous marble; slightly discoloured.
Anthropoid. II: Plastiras? But see Caskey 1971b, 117.

Caskey 1971b, no. 12 (K1.418) Lower legs of folded-arm figurine (Fig. 29.9).
Group AW, 'destruction debris of Wall 1 beneath Room W.22': Overbeck 1989, 112 (Period IVb)
Fragment. Preserved from just above knees nearly to ankles.
Height 41mm, Width 27mm, thickness 14mm.
White, fine-grained, polished marble; discoloured light tan.
Folded-arm figurine

Caskey 1971b, no. 13 (K8.44) Leg of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (Fig. 29.10).
Group BE, 'upper part of the red stratum with chips and pebbles' in the area of the West Cemetery South: Overbeck 1989, 128 (Period IVb)
Fragment. Part of right calf preserved.
Height 58mm, thickness 19mm.
White marble with grey streaks, fine-grained, micaceous; discoloured light brown.
Folded-arm figurine

Caskey 1971b, no. 16 (K3.218) Head and neck of folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety (Fig. 29.11).
'General area of House A and the adjacent alleys; unstratified finds from surface cuts': Cummer & Schofield 1984, 137
Fragment. Head and long neck preserved.
Height 54mm, width of head as preserved 27mm, of neck (average) 14mm, thickness of neck 18mm.
Greyish white, fine-grained marble; slightly discoloured, chipped.
Folded-arm figurine. IV.C: Chalandriani (Renfrew 1969, 13)

Caskey 1971b, no. 19 (K9.12) Head of folded-arm figurine (Fig. 29.12).
Group AE, 'continuous and well defined extent of the stone stratum or paving, in the NE quadrant of Square G 8 and extending to the east and NE': Overbeck 1989, 73 (Period IVc)
Fragment. Head and top of neck preserved.
Height 70mm, width of head 65mm, of neck 27mm, thickness of neck 30mm.
White, fine-grained marble; vertically laminated, hence streaked across the face; discoloured brown, especially on back.
Folded-arm figurine.

Caskey 1971b, no. 22 (K3.30) Head of folded-arm figurine (Fig. 29.13).
Group CJ; figurine 'from top of stratum beneath room A.16': Overbeck 1989, 168 (Period IVb/c)
Fragment. Small head and neck preserved.
Height 28mm, width of head 19mm, of neck 11mm, thickness of neck 9mm.
White marble with grey streaks; discoloured tan.
Folded-arm figurine.

Caskey 1971b, no. 23 (K8.37) Head of folded-arm figurine (Fig. 29.14).
Group AM, 'deposit against the upper threshold of the tower door': Overbeck 1989, 85 (Period IVb, early)

Fragment. Head and neck preserved.
Height 58mm, width of head 45mm, of neck 18mm, thickness of neck 15mm.
White, fine-grained, micaceous marble; well-polished, very slightly discoloured.
Folded-arm figurine.

Caskey 1971b, no. 24 (K8.180) Head of folded-arm figurine (Fig. 29.15).
Group AD, 'from the north part of Room W.42': Overbeck 1989, 72 (Period IVc)

Fragment. Head and bit of neck preserved.
Height 140mm, width at top of head estimated 85mm, width of neck 40mm, thickness of neck 29mm.
Greyish white, fine-grained marble, chipped; discoloured brown on back.
Folded-arm figurine. IV.F: Spedos?

Caskey 1971b, no. 28 (K1.368) Fragment of schematic figurine (Fig. 29.16).
Group CC, 'from the level of Wall 34': Overbeck 1989, 153 (Period IVb/c)
Fragment. Probably the neck of a figurine of headless type; chipped at the upper tip, broken off at base of neck near shoulders.
Height 80mm, width 14mm, thickness 12mm.
White, fine-grained, smooth, slightly yellowed marble.
Schematic.

Caskey 1971b, no. 29 (K4.98) Body of schematic figurine (Fig. 29.17).
Group X, Rooms N.7, N.8, and N.9, 'beneath the lowest LBA floor and above the bottom of the partition wall': Davis, 1986, 50 (Period V)
Fragment. Body preserved to base of neck; chipped.
Height 79mm, Width at arms 57mm, lower body 59mm, average thickness 9mm.
Greyish white, fine-grained marble; some brownish discolouration Schematic. I.A: Violin form

Caskey 1971b, no. 30 (K8.182) Fragment of Phylakopi I-type figurine (Fig. 29.18).
Room A.7, Deposit B, 'on and above floor': Cummer & Schofield 1984, 54 (Period VII, and later?)
Fragment. Head, one arm, and part of one edge of lower body or skirt preserved
Height 143mm, maximum thickness 14mm
White, fine-grained, micaceous marble; polished; yellowed.
Schematic. VII: Phylakopi I type

Caskey 1971b, no. 33 (K8.181) Fragment of schematic figurine (Fig. 29.19).
Room A.7, Deposit B, 'on and above floor': Cummer & Schofield 1984, 54 (Period VII, and later?)
Fragment: preserved from waist down.
Height 73mm, width at bottom 79mm, thickness 11–13mm.
White, fine-grained, micaceous marble; polished; yellowed on one side, discoloured brown on the other.
Schematic.

Caskey 1971b, no. 36 (K8.145) Fragment, perhaps of schematic figurine (Fig. 29.20).
Room W.33, 'on and above floor': Schofield 2011, 188 (Period VI/VIIa).
Fragment. Head or arm of a schematic figurine?
Length 47mm, width 24mm, thickness 11mm.
White, fine-grained, micaceous marble; polished.
Schematic. VII: Phylakopi I type?

Caskey 1974, no. 42 (K72.17) Fragment of schematic figurine (Fig. 29.21).
Group CE, 'from the semi-basement room beneath A.3': Overbeck 1989, 155 (Period IVa/b).
Fragment. Corner of skirt or lower body of a schematic figurine.
Height 67mm, width 50mm, thickness 12–10mm.
Moderately coarse grained, white marble; slightly discoloured.

Schematic. VII: Phylakopi I type?

Caskey 1974, no. 43 (K74.4) Head of folded-arm figurine (Fig. 29.22).
Group CO, 'beneath room A.37': Overbeck 1989, 173 (Period IVb/c).
Fragment. Head.
Height 48mm, width at top 38mm, width neck 14mm.
Coarse-grained white marble; surface disintegrated, discoloured.
Folded-arm figurine.

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30

THE MARBLE SCULPTURES FROM PHYLAKOPI ON MELOS

Colin Renfrew and Michael J. Boyd

Introduction

Phylakopi was the first prehistoric settlement in the Cyclades to be extensively excavated, and the artefacts recovered in the excavation campaigns of 1896–1899, including the marble figurine fragments, were well published (Bosanquet & Welch 1904), although the precise stratigraphic contexts are not in every case clear. Yet the find circumstances did allow them to make the important observation (Bosanquet & Welch 1904, 195): 'The finding of these idols in the houses is a fresh proof that they were used by the living, not made only as funeral offerings for the dead'. The figurines from the excavations of 1896–1899 were subsequently reconsidered (Renfrew 1969) using the more detailed observations which could be documented using the Excavation Daybooks of Duncan Mackenzie (1963; Boyd *et al.* forthcoming).

The excavations of 1911 at Phylakopi were published only in a short preliminary report which speaks (Dawkins & Droop 1911, 22) of: 'a small marble female figure .20m long of the most shapeless fiddle type', which was not illustrated, and which has not recently been re-located. However we are able to present the item here for the first time through a previously unpublished archival photograph. The excavations of 1974–1977 yielded a head of a figure of the Spedos variety, SF 631, and a schematic figurine, SF 620, both from well stratified levels, which are described below (Cherry & Davis 2007, 421–3). More recent work at Phylakopi has resulted in the discovery

of a further figurine (Marthari *et al.* forthcoming).

In 1969 it was possible to recognise a category of schematic figurine seen at Phylakopi, of a characteristic form (Type VII), with arm stumps, as the 'Phylakopi I type' (Renfrew 1969, 24–5 and pl. 7. c, d and e), since its stratigraphic associations seemed to be with levels of the First City at Phylakopi (which follows the time of the Keros-Syros culture). They had been recognised by Bosanquet & Welch (1904, 194) as: 'a distinct and uniform group, perhaps of local manufacture'.

For convenience the marble figurines are concisely listed in Table 30.1. Those from the excavation of 1896-9 will be presented in greater detail in the Corpus now in preparation. The findspots of figurines are shown in Figure 30.1.

Folded-arm figurines

Fragments of five folded arm sculptures of canonical form have been found on the site.

Phyl 1. Weathered folded arm figure (Fig. 30.2).
Height 215mm.
Bosanquet & Welch 1904, 195 and pl. xxxix, 1.

Head and feet missing. The slim form is suggestive of the Dokathismata variety, but the flat and level shoulders lead to its assignment to the Spedos variety. The figure may be represented as pregnant.

Context: the original publication (Bosanquet & Welch 1904, 195) states 'found on the surface and much weathered, may have come from a tomb', but the excavation daybook entry (Mackenzie 1963) for 27 May 1897 reads: 'Early in the morning was found, at E4,I, near the N. wall, 0.60 down, a marble idol without head, of the usual Aegean type'. An annotation to the entry for I3 May 1896 records: 'At E4, I was found in 1897 a marble idol (headless) in Mycenaean deposit at a depth of only 0.60 from the surface'. Nearby were found bronze bowl fragments as well as late bronze age terracotta figurine fragments, indicating the mixed nature of the context.

Table 30.1 The marble sculptures from Phylakopi: a synopsis.

No.	Museum (& no.)	Type	Bosanquet & Welch 1904	Renfrew 1969	Other	Figure
Phyl 1	EAM5848	Folded-arm figurine	pl. xxxix, 1	φ 29		30.2
Phyl 2	EAM5848	Folded-arm figurine	pl. xxxix, 2	φ 30		30.3
Phyl 3	EAM5848	Schematic	pl. xxxix, 3	fig. I C		30.7
Phyl 4	EAM5848	Schematic	pl. xxxix, 4	pl. 7(d)		30.10
Phyl 5	EAM5848	Schematic	pl. xxxix, 5			30.13
Phyl 6	EAM5848	Pre-canonical	pl. xxxix, 6			30.6
Phyl 7	EAM5848	Hybrid	pl. xxxix, 7			30.14
Phyl 8	EAM5848	Schematic	pl. xxxix, 8	pl. 7(c)		30.11
Phyl 9	EAM5848	Schematic	p. 194	pl. 7(e)		30.12
Phyl 10	?	Folded-arm figurine	p. 195			–
Phyl 11	Melos Museum	Schematic			Cherry & Davis 2007, pl. 54(a), SF 620	30.9
Phyl 12	Melos Museum	Folded-arm figurine			Cherry & Davis 2007, pl. 54(b), SF 631	30.4
Phyl 13	?	Schematic			Dawkins & Droop 1911, 22	30.8
Phyl 14	Melos Museum	Folded-arm figurine				30.5

Fig. 30.1 Plan of Phylakopi showing findspots of figurines. Solid arrows show exact findspots and dashed arrows show less secure findspots. After Daykin (Renfrew & Wagstaff 1982, fig. 4.3).

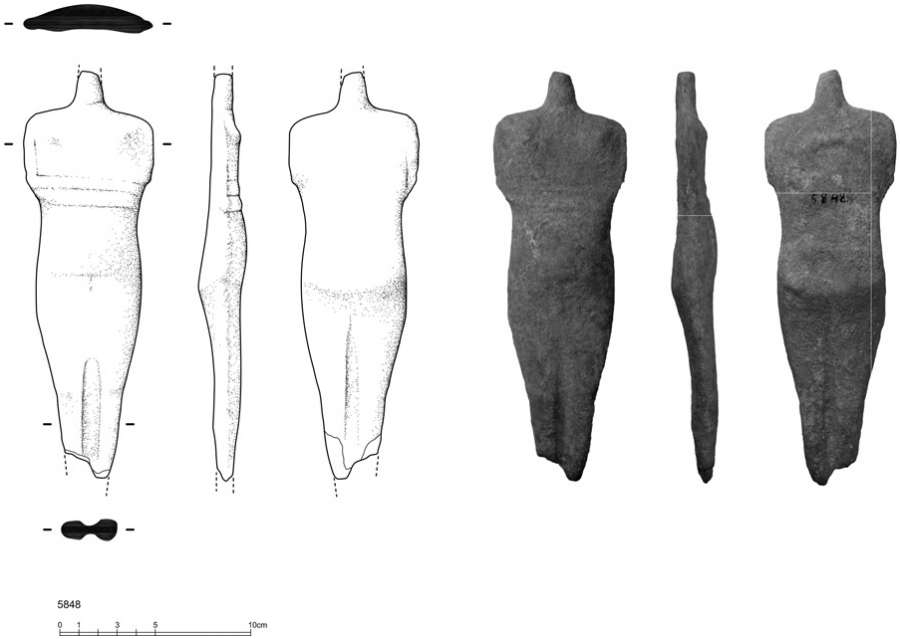

Fig. 30.2 Phyl 1. Folded-arm figurine. Scale 1:2.

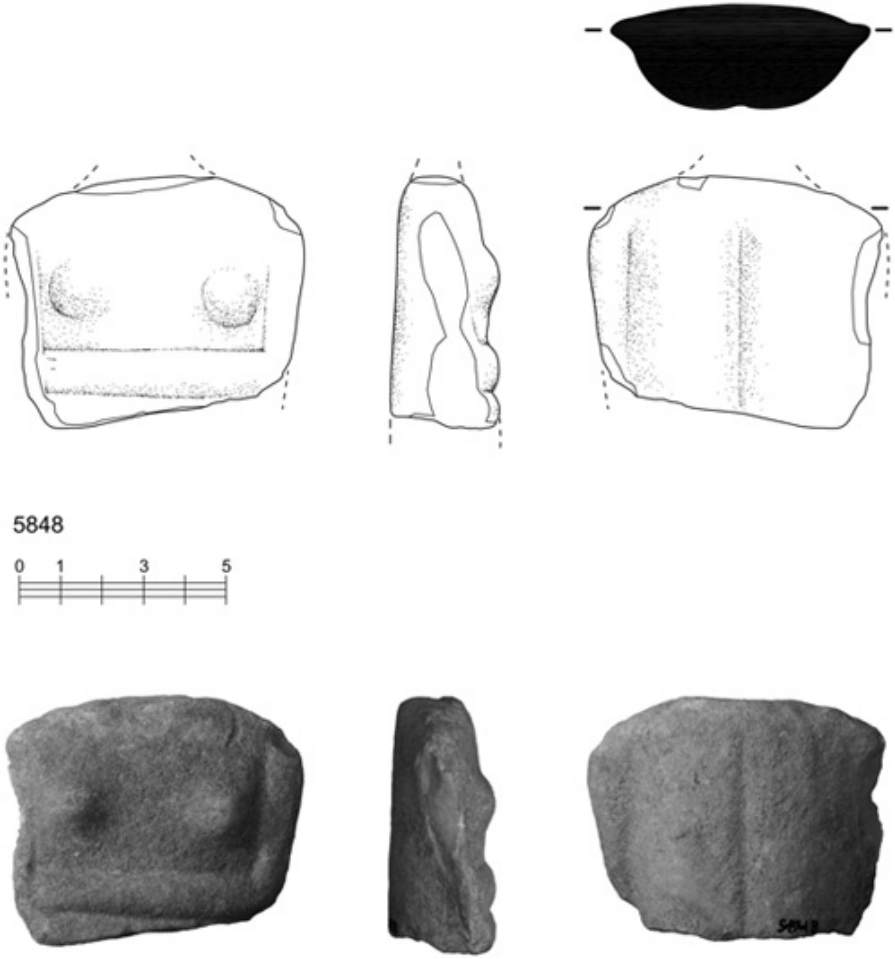

Fig. 30.3. Phyl 2. Torso of a folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Phyl 2. Torso of folded arm figure of the Spedos variety (Fig. 30.3).
Height 58mm.
Bosanquet & Welch (1904, 195 and pl. xxxix, 2).

The right arm partly missing, broken below the left lower arm and damaged on the right side.

Context: 'from B5, in deposit above the rock and adjoining the obsidian area' (Bosanquet & Welch 1904, 195). The Daybook for 13 May 1896 (Mackenzie 1963) states: 'One find which was unique for the season was the bust of a prehistoric marble idol of the common Aegean type. It was found at A5,7 at about 2.50 to 2.60 down, and it could be regarded as a mark of prehistoric as distinguished from Mycenaean deposit'. Room A5,7 is however some 15m distant from the obsidian area, and so it is not clear that the same figurine is intended. As excavations progressed it became clear that the figurine and the contemporary obsidian deposit belonged to the First City at Phylakopi.

Phyl 10. Torso fragment showing the folded arms and grooved back.
Not illustrated.
Height 55mm; thickness 35mm
Bosanquet & Welch 1904, 195.

Context: 'From H 3, depth 2 – 3.20. The finding of these idols in the houses is a fresh proof

that they were used by the living, not made only as funeral offerings for the dead' (Bosanquet & Welch 1904, 195). This figurine is not mentioned in Mackenzie's diary.

Phyl 12. Head of folded arm figure of Spedos variety (Fig. 30.4).
Preserved height 43mm.
Cherry & Davis 2007, fig. 10.8, pl. 54, c–e. SF 631.

With long nose (length 25mm) and pronounced cranial plane.

Context: From layer 134 of the deep sounding ΠC. Associated with pottery including sherds of the Keros-Syros culture in the 'Pre-City' levels of Phase A2 which underlie those of the First City of Phylakopi (phase B).The west section of Trench ΠC (Renfrew *et al.* 2007, 42) indicates layer 134, well below the first floors of the First City levels. The associated pottery (Renfrew 2007, 40) was of the Keros-Syros culture, in what appeared to be a domestic deposit, and stratified some 0.30m above *in situ* deposits with pottery of the Grotta-Pelos culture (Phase A1). In layer 131, a slightly higher layer than 134, came a fragment from a polished marble bowl, and a small stone pyxis lid of limestone. However no clear structures were associated with these strata, which were described by the excavators as 'fill'.

Fig. 30.4 Phyl 12. Head of folded-arm figure of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

Phyl 14. Head and neck of a folded arm figurine of the Chalandriani variety (Fig. 30.5).
Preserved height approximately 48mm.
Previously unpublished.

The flat, triangular head (approximate height 23mm) with its prominent nose sits on the narrow neck (length approximately 25mm).

Context: This head was found in August 2003 (Marthari *et al.* forthcoming). It was a surface find from Grid Square E3 (Atkinson *et al.* 1904, pl. ii), recovered within the World War II German trench system, whose construction may have displaced it. It was a chance find from the surface, not recovered as part of the systematic work then underway.

Fig. 30.5 Phyl 14. Head and neck of a folded arm figurine of the Chalandriani variety. Scale 1:2.

Head of possible ‘pre-canonical’ figure

Phyl 6. Head and neck of ‘pre-canonical’ or Plastiras type figure (Fig. 30.6).
Preserved height 80mm.
Bosanquet & Welch 1904, pl. xxxix, 6.

The head, of height 54mm sits on a neck of preserved height 26mm. It is curved at the top, unlike most folded-arm figures. Yet in profile it appears tilted upwards in a manner which differs from figures of the Plastiras type. The rounded form is reminiscent of some ‘pre-canonical’ figures (see Sotirakopoulou 1998).

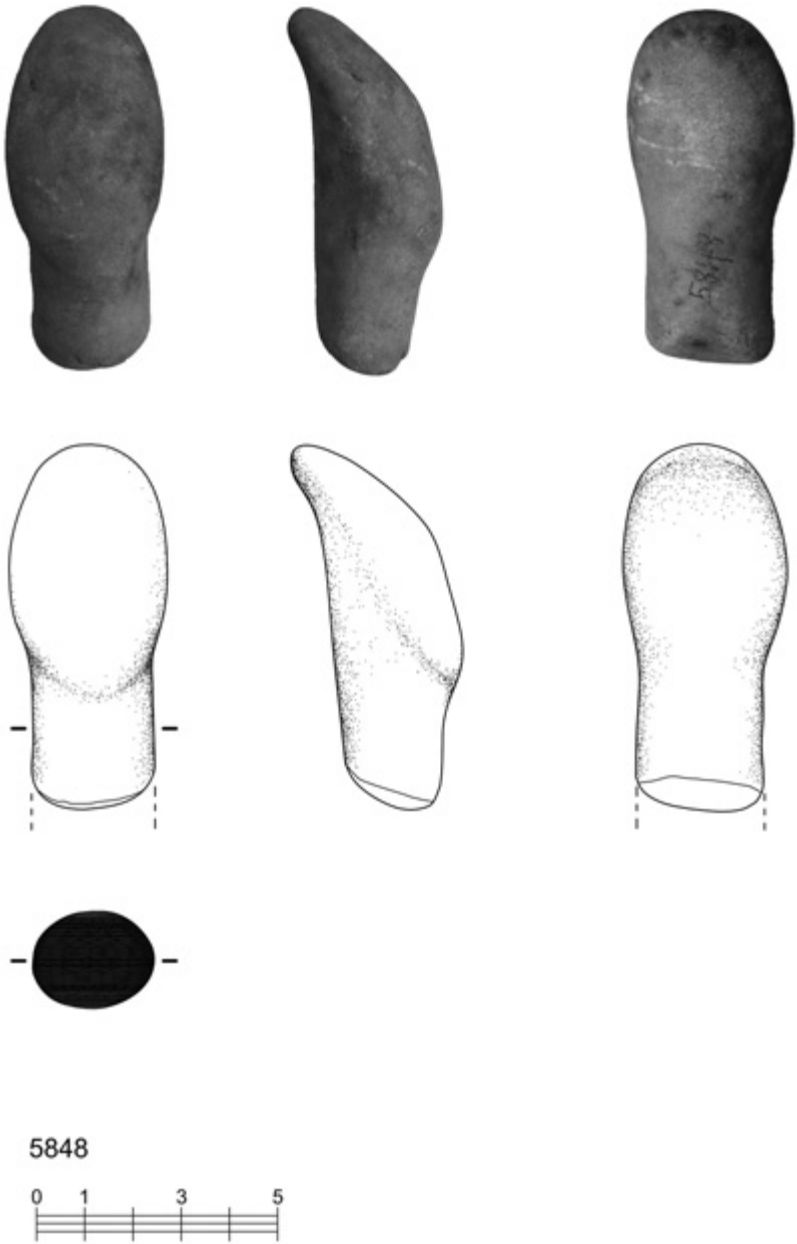

Fig. 30.6 Phyl 6. Head and neck of ‘pre-canonical’ or Plastiras type figure. Scale 1:2.

Context: The entry in the Daybook (Mackenzie 1963) for 12 May 1897 states: ‘... room (B)C5,I. In this same region was found yesterday about a metre down, the head (with obliterated features) of a marble idol of the Aegean type. The find was a mere curiosity compared with the brilliant discovery made today …’. The find was relatively high in the fill of this room (C5, 8 on the plan in Atkinson *et al.* 1904, pl. ii) of the Third City.

Schematic figures

Schematic figures assigned to the Grotta-Pelos culture

Phyl 3 Complete schematic figure of shouldered form (Fig. 30.7).
Height 42mm.
Bosanquet & Welch 1904, 194 and pl. xxxix, 3.
Type I C (Renfrew 1969, 4-5).

Small 'Brettidolen' of this general type were found in many graves of the Grotta-Pelos culture in the excavations of Tsountas.

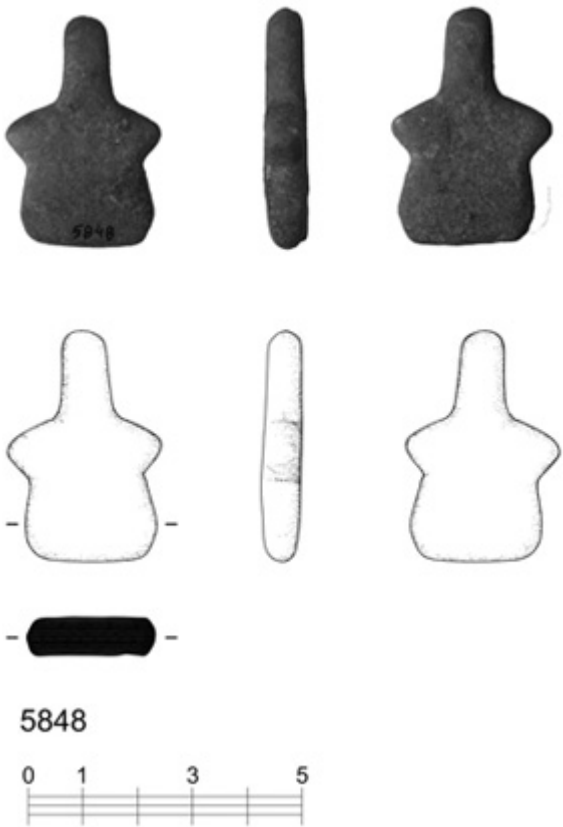

Fig. 30.7 Phyl 3. Complete schematic figure of shouldered form. Scale 1:2.

Context: From Square K 2, location not recorded. Mackenzie does not describe excavation in K 2 in his notebook, but notes instead that 'the whole E part of the site from K E ward is still unexcavated' (1963, 232). Nonetheless Third City walls are shown here in the plan (Atkinson *et al.* 1904, pl. ii). It may be that the tops of these walls were exposed under the direction of Hogarth (Boyd *et al.* forthcoming): only a few courses are exposed today, unlike elsewhere on the site. This suggests the find came from a near-surface level.

Phyl 13. Schematic figurine with a long neck and modest shoulders (Fig. 30.8).
Height about 94mm, maximum width about 35mm (see discussion below).
Dawkins & Droop 1911, 22 (not previously illustrated).

This figurine has not recently been located. Described as 'a small marble female figure .20 m. long of the most shapeless Cycladic fiddle type' (Dawkins & Droop 1911, 22), and 'a crude long necked Cycladic fiddle shaped idol' (Dawkins' 1911 excavation diary, page 15r; see

Barber forthcoming for transcription of this presently unpublished diary; date of the entry is between 12 and 20 May 1911, probably toward the end of that period). A photograph of the object (here Fig. 30.8) is preserved in the Phylakopi archive of the British School at Athens (number 9504; Barber forthcoming). The photograph suggests the piece is less than half the size quoted above (height about 94mm, maximum width, toward the bottom, about 35mm).

Context: From square H 4, room 28, depth 97.62 (ie, 2.38m below the datum), just above bedrock, in the southeast corner of the room. (Room 28 in square H 4 as recorded in the notebooks probably equates to room 15 in square H 4 as presented by Dawkins & Droop in pl. 1, left, of their 1911 publication: Brodie forthcoming). Nearby, in the southwest corner of the room, a bronze double axe (Dawkins & Droop 1911, pl. xiv, 59) and spearhead were found at a depth of 97.11, above which a floor level was noted: the figurine was therefore probably not associated with these objects, and is likely to have been above the noted floor. These details come from Dawkins' 1911 diary, page 15r, and the site notebook (SNB), page 118: Barber forthcoming. Brodie, in his analysis of this room, notes that the assemblage on the floor surface is mainly Middle Cycladic, though with one later intrusion; the assemblage under the floor surface is mixed Early and Middle Cycladic (Brodie forthcoming). The interpretation of the brief notebook entries is not unambiguous and perhaps the figurine should in fact belong with the material below the floor surface.

Fig. 30.8 Phyl 13. Schematic figurine with a long neck and modest shoulders. Scale 1:2.

Schematic figure assigned to the Apeiranthos type

Phyl 11 Complete schematic figure (Fig. 30.9).
Height 48mm.
Cherry & Davis 422, fig. 10.8 and pl. 54, a. SF 620.

The shape of the figure, with its rectangular body and narrower rectangular head allow this to be assigned to the Apeiranthos type (Renfrew 1969, 14).

Context: From Trench IIC layer 128, from the Pre-City' phase A2. The west section of trench IIC (Renfrew *et al.* 2007, 42) shows the position of layer 128, well above layer 134 (the findspot of the head of the folded-arm figure, Phyl 12) and below the lower floors of the First City. Other finds from layer 128 (Renfrew *et al.* 2007, 48) included a green sealstone and a marble bowl. No associated structures were observed in this trench.

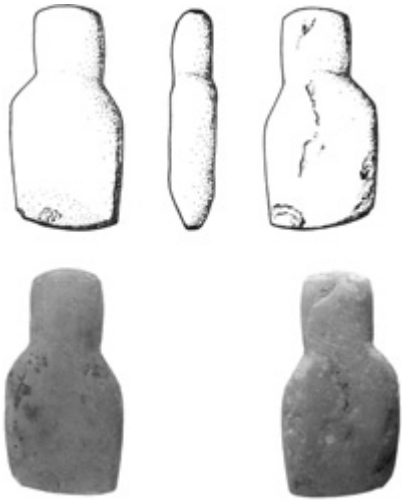

Fig. 30.9 Phyl 11. Complete schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.

Schematic figures of the Phylakopi I type

Three schematic figurines from Phylakopi were seen by Bosanquet & Welch (1904, 184) 'to form a distinct and uniform group, perhaps of local manufacture: the type has not been found elsewhere'. They have been taken (Renfrew 1969, 24) to define figurines of Type VII, the 'Phylakopi I type'.

Phyl 4. Schematic figurine (Fig. 30.10).
Preserved height 44mm.
Bosanquet & Welch 1904, pl. xxxix, 4; Renfrew 1969 pl. 7 (d).
The figurine is broken below the arm stumps.

Context: From Square H 2, precise location and depth unknown.

Phyl 8. Schematic figurine (Fig. 30.11).
Preserved height 48mm. Bosanquet & Welch 1904, pl. xxxix, 8; Renfrew 1969, pl. 7 (c).

The figurine is broken above the arm stumps so that there is no indication of the head.

Context: H3. Depth 2.40. The Daybook (Mackenzie 1963) for 30 May 1899 states, of Room H 3, 4: 'The S. end of the space was paved with polygonal pieces of iron-stone slate while plaster flooring was apparent at other parts of the space. A unique feature is that an early bit of wall, of 3, at the W. side of the space is lined with the same sort of polygonal slates. Here, about 0.20 from the foundation was found the bust of a marble idol of the shape [ ] and at the rock the usual geometric ware appeared in large abundance'. The drawing identifies the figurine. 'Wall, of 3' means wall of Stratum 3, of the First City.

This is an important context both for the chronology and for the function of figurines of the Phylakopi I type. Room H 3, 4 as identified in the 1899 diary is the room labelled 3 within square H 3 on the 1904 plan of the earlier phases (Atkinson *et al.* 1904, pl. i). This is identified as part of a system of walls of the First City (Atkinson *et al.* 1904, 36-37, fig. 22). Unfortunately this space is not further described in the notebooks, but the plan records the location of the pavement ('a' on pl. i, Atkinson *et al.* 1904), and the figurine was recovered 0.20m above this.

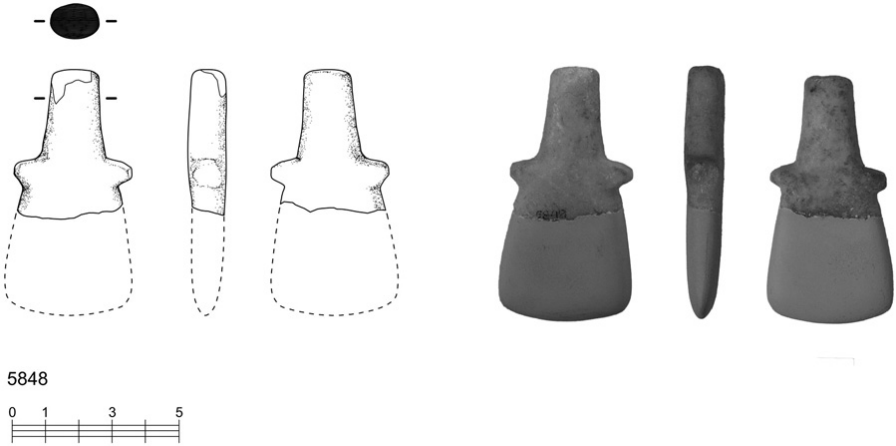

Fig. 30.10 Phyl 4. Schematic figurine of Phylakopi I type. Scale 1:2.

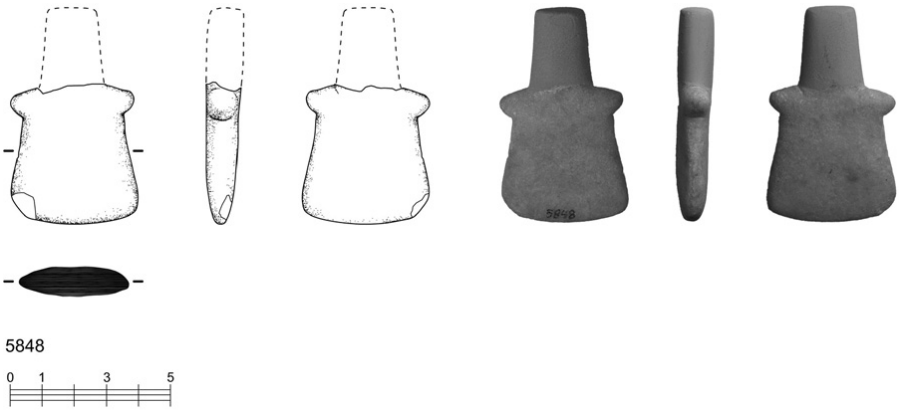

Fig. 30.11 Phyl 8. Schematic figurine of Phylakopi I type. Scale 1:2.

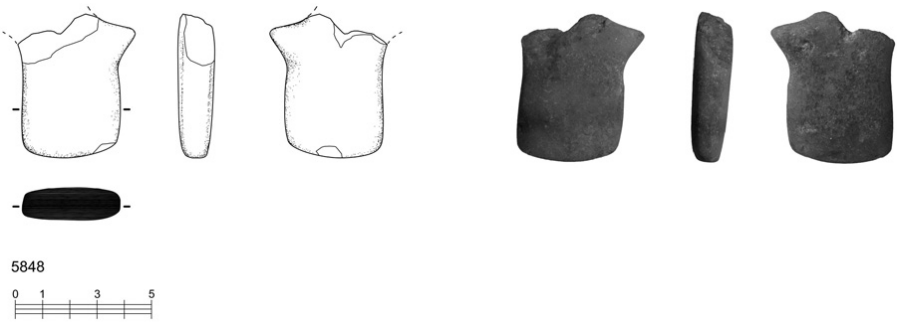

Fig. 30.12 Phyl 9. Schematic figurine of Phylakopi I type. Scale 1:2.

Phyl 9. Schematic figurine (Fig. 30.12).
Preserved height 54mm.
Bosanquet & Welch 1904, 194: ‘another broken figure, like them …’ (not illustrated); Renfrew 1969, pl. 7 (e).

The figurine is broken above the left arm stump, with the right arm stump missing.

Context: Square G 3, depth 1.60. This find is not mentioned in the notebook and so cannot be more precisely located. G 3 is in the centre of the site, with building complexes of the Third and Second City, and some First City walls.

Other schematic figures

There are also two other schematic figures which do not fall neatly into the above classes.

Phyl 5. Schematic figure (Fig. 30.13).
Preserved height 65mm.
Bosanquet & Welch 1904 pl. xxxix, 5.

Broken at neck. This a rather crudely made piece, the left shoulder larger and thicker. Probably made using a pebble.

Context: Barely legible pencil marking on figurine apparently reads: 'G 2.21'. Room 21 in G 2 is (for the Second City: Atkinson *et al.* 1904, pl. I; room 21 for the Third City is further west, but we can assume, from the remark that all the schematic figurines were found 'below the Mycenaean level', that the Second City room is intended: Bosanquet & Welch 1904, 194) a Second City space at the east end of G 2, whose excavation is not specifically described in Mackenzie's notebooks. It therefore seems likely that this item was recovered in a Second City context, though perhaps redeposited there.

Fig. 30.13 Phyl 5. Schematic figurine. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 30.14 Phyl 7. Schematic figurine with incised arms. Scale 1:2.

Phyl 7. Schematic figure with incised arms (i.e hybrid form) (Fig. 30.14).
Preserved height 72mm.
Bosanquet & Welch 1904, pl. xxxix, 7.

The head is missing and the figurine is sheared, with the front surface only preserved.

Context: From H2, depth 1.50–2.80. Square H 2 contains a coherent system of Second City walls with some First City remains beneath. However, the find is not listed in the notebook and little further can be said.

Both these figures are probably of the time of the Keros-Syros culture.

Discussion

Most of the figurines found at Phylakopi were fragmentary, and were found in contexts of the Second or Third Cities, and therefore not in contexts of their original use. The position is therefore very much like that at Ayia Irini in Kea where most of the figurine finds were in fragmentary condition and found in levels later than the early bronze age (Caskey 1971; 1974; Wilson, this volume, Chapter 9; Hershenson & Overbeck, this volume, Chapter 29).

Just three figurines seem to have been recovered from contexts contemporary with their original use. These include the head of the folded-arm figure of Spedos variety (Phyl 12) and the schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos variety (Phyl 11), both found in Trench ΠC in levels of the pre-city Phase A2, with pottery of the Keros-Syros culture. The figurine (Phyl 8) from First City levels in Square H3 is of Phylakopi I type and serves to establish the chronological position of that type. It is possible also that the torso of a folded arm figure of Spedos variety (Phyl 2), apparently found in First City levels, was from a context not very much later than its original use.

The fragmentary condition of most of the figurines is of note, and may not be accidental. Most of the finds from the sanctuary at Kavos were deliberately broken, and the broken figurines from the

settlements, including the settlement at Phylakopi, may also in some cases be the products of similar episodes of deliberate fragmentation.

Acknowledgement

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31

EARLY CYCLADIC SCULPTURES FROM THE SETTLEMENT AT AKROTIRI, THERA

Christos Doumas

In terms of context, the Early Cycladic figurines brought to light in the prehistoric city at Akrotiri fall into two groups. One group includes those figurines found dispersed at various points in the settlement (Fig. 31.1), without any particular correlation, and the other group those gathered in a specific space, the so-called 'cenotaph' (Fig. 31.2). The figurines with their contextual data are listed in detail by Sotirakopoulou (1998).

Figurines dispersed in the settlement

Almost all the figurines are schematic, of several varieties, and only one is a folded-arm figurine of canonical type (Fig. 31.3). The density of these figurines is greatest in the area of the excavated city defined to the north by the West House and Xeste 5, and to the south by Buildings Gamma and Beta (Fig. 31.1: zone marked 'Middle Cycladic'). If this is not accidental (and more thorough investigation is needed there) and given that Early Cycladic figurines were usually found in graves, it tends to confirm the view that the cemetery of the Early Cycladic settlement lay in that area. The figurines are listed in Table 31.1.

Cenotaph

The small cairn of stones has been named conventionally 'the cenotaph' because of the Early Cycladic objects, which were found inside a construction in the form of an EC I cist-grave of type A located on its top (Table 31.2; Fig. 31.3).

It is worth noting that a large quantity of sea pebbles, stone vessels and many obsidian blades were found on the slopes of the cairn. Moreover, its upper part was intentionally left projecting above the level of the square formed in this area of the city around the beginning of Late Cycladic I. This upper part was still visible until the Late Cycladic I volcanic eruption covered it with pumice (Doumas 2008, 170-3).

The typology of the figurines of both groups from the settlement at Aktoriri, suggests quite a long period of use covering the entire EC I period and all three phases of EC II.

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Table 31.1 Figurines found in the settlement.

	Figurine	Type	Fig.	Page ref. in Sotirakopoulou 1998
I	Schematic (AKR6806)	Bipartite	–	113
II	Schematic (AKR1886)	Tripartite	31.4	125
III	Schematic (AKR1762)	Pebble	31.4	110
IV	Schematic (AKR3072)	Pebble	31.4	110
V	Schematic (AKR6240)	Pebble	31.4	110–1
VI	Schematic (AKR1928)	Pebble	31.4	110
VII	Schematic (AKR534)	Shouldered	–	114
VIII	Schematic (AKR1041)	Shouldered	–	114
IX	Schematic (AKR1860)	Shouldered	31.4	123–5
X	Schematic (AKR1658)	Shouldered	–	114
XI	Schematic (AKR1954)	Shouldered	31.4	114–5
XII	Schematic (AKR1982)	Shouldered	31.4	115
XIII	Schematic (AKR1309)	Shouldered	–	115–6
XIV	Schematic (AKR1330)	Shouldered	–	116
XV	Schematic (AKR1979)	Shouldered	–	116
XVI	Schematic (AKR1885)	Shouldered	–	117
XVII	Schematic (AKR547)	Troy	31.4	118
XVIII	Schematic (AKR1962)	Troy	31.4	118–9
XIX	Schematic (AKR1265)	Apeiranthos	–	119–20
XX	Schematic (AKR6817)	Apeiranthos	31.4	120–1
XXI	Schematic (AKR1859)	Phylakopi/Ayia Irini	31.4	121
XXII	Schematic (AKR6798)	Phylakopi/Ayia Irini	31.4	121
XXIII	Schematic (AKR1953)	Phylakopi/Ayia Irini	–	122
XXIV	Schematic (AKR6797)	Phylakopi/Ayia Irini	31.4	122
XXIII	Folded arm (AKR2684)	Canonical	31.5	1140–2

Table 31.2 Figurines found at the cenotaph.

	Context	Type & variety	Fig.	Page ref. in Sotirakopoulou 1998
I	Male figurine (AKR6818 with AKR6819)	Plastiras	31.6	126
II	Male figurine (AKR6858)	Plastiras	31.7	129
III	Male figurine (AKR6820 with AKR6859)	Plastiras	31.8	126, 132
IV	Female figurine (AKR6829 with AKR6830)	Plastiras	31.9	129–32
V	Head of figurine (AKR6828)	Plastiras	31.10	132
VI	Female figurine (AKR6815)	Precanonical	31.11	134–6
VII	Female figurine (AKR6821)	Precanonical	31.12	136
VIII	Female figurine (AKR6816)	FAF, Kapsala	31.13	138–40
IX	Lower legs of figurine (AKR6792)	FAF, Chalandriani	31.14	142
X	Collared jar (AKR1163)		31.15	Devetzi 2008, 135
XI	Collared jar (AKR11808–9)		–	Devetzi 2008, 135

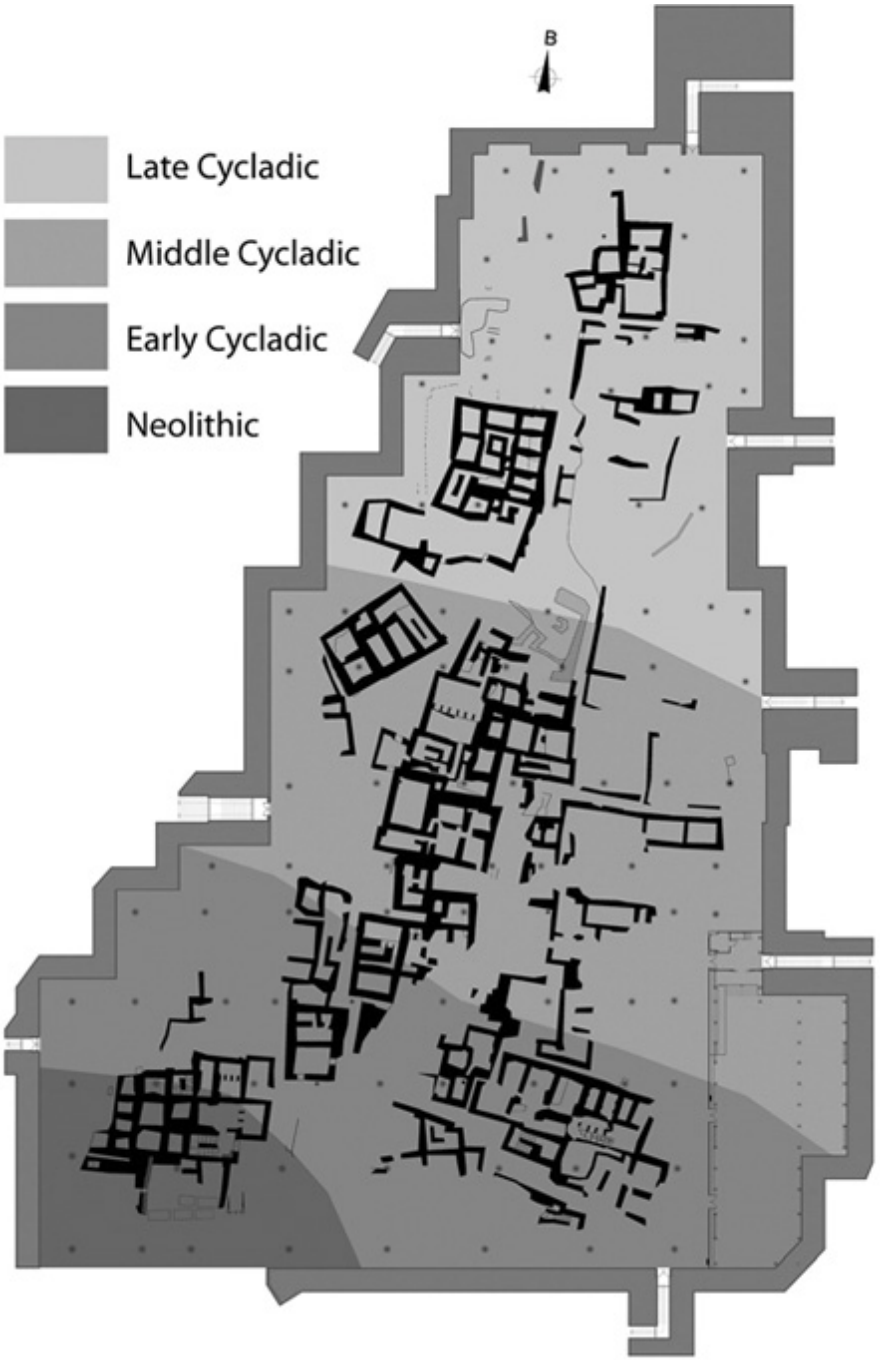


Fig. 31.1 Plan of the settlement at Akrotiri, Thera indicating the zones of its gradual Development.

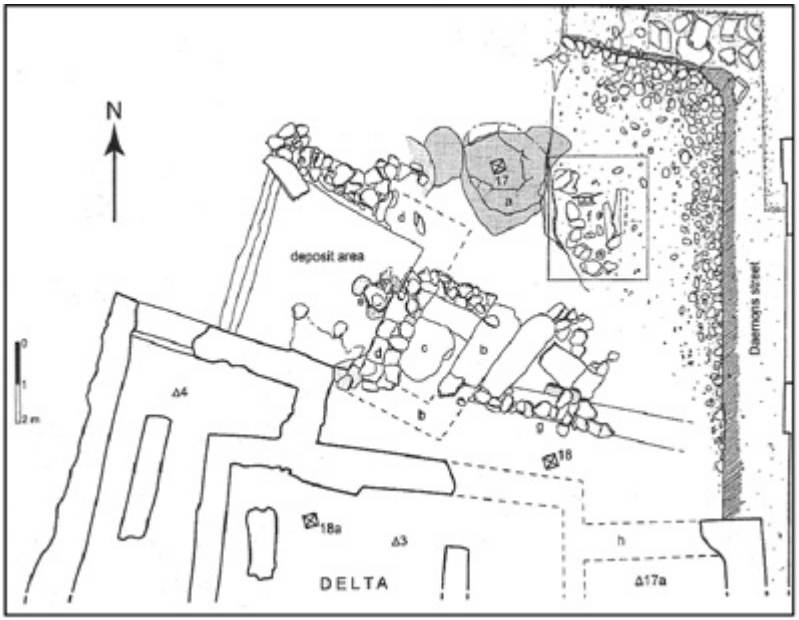


Fig. 31.2 Akrotiri, Thera. The ‘cenotaph’ area.

Fig. 31.3 Akrotiri, Thera. The cairn of the ‘cenotaph’.

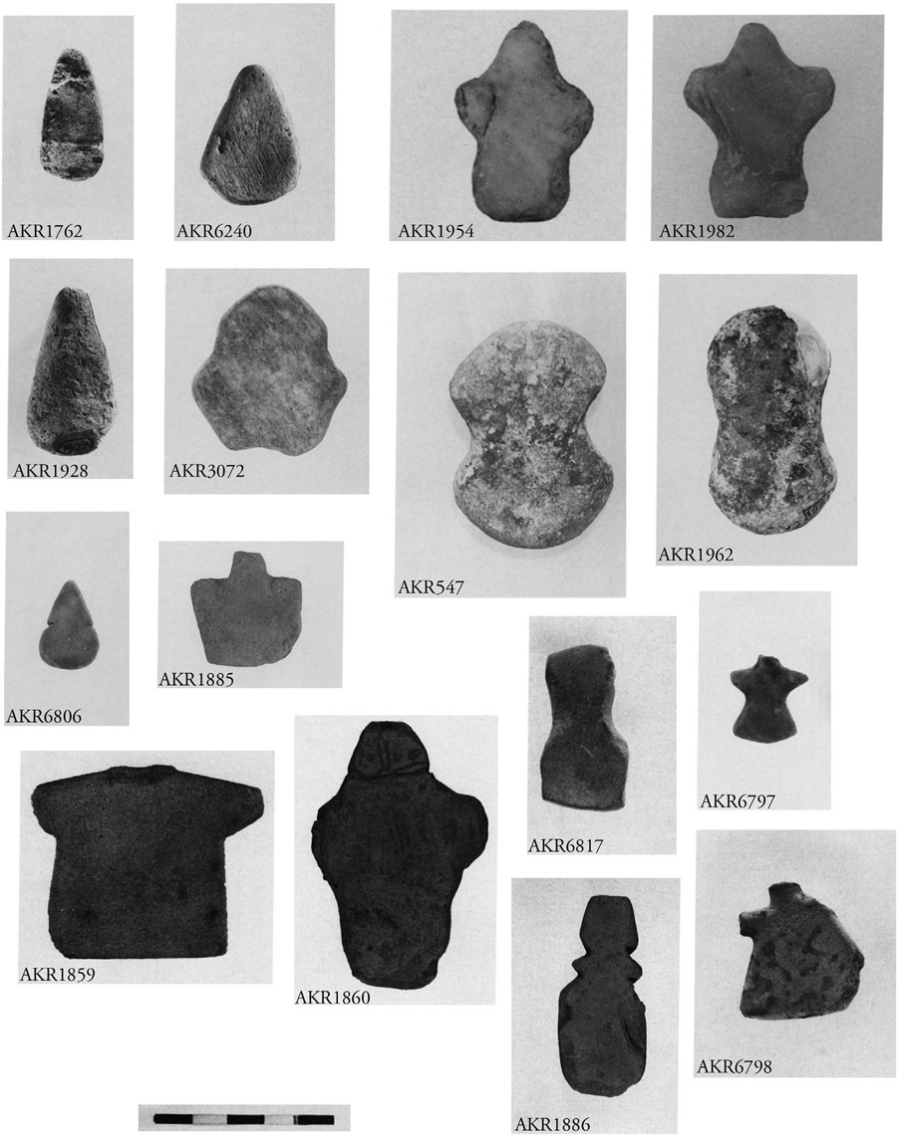


Fig. 31.4 Akrotiri, Thera. Figurines from the settlement area. Scale 1:2.

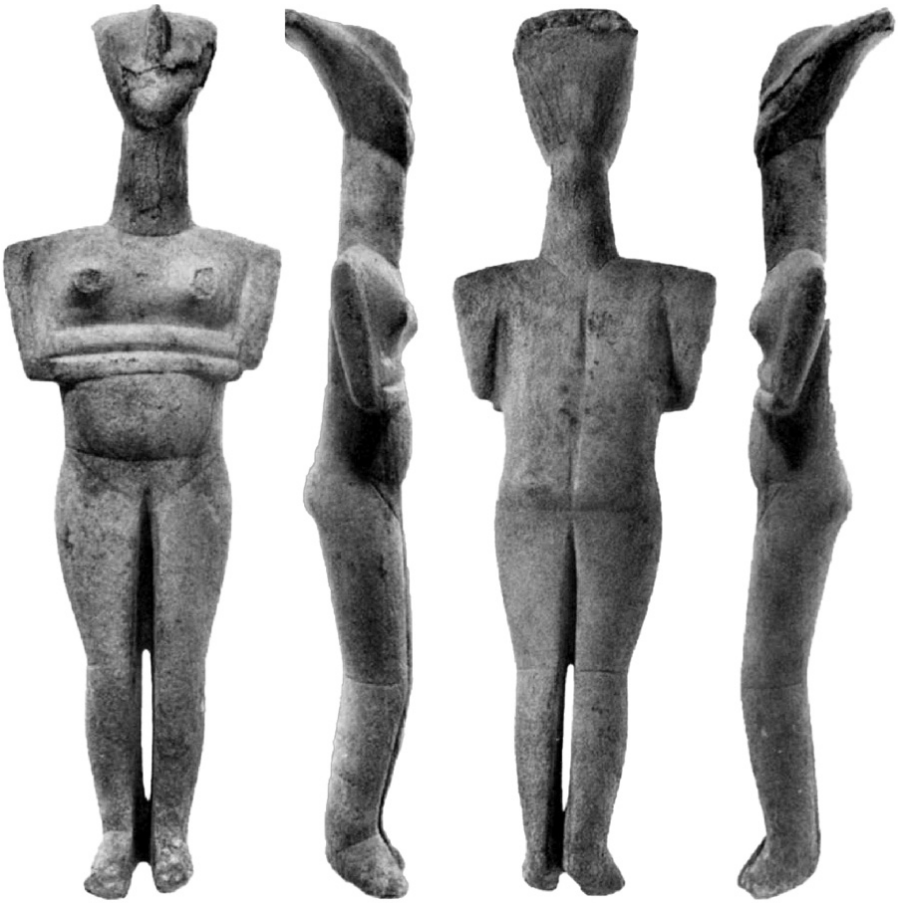


Fig. 31.5 AKR2684. Folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety. Scale 1:2.

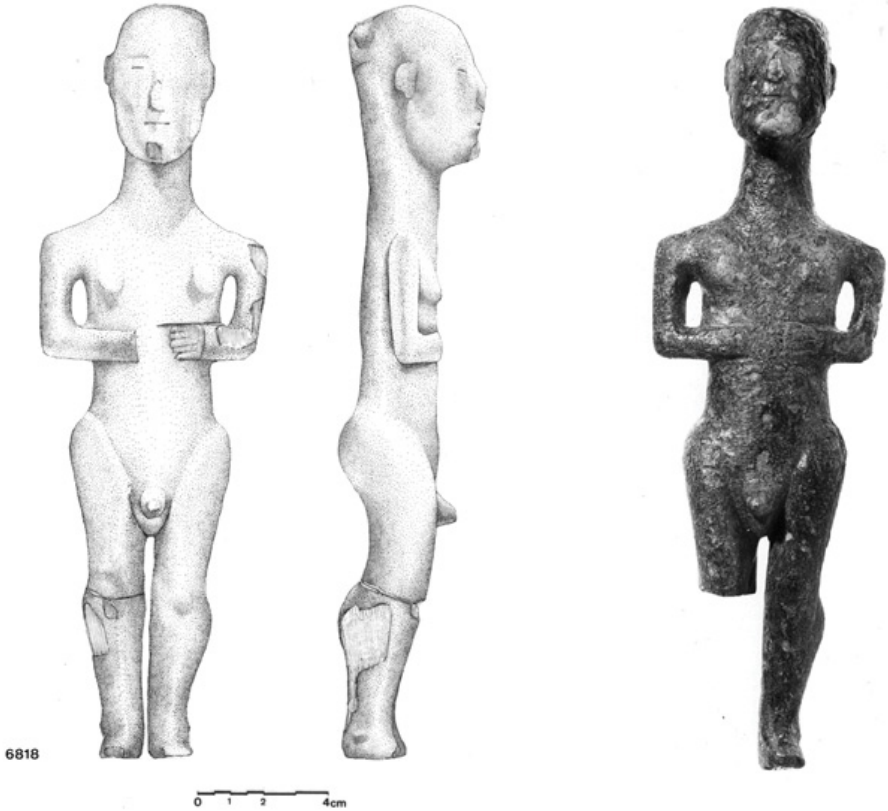


Fig. 31.6 AKR6818 (with AKR6819). Figurine of Plastiras type. Scale 1:2.

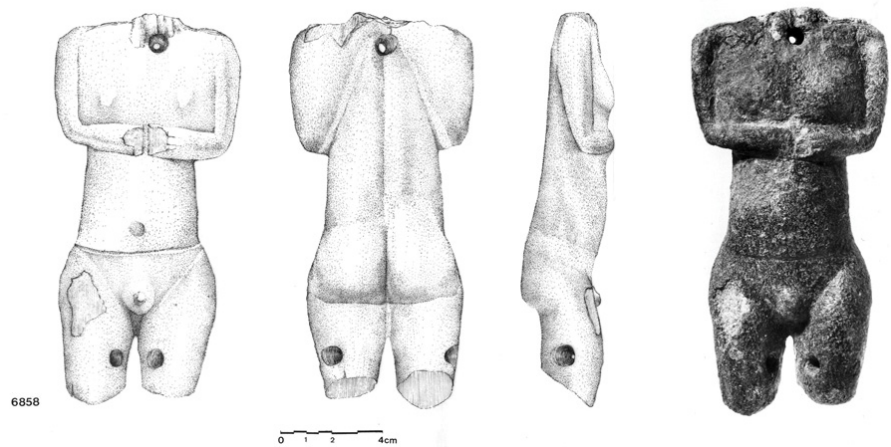


Fig. 31.7 AKR6858. Figurine of Plastiras type. Scale 1:2.

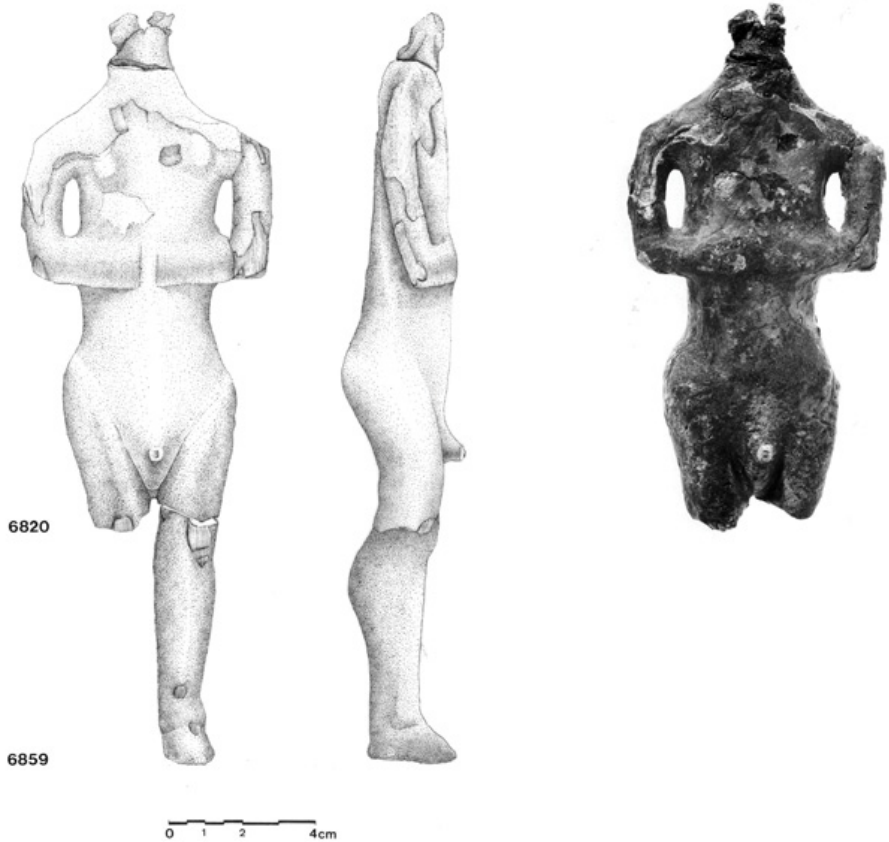


Fig. 31.8 AKR6820 (with 6859). Figurine of Plastiras type. Scale 1:2.

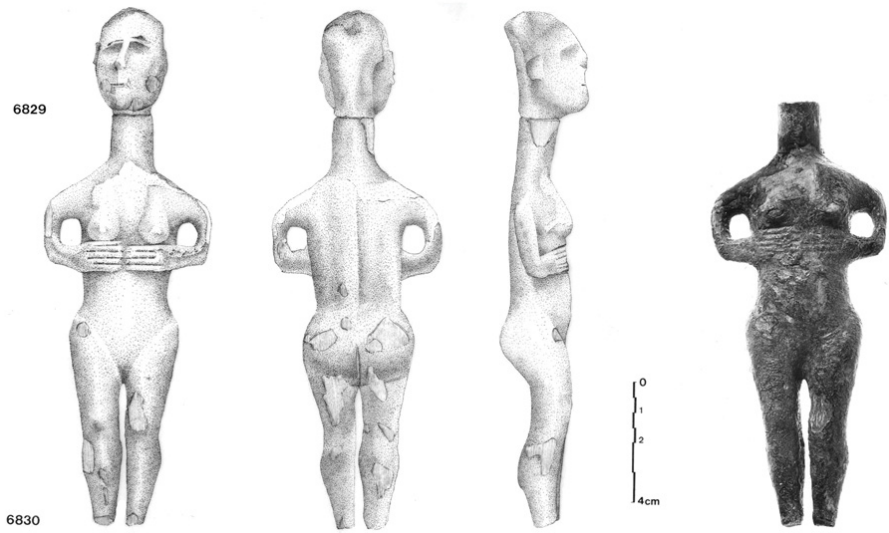


Fig. 31.9 AKR6829 and AKR6830. Figurine of Plastiras type. Scale 1:2.

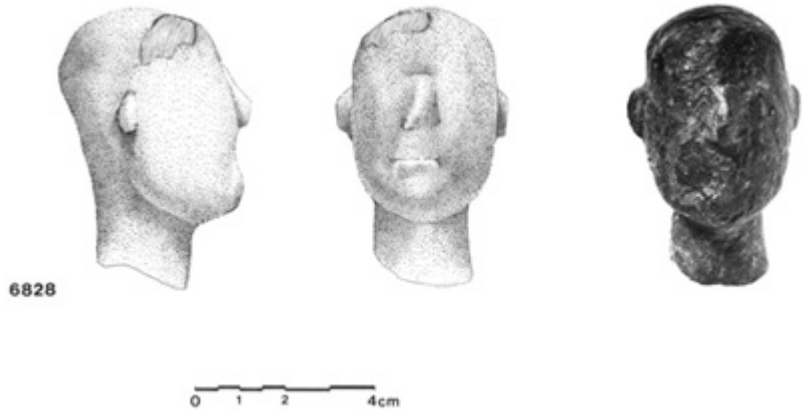


Fig. 31.10 AKR6828. Head of figurine of Plastiras Type. Scale 1:2.

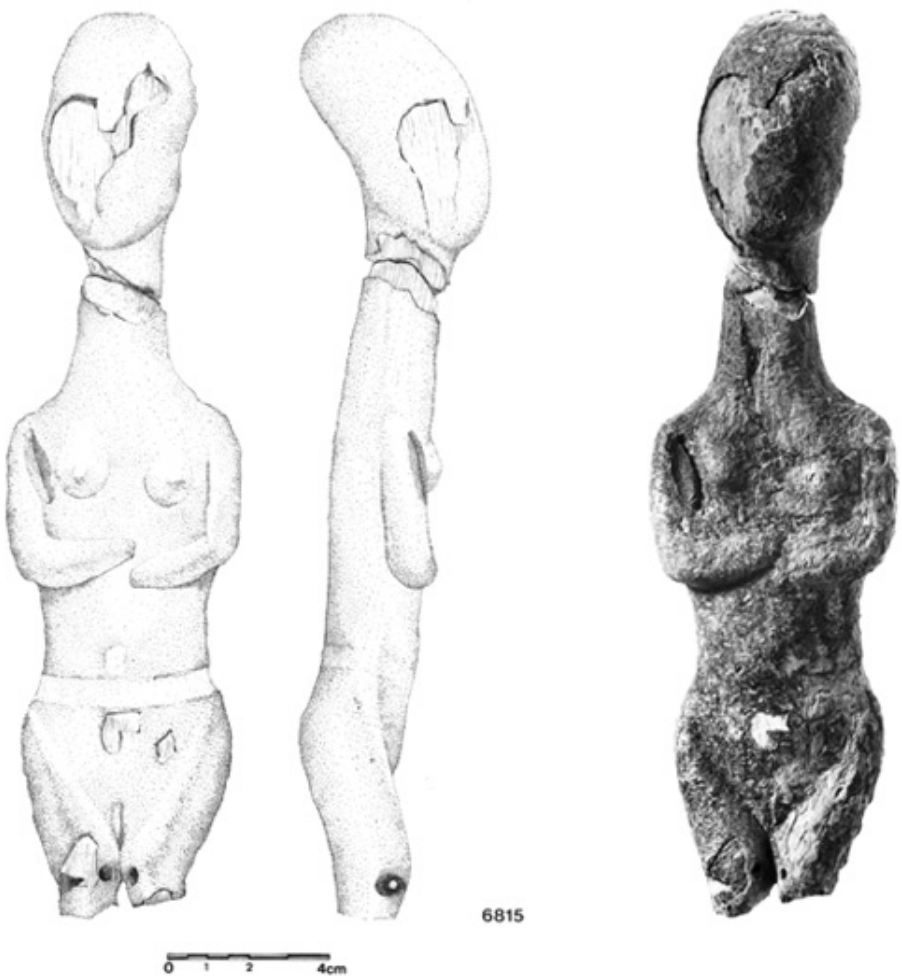


Fig. 31.11 AKR6815. Figurine of precanonical type. Scale 1:2.

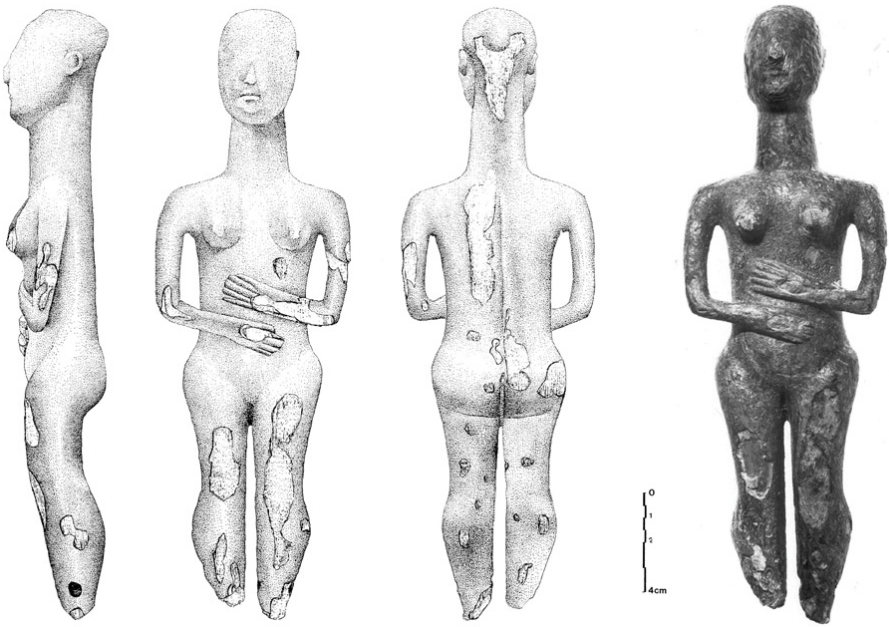


Fig. 31.12 AKR6821. Figurine of precanonical type. Scale 1:2.

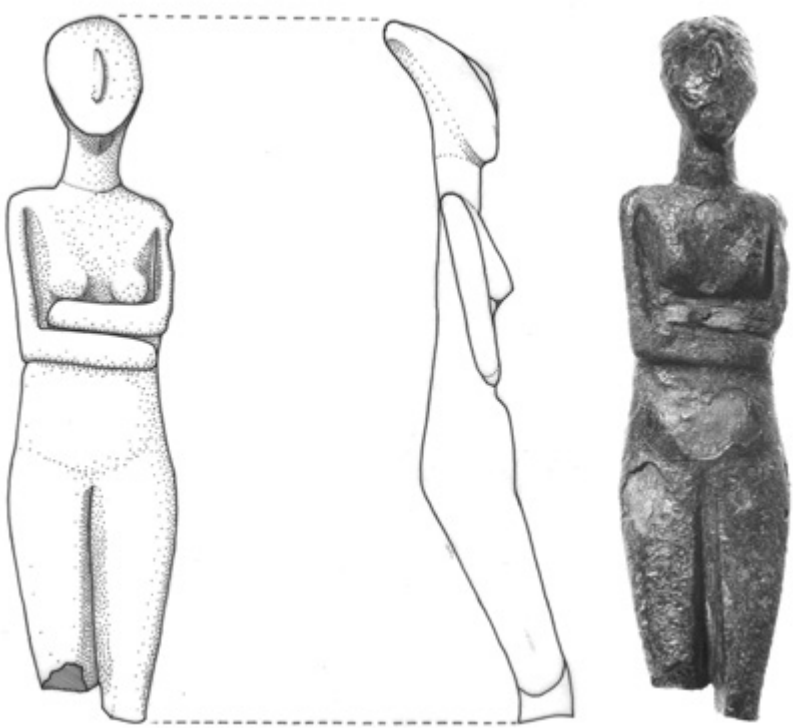


Fig. 31.13 AKR6816. Folded-arm figurine of Kapsala variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 31.14 AKR6792. Lower legs of folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety. Scale 1:2.

Fig. 31.15 AKR1163. Marble collared jar. Not to scale.

32

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES FROM MIKRE VIGLA, NAXOS

R. L. N. Barber

The small settlement site of Mikre Vigla occupies a conical hill rising from a short promontory on the west coast of Naxos (Figs 32.1, 32.2 top) about 8km south of the Chora. It commands the channel between Naxos and Paros, and thus an important seaway. The fertile coastal plain of Polichni stretches to the southeast (Fig. 32.2, bottom, background).

A surface survey of the site was carried out in 1985 as a joint project of the British School at Athens (represented by R.L.N. Barber) and the Cycladic Ephorate (represented by O. Philaniotou). The work involved planning of the site and its wall remains and the collection of surface material. Apart from pottery, the finds included pottery discs, weaving equipment, painted plaster and numerous pieces of marble and emery. Most of the marble and emery pieces are amorphous but one of the marble fragments is probably from the thigh of a folded arm figurine.

The group of finds of particular interest to a consideration of Early Cycladic sculpture consisted of a series of terracotta figurines (for full catalogue and further references, see Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, 116–32), almost all fragmentary. They were found scattered, mostly on the lower slopes of the hill. One or two were close to the summit and it is possible, but by no means certain, that they were originally offered at a small shrine there, which could lie beneath the present tumble of stones from a more recent construction (Fig. 32.2, bottom).

The figurines were made of coarse local clay (the larger pieces were very similar in fabric to the coarse pottery, with rough surfaces and

large prominent grits); some were roughly smoothed; a small number had slight traces of slip or paint. Although one or two pieces are tiny, one might guess that the average height of the majority was in the region of 80–100mm.

They were of various types (note that not all pieces are illustrated).

Figures with baldric or cap (or both)

510–516: Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, figs 25, 26, pl. 25.

Several, of which (510 : Figs 32.3, 32.5) is the best preserved, were of figures with a baldric. They do not appear to have been also belted but this one (510) had a cap. The baldric can be seen more clearly on (512: Figs 32.3. 32.6) and (515).

Figures with penis-sheath (codpiece) or belt (or both), and related figure

517–519: Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, fig. 26, pl. 25.

One figure (517: Figs 32.3, 32.7) wore a codpiece, though it is not clear if it had other attributes as well.

Kourotrophos type

520–2: Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, fig. 27, pl. 25.

There were two, possibly three, examples of a type that we called 'Kourotrophos', for obvious reasons – all very small. The preserved height of (520: Figs 32.3, 32.7) is 23mm, perhaps rather under half of its full size. The nature of the object held is unclear.

The closest parallel for this type is from Vasiliki in Crete (EMIIB; Zois 1976, 444–5, pl. 245 centre row) where the suggestion is of a child or vessel. A vessel is held by the EM 'Goddess of Myrtos' (Warren 1972, 209–10, P 704, figs 91–2, pls 69–70). Mycenaean pieces portraying the same subject (French 1971, 142–4 and references, pl. 23, a) are quite different in form.

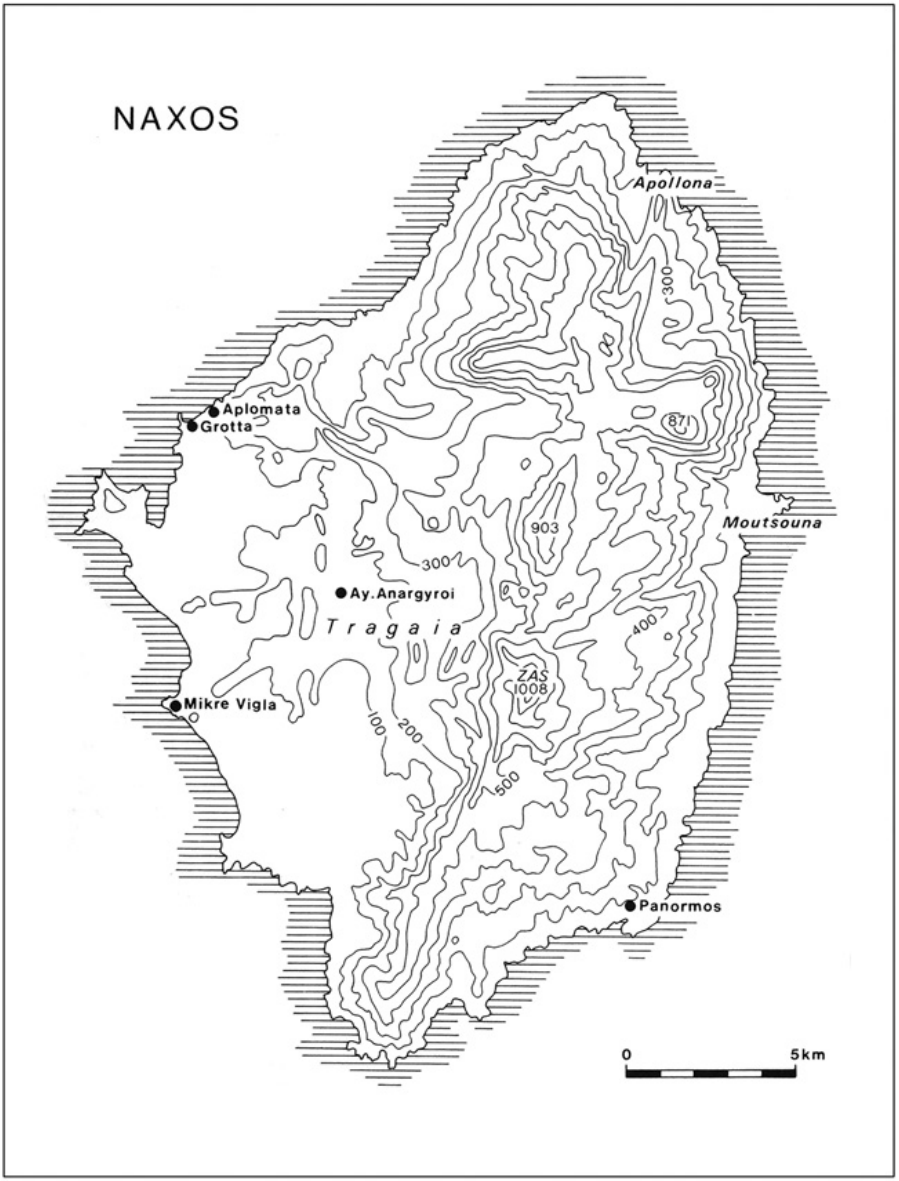


Fig. 32.1 Map of Naxos.

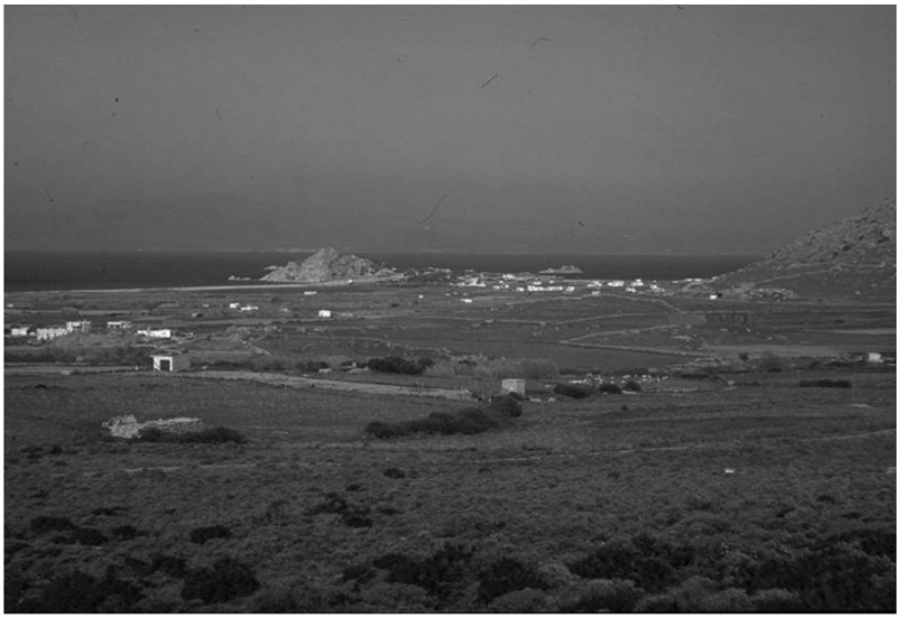


Fig. 32.2 Mikre Vigla, Naxos: (top) site from the southeast; (bottom) remains of building on summit with plain of Polichni in background.

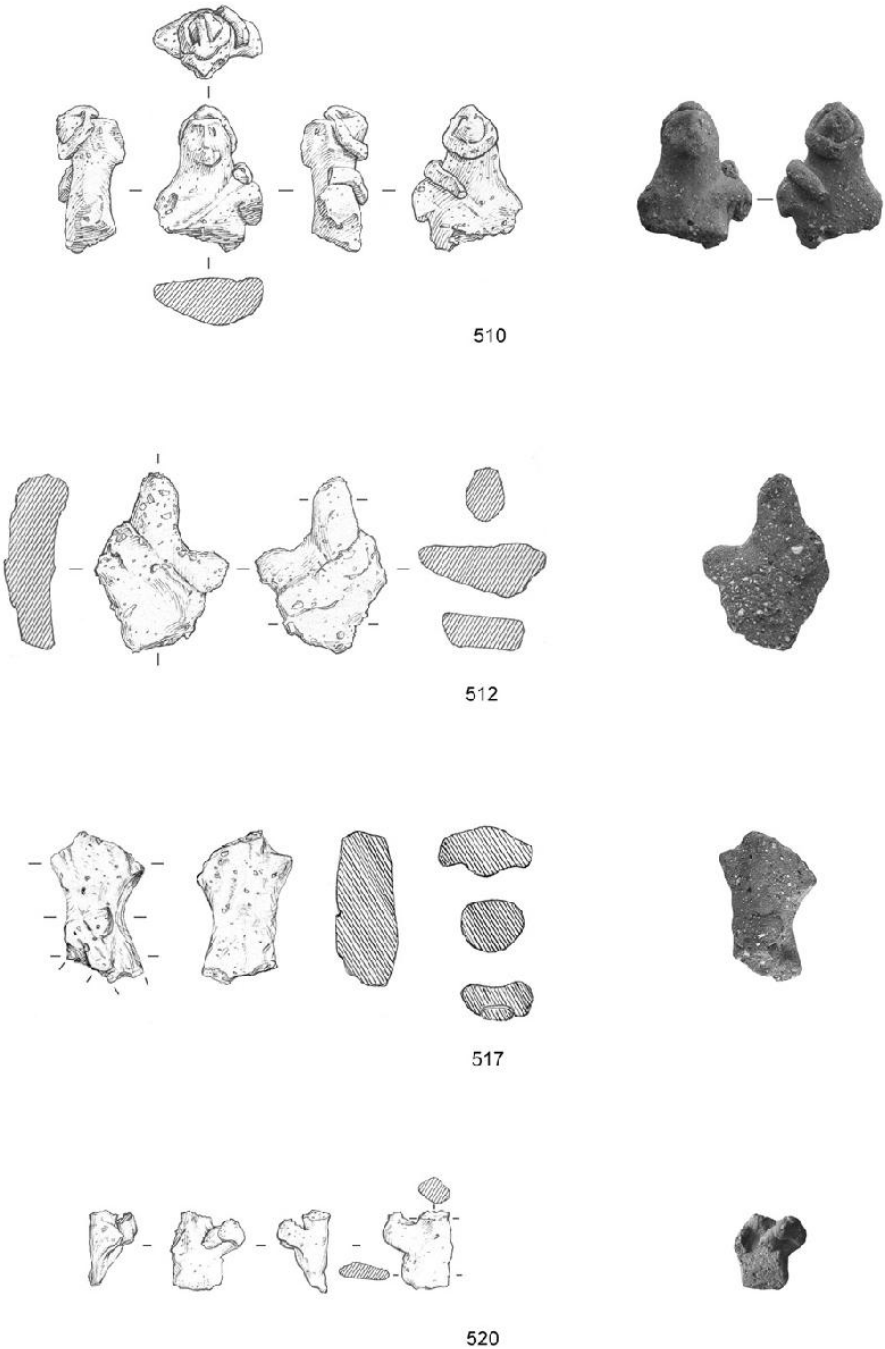


Fig. 32.3 Mikre Vigla, Naxos: terracotta figurines – with baldric and cap (510); with baldric (512); with codpiece (517); Kourotrophos type (520). Scale 1:2.

Plain figures, with heads

523–7: Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, fig. 28, pl. 25.

A common method of showing the head was simply to pinch it out of the top of a cylindrical neck, of varying length (512, 523, 556). Up to a point these resemble the long necks of schematic figurines in marble (Zervos 1957, pls 53–8). The mouth of 556 is shown by a deep slit, recalling the slitted necks of pieces from Saliagos (Evans & Renfrew 1968, 63, fig. 76 1–2, pl. xliii).

'Seated' figures

528–30: Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, fig. 28, pl. 26.

One or two, apparently seated, figures are tiny; 528 is only 19mm high.

Figures with rear extensions

531–3: Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, fig. 28, pl. 26.

The identification of these pieces is uncertain. The description is based on the fact that they appear to be spreading out behind, diagonally to the upright, but there are various possibilities. One is that the pieces have been wrongly orientated and may have been simply upright, with heads more or less horizontal. It is conceivable that 531, differently orientated, might rather be part of a bird, like those found at Petsofas in Crete (Rutkowski 1991, 110–11, pl. xlvii, nos 5, 8, 9, 10, 11; cf. Banou 2012, Π104 & fig., pl. 8, image 48, from Kythera); while 533 has a very regular groove underneath and could have been set on a rod or attached to a vessel, like the much later cauldron attachments (sirens etc; Boardman 1978, fig. 21; Rolley 1986, 83, pl. 54).

These uncertainties provide good examples of the difficulties of interpreting this worn and fragmentary material, which is often without very obvious parallels.

Torsos

534-43: Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, fig. 29, pl. 26.

Broad, shaped to varying degrees, like some of those mentioned earlier (510, 519–21).

Note (a) that, in the catalogue of figurines in Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, the Naxos Museum number (NM7431) is missing from the entry for no. 538 (p. 121); and (b) that on fig. 29 in the same publication, the piece numbered 542 is, in fact, 543.

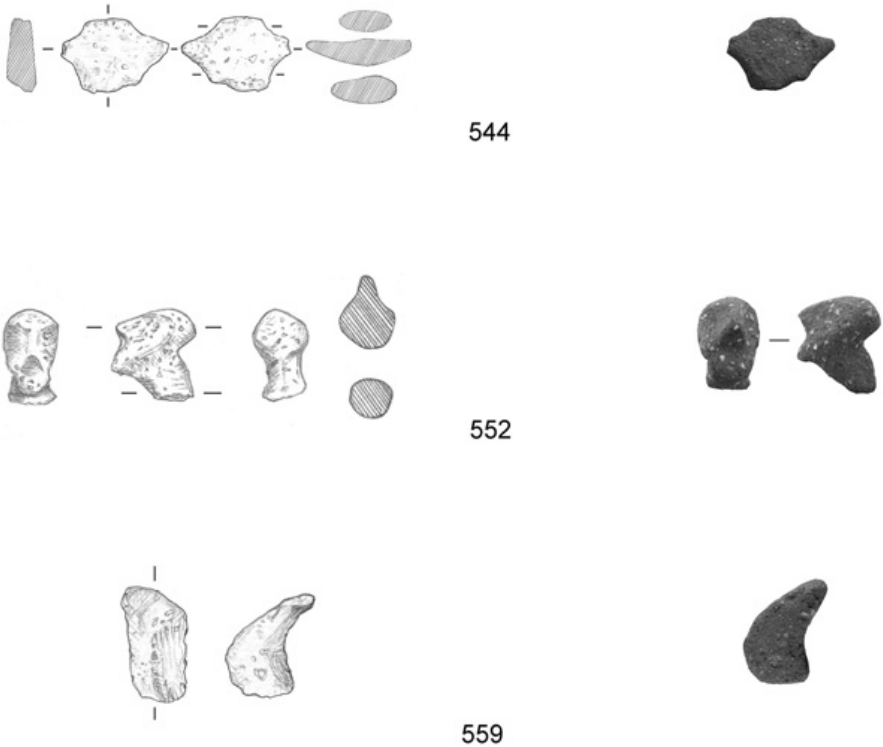
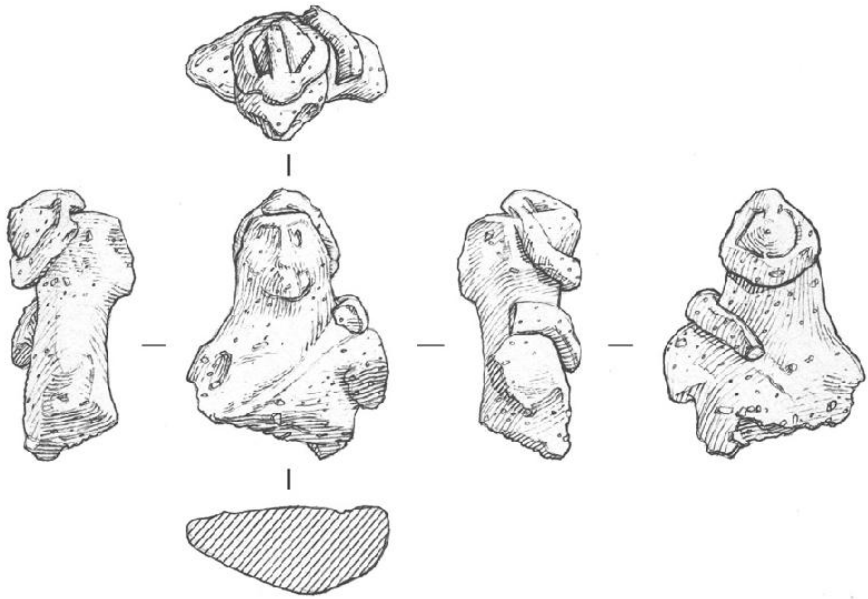


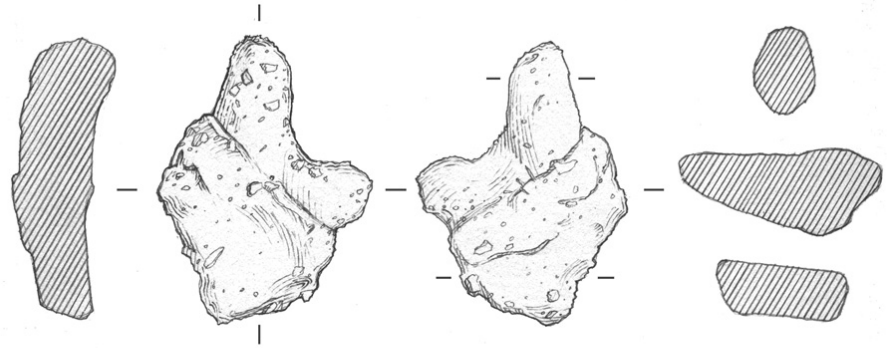
Fig. 32.4 Mikre Vigla, Naxos: terracotta figurines – schematic, probably cruciform type (544); heads (552, 559). Scale 1:2.



510

559

Fig. 32.5 Mikre Vigla, Naxos: terracotta figurines – with baldric and cap (510); head (559). Scale 1:1.



512

552

Fig. 32.6 Mikre Vigla, Naxos: terracotta figurines – with baldric (512); head (552). Scale 1:1.

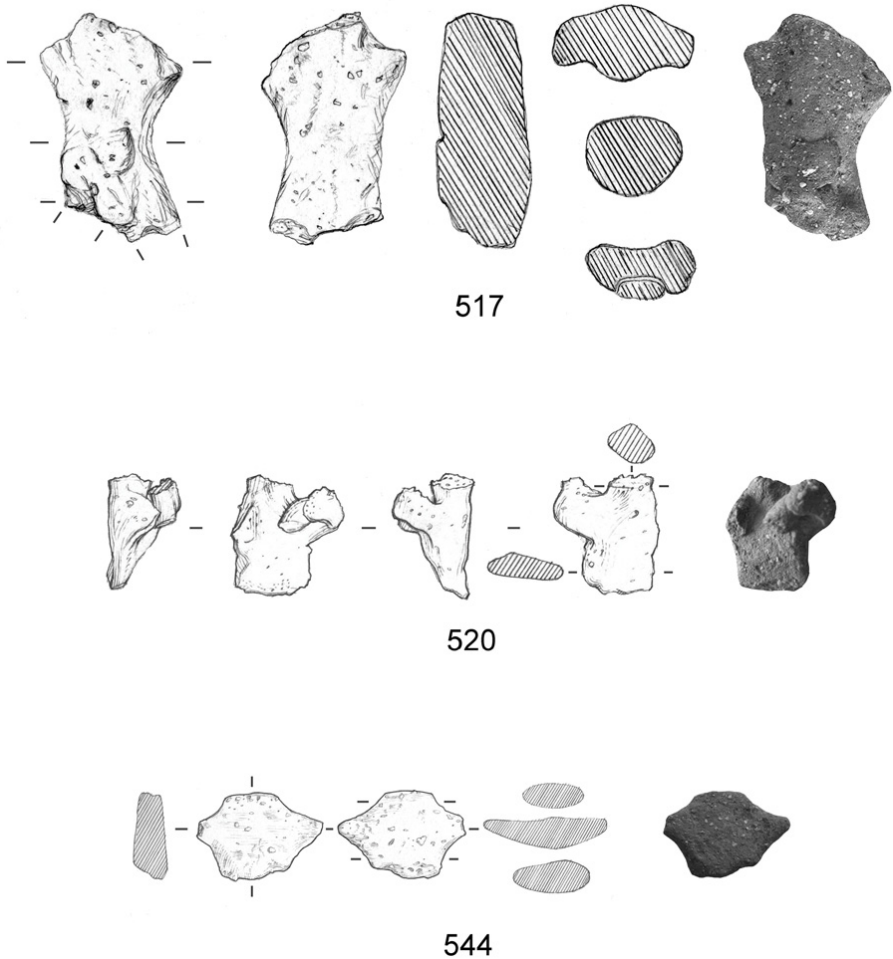


Fig. 32.7 Mikre Vigla, Naxos: terracotta figurines – with codpiece (517); Kourotrophos type (520); schematic, probably cruciform type (544). Scale 1:1.

Torsos of schematic, probably cruciform figures 544–5:
Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, fig. 30, pl. 26.

Two pieces (544: Figs 32.4, 32.7) and (545) are quite flat in section and we referred them to Caskey's (1971) M-LC 'Cruciform' type in marble. The arms were apparently merely stumps and thus are more or less complete, but neither the necks and heads, nor the lower bodies survive.

Torsos of figures with separate legs

546–7: Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, fig. 30, pl. 27.

One question that arises in connection with some of the torsos found

is whether any of the figures, in their complete state, had separate legs. It is clear that quite a number had simple cylindrical bodies (e. g. 548 – above) with flat bases. A couple of fragments show possible traces of finishing at the point which would have been between the legs. Unfortunately the piece (546) with the clearest evidence of this is of a rather unusual form and we are not entirely convinced that it is a human figure. It bears some resemblance to the anchors found at Eutresis and Lerna in EH contexts (Goldman 1931, 196, fig. 269 nos 1, 5; Caskey 1956, 162, pl. 47, l–p).

Bases or cylindrical lower bodies

548–51: Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, fig. 30, pl. 29.

Lower bodies were often cylindrical with simply flattened bases.

Heads

552–62: Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, fig. 31, pls 27, 28.

Some heads, all found detached from bodies, are more fully treated. One (552: Figs 32.4, 32.6) is tilted strongly backward and has a prominent nose. Others, such as 553, have the same oval shape but are less strongly tilted. The head of the first, baldric-wearing, piece (510) is rounded and set close to the vertical.

Some, presumably female, heads may reflect elaborate coiffure, buns or perhaps headdresses (560, 558, 559: Figs 32.4, 32.5). 560 has eyes apparently impressed with a thin circular tool. 559 has the strong backward curvature found in many marble figures.

Bovids

563–5: Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, fig. 32, pl. 28.

No pieces could be *definitely* identified as parts of animal figures but there was one example of what appears to be a bucranium (563) and it is also possible that some pieces which were previously described as limb fragments might in fact be from the horns of animals (see below 566, 568). Although simple figures of animals are common in Cretan peak sanctuaries, we have not traced any bucrania, though such are frequently depicted, for example on Prepalatial seals (Boardman 2001, 27, fig 29).

For pieces numbered 566–577, see ‘BSA Corrigenda’ at the end of this chapter, for correction of previous illustration captions.

Limbs etc – various

566–70: Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, pl. 29.

These fragments, originally classified as above, may require a variety of interpretations. We have since surmised that (567, 569, 570) might in fact be *phalloi* like those apparently found at Atsipadhes (Peatfield 1992, 74 & fig. 23) and elsewhere in Early Minoan or Protopalatial times, while 566 and 568 (the latter not illlustrated) could be horns of animals as, though considerably smaller, they resemble pieces so identified from Kythera (Banou 2012, Π68, Π75, Π82 & figs, pl. 7, image 40).

Limbs – plain, rounded

566-70: Barber & Hadjianastasiou 1989, Fig. 32, pl. 29.

There is a number of fragments of what *are* presumably votive limbs (571–2, 574–5, 577) – a not uncommon find in Minoan sanctuaries (e. g. Petsofas: Rutkowski 1991, 101–5 & pls xlv, xlvi). Some pieces with attachments (571, 572) may need another explanation.

Discussion

With the exception of the finds from the temple at Ayia Irini on Kea, which can be excluded from the discussion on grounds of size, style and technique, terracotta figures are virtually unknown in the Cyclades between the end of the Neolithic at Kephala (Coleman 1977, 8 & pls 26, 71–3) and the Late Cycladic period, when the well-known Mycenaean types are found (e.g. at Kea: Cummer & Schofield 1984, 128–9). This seems very odd given the ready availability of the raw material, the relative ease of production, and the manufacture of figures in marble.

In fact, the only Aegean Early Bronze Age settlement site with substantial numbers of terracotta figures is Thermi on Lesbos (Lamb 1936, 149–56, pls xx–xxiii; Philaniotou, in prep.) which does have a few clear links, in terms of other material, with the Cyclades at that time, though similarities between the Thermi figurines and those from Mikre Vigla are only general.

In a search for parallels the most obvious source is outwith the Cyclades, in Crete, where small terracotta figurines are particularly (but not exclusively) characteristic of the so-called Peak Sanctuaries (mostly dating from EMIII and the Protopalatial period) and several comparisons have already been suggested.

If it is to be proposed that the Mikre Vigla pieces represent, in some

way, 'Minoan religious influence in the Aegean' – a phrase which provides the title of an article by Sakellarakis (1996) – it is worth noting that that they all appear to be of local manufacture and that there are no similar finds from any other Cycladic sites. It is also the case that the Mikre Vigla figurines resemble the Cretan only in a rather general way, and precise parallels are hard to find.

Differences from the Cretan material include the apparent lack of animal figures at Vigla (apart from the bucranium), the absence of characteristically Cretan gestures (arms to chest; saluting posture; upraised arms); of bell-shaped skirts; of plastic eyes and breasts; of daggers; of figures with separate legs. Nor is there any obvious two-part construction such as can be found in Crete.

If we base the chronology on that of the pottery, our figurines could belong to any part of the Bronze Age, or even later, and there is no particular reason to think that they all belong to the same period.

Thus, in the context of the consideration of Early Cycladic sculpture, it seems most profitable to enquire if there are any indications of links – chronological or stylistic – with the marble figures.

One striking fact is that some of the most convincing Cretan parallels are Early Minoan II in date.

The small group from the settlement at Myrtos, Fournou Korifi (Warren 1972, 211–2, fig. 95, pls 71–2), in finer clay than ours and slipped, are mostly of roughly similar size. Numbers 1–3 have cylindrical bodies like many of ours; no. 3 has a pinched out face and a plastic cap like our (510); no. 4 seems close to our cruciform type and has similar stump arms; and no. 5, though much larger, recalls another Vigla head-form (559), also with plenty of Cycladic parallels, as mentioned previously.

Another Cretan piece, from Vasiliki and dated to EMIIB (see above, 520–2) provides the one possible parallel that I have found in Crete for our kourotrophoi (though the item clutched is not distinct there either). What is more, in spite of stylistic and technical differences, it provides another example of a plastic cap.

Leaving Crete aside, two possible connections with Early Cycladic marble figures were suggested in our original report. One is in the existence of a 'Hunter-warrior' type in terracotta. The several baldric-wearing figures (510–6), imply the presence also of weapons, though none can actually be discerned; others have codpieces. Both of these are features found on the marble hunter-warrior figures. There is further encouragement for this connection in the fact that baldric-wearing figures from Crete do not appear to antedate the Geometric period (I have found no such piece in terracotta, and there appears to

be nothing in bronze: Verlinden 1984). There are, of course, plenty of examples with belts and daggers.

The other similarity with EC figures which we found striking was the form of some of the small terracotta heads (552 etc) which seems very close in style to marble pieces.

There are, however, also counter-indications. For instance, there are no obvious examples of the Foldedarm female figure in terracotta. Nor have any terracotta figurines been recognised in EC graves, where one might perhaps have expected them as less costly substitutes for the marble figures.

The fact that such figurines have so far been found only at Mikre Vigla on Naxos must be due either to the accident of discovery or to the special nature of the site. It also seems to suggest that there was a shrine or ritual depository. The first (accident of discovery) seems rather unlikely given that the Cyclades have been explored over a long period of time – and quite intensively in places. The second could have something to do with the location or function of Mikre Vigla. On an important sea-route (leading, we might note, in one direction, towards Keros), and with beaching facilities to both north and south, the site is well situated as a lookout post, calling point, or export station.

One or more of these functions should explain its existence since it was not apparently very large. If the figurines were left by visitors, they must have been acquired locally as none of them appear imported. If the site were an export station, the considerable quantities of marble and emery fragments which we found in the course of our work might explain the commodities despatched.

The idea of the contemporaneity of some of our finds with the marble figures is reinforced by the certain use of the latter – both imported and locally made – in Crete as well as the Cyclades in the EC period, and by the EM date of some of the parallels. We may note, too, that most of the Cretan Peak Sanctuaries were apparently founded in the EM period, at least one as early as EMII.

The recent discovery of ritual pebble-deposition at Dhaskalio (Nymo *et al.* 2013, 529), where it may antedate similar practice in Crete, could be another instance of a shared or transferred ritual activity.

It is not possible at present to offer a coherent explanation of these figures and the various associated phenomena, though they certainly deserve further investigation and consideration.

Acknowledgements

I thank Olga Philaniotou, my colleague in the Mikre Vigla survey, for generously encouraging me to present the figurines here. The 21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities kindly gave me, at very short notice, permission to restudy and photograph the objects in the Naxos Museum. I am extremely grateful to Doug Faulmann, chief draftsman of the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete, for preparing and arranging the images for publication. We remain greatly indebted to David Parfitt for his fine original drawings and I am much obliged to him and to Sara Paton for their advice and help on the further treatment of the drawings for conference presentation and publication.

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Corrigenda to Barber & Hadjianastasiou (1989)

538 The NM number 7431 should be added

542/543 On figure 29, the piece numbered *542* is in fact *543* (the reference in the text is correct)

561 There should be no NM number for this entry; NM7341 is not from Mikre Vigla

On PLATE 29 (566–70) several numbers are wrong:
566 is Plate 29, 570
567 is Plate 29, 568
568 is Plate 29, 567
569 is correct on Plate 29
570 is Plate 29, 566

On PLATE 29 (571–7) several numbers are wrong:
571 is correct on Plate 29,
572 is Plate 29, 573
573 is Plate 29, 572
574 is Plate 29, 575
575 is Plate 29, 574
576 is *not illustrated on* Plate 29
577 is Plate 29, 576

MATERIAL, TECHNIQUE & MANUFACTURE

33

THE MARBLE OF THE CYCLADES AND ITS USE IN THE EARLY BRONZE AGE

Dimitris Tambakopoulos & Yannis Maniatis

Introduction

The Cycladic civilisation is primarily known for its famous marble figurines which are found in graves, buildings, special deposits or occasionally as surface finds (Getz-Preziosi 1994; Renfrew 2013). The age of these figurines spans approximately 5000–2000 BC (Sotirakopoulou 2005), but the forms that appear after about 3000 BC signal perhaps the first systematic appearance of marble sculpture. It is no coincidence that the Cyclades are rich in marble and that almost every prehistoric settlement was built on of top or close to a marble outcrop. In fact, this must be one of the main reasons that the prehistoric people who lived in the Cyclades turned to marble in order to express their artistic and religious needs. The other reason is of course the whiteness, the sparkling appearance and the working characteristics of marble that make it ideal for sculpture, as is seen in the later extensive use of marble in sculpture and architecture down to the present day.

Despite the systematic use of marble during the Cycladic period for making figurines and vessels, the extraction left no surviving marks or signs on the rock. This circumstance, along with the absence of written evidence, makes the location and identification of the marble sources used in that period a very difficult task. In practice this means that every marble outcrop in the Cyclades, even a small remote lens, or loose marble pieces on the surface of fragmented bedrock, could have been used to make a figurine or a vessel. Therefore in order to

overcome this problem and approach the provenance question with better prospects, it is in principle necessary that every possible marble occurrence and outcrop should be examined, studied and analysed by suitable physicochemical techniques and methods in order to create a sample bank and parameter database as complete as possible. This task naturally requires many years of work and significant funds.

This necessity was made clear on a previous study of marble provenance for early bronze age figurines by Maniatis *et al.* (2005) who used a database of marble samples from the known archaic and later quarry districts on Naxos and Paros, as well as from marble outcrops on southeast Naxos and Keros, collected during various campaigns to investigate the provenance of the so called 'Keros Hoard' in the Cycladic Museum in Athens and in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles. The results showed that a large number of figurines was made using marble from Southeast Naxos but that a number were from marble with characteristics absent from the database and for which the authors tentatively predicted locations in Northeast Naxos (Maniatis *et al.* 2009b).

Given the great interest in the provenance of the marble of the early Cycladic sculptures and the necessity to provenance the marble of the large number of figurines unearthed during the latest excavations of 2006–2008 by Colin Renfrew at Keros and Dhaskalio (the Cambridge Keros Project), we undertook extended fieldwork between 2006–2009 around the Cyclades in order to study and sample as many as marble occurrences as possible and consequently to create a database of possible marble sources in the Cyclades. The results of this work are published in the proceedings of 9th International ASMOSIA conference (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis 2012) and will be published in more detail along with the marble provenance identifications of the figurines and vessels from the Cambridge Keros Project (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis forthcoming).

In this paper we present a short version of the marble characteristics of each island in our database and discuss the ease or complexity of distinguishing between various marble deposits and pinpointing the source locations of the prehistoric artefacts. We also summarise the results of the major provenance identification work we have performed for the Keros figurines from Renfrew's recent excavations (2006–2008) in the Special Deposit South at Kavos and on Dhaskalio. In addition, we discuss provenance estimates from optical examinations of other figurines from Ios, Syros and Keros and give some preliminary hints on the use and movement of marble in the early Cyclades.

Materials and methods

Sampling and surveying methodology

Marble in the Cyclades can be found in great quantities and various qualities. To sample every marble source is practically impossible, so in order to reduce the amount of sampling and the amount of analysis without loss of efficiency, we first identified the main qualities and physical properties of the different kinds of marble used for making prehistoric artefacts in: a) figurines and vessels discovered during the Cambridge Keros Project excavations; b) the 'Keros Hoard' collection (Sotirakopoulou 2005) in the Museum of Cycladic Art in Athens and some in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles; and c) a number of Neolithic vessels from Limenaria, Thassos (Maniatis *et al.* 2009a). With the above information and with the use of the Geological Maps of IGME (Institute of Geology and Mineral Exploration of Greece) and with information obtained from local marble workers, contractors and the personnel of the local Archaeological Service, we surveyed the islands of Naxos, Keros, Ios, Syros, Nikouria, Schinousa, and Iraklia (Fig. 33.1), and examined considerable areas of marble deposits and outcrops. We sampled any similar marble source to the Cycladic marble objects, as well as any other good quality marble we could find. Records and reference samples were also taken from lower quality sources of marble of a kind that we have not met in any Cycladic objects.

Experimental techniques

First, the objects as a whole are examined with a strong light source under a stereoscopic optical microscope or with a 10× magnifier glass, and features like colour, translucency, veins and inclusions are recorded and photographed. The overall grain size distribution and the maximum grain size are measured.

Fig. 33.1 Overview of sampling in the Cyclades.

Then minute samples are received from selected representative groups of objects and submitted to more detailed optical examination and further physicochemical analysis at the Laboratory of Archaeometry, NCSR 'Demokritos' using the following well established techniques for marble provenance (Maniatis 2004):

1. Measurement of Maximum Grain Size (MGS) under a stereoscopic microscope
2. Qualitative examination of the marble crystalline features
3. Electron Paramagnetic Resonance (EPR) Spectroscopy
4. Stable Isotope Analysis of carbon and oxygen (IRMS)

The EPR spectroscopy technique for marble provenance identification was initially developed in the Laboratory of Archaeometry of NCSR 'Demokritos' (Déroche *et al.* 1989; Mandi *et al.* 1992; Polikreti & Maniatis 2002), and is now being adopted by other labs abroad (Armiento *et al.* 1997; Attanasio 1999; 2003). The parameters measured are described in Polikreti & Maniatis (2002).

The isotopic ratios of $^{13}C/^{12}C$ and $^{18}O/^{16}O$ are measured, using a gas-IRMS analyser with a multiple collector, and compared to the international standard PDB (Pee Dee Belemnite). The resultant values are expressed as $\delta^{13}C$ per mil and $\delta^{18}O$ per mil respectively (Craig & Craig 1972; Herz 1985; Allison et al. 1995; Attanasio *et al.* 2006). The same procedure is followed for the geological samples.

The marble of the Cyclades

The macroscopic and microscopic characteristics for the marble of each island examined are given below. The physicochemical parameters measured are given together in the form of statistical box plots in Figure 33.9.

Keros

Keros is composed mostly of marble and crystalline limestone (white areas, Fig. 33.2), although the rocky surface and the steep slopes make the inland sources difficult to reach. Three surveys were undertaken in total, one in 1990, and another two in 2006 and 2007. The sampled areas are marked with a black dot on Figure 33.2. The marble around the coastline was examined and sampled using a boat, while areas of greater interest were investigated thoroughly on foot: the archaeological excavation areas at Kavos (Special Deposit North and Special Deposit South), Dhaskalio islet, and the valley of Aghios Georgios (the area around Konakia on Fig. 33.2).

The marble on Keros can be found in white or dark grey colour, from very fine-grained or even semi-crystallized to really course-grained (MGS more than 8.0mm). Its composition is generally calcitic, occasionally containing minute quantities of dolomite rarely reaching up to 10%. With the exception of the dark grey very fine grained variety, which is relatively compact, all the others are very fragmented and veined with closely spaced argillaceous veins. The white varieties are of very low or even opaque translucency and either brittle and veined (the fine grained) or quite hard and veined (the coarse grained) for which hard metal tools not available in the EBA period would be required to cut it from the solid bedrock. Therefore these two qualities are practically excluded as possible sources. However it has to be noted that two small tectonic windows of higher grade good quality white and white-pinkish marble were found by John Dixon on the south part of the island. Finally, no evidence of quarrying or working of marble was found anywhere on the island.

The results of the MGS, EPR and IRMS analyses for the collected samples are presented on Figure 33.9 in a box-plot form. KE-1 group consists of the fine grained white or grey marble and KE-2 group of the coarse grained white marble.

Naxos

Naxos has a remarkably rich geological profile, with marble (white areas, Fig. 33.3) dominating in quantity and with a number of different qualities. Into the six metamorphic zones of Naxos (Jansen & Schuiling 1976), starting with low metamorphic grade marble on the south-east and progressively passing to higher degrees towards the north, one can find: a) very fine grained grey or grey-blue and striated marble, often in slabs; b) white or greyish marble with MGS in the range of 0.2 to more than 10 mm in various levels of transparency; c) medium grained dolomitic white marble or very fine grained greyish dolomitic marble; d) white or greyish marble with thin dense yellow or red veins.

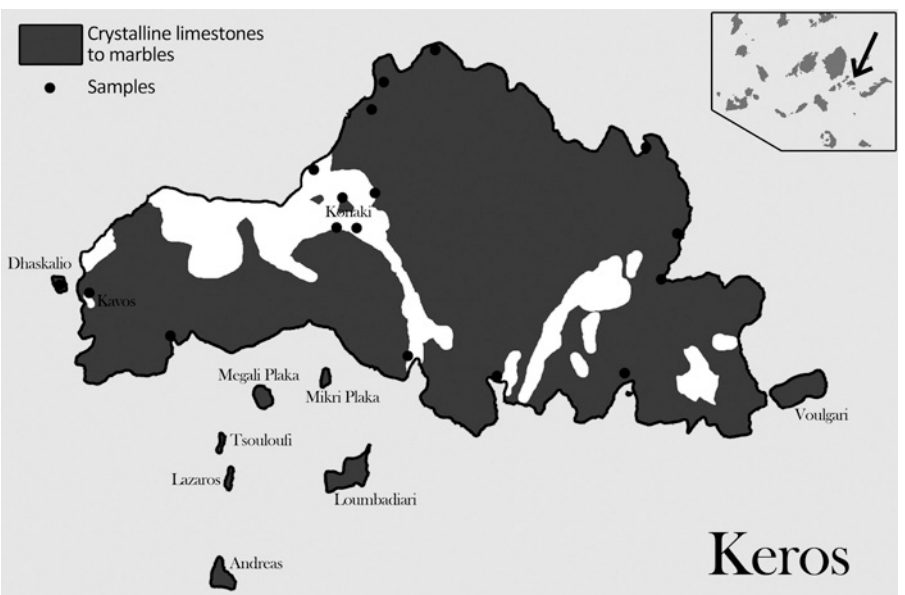

Figure 33.2. Simplified geo logical map of Keros (after IGME). The sampled areas are marked with a black dot.

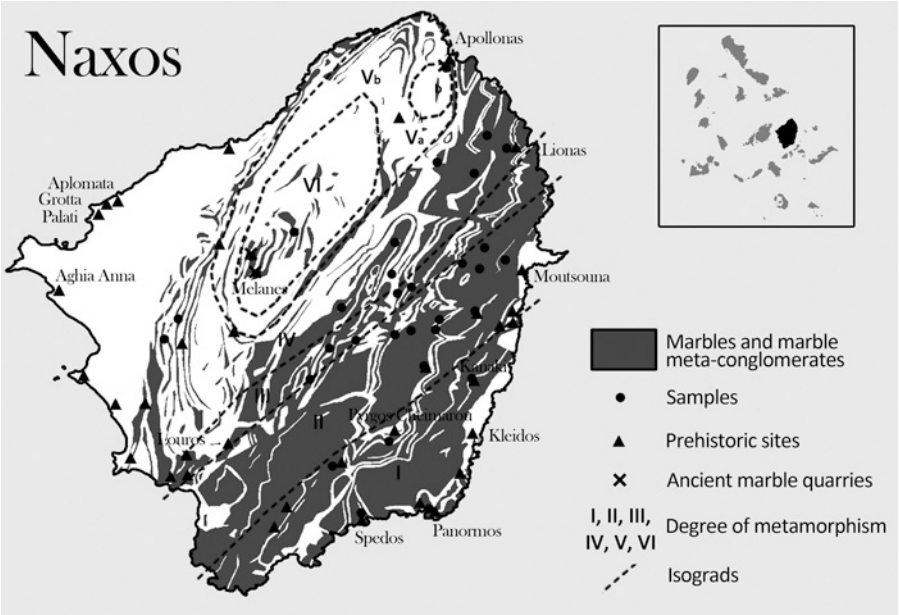

Fig. 33.3 Simplified geological map of Naxos (after Jansen & Schuiling 1976), showing the areas with marble (grey), the zones of different degrees of meta morphism (between dashed lines), the sampled areas, prehistoric sites and ancient quarries (Zapheiropoulou 1988; Sotirakopoulou 2005).

Apart from the known ancient quarries at Apollonas and Melanes, nowhere else on the island, either nearby the prehistoric settlements nor further away from them, could we find evidence of ancient marble quarrying or marble working.

The results of the MGS, EPR and IRMS analyses for the collected samples are presented in Figure 33.9 in a boxplot form. The NX-1 group consists of the fine grained white or greyish marble from the zone of the 1st degree of metamorphism. NX-2 consists of the fine to medium grained white or whitish marble from the zone of the 2nd degree of metamorphism. NX-3 consists of medium grained white or greyish marble from the zone of the 3rd degree of metamorphism. NX-H1 consists of the medium to coarse grained marble from the zones of the 4th and 5th degrees of metamorphism and NX-H2 of the 6th degree of metamorphism.

Ios

Marble on Ios is concentrated mainly on the north part of the island, with a small outcrop on the southeast (Fig. 33.4). The marble of Ios is usually either light grey with MGS 0.4–1.0mm and quite transparent or intensely banded with alternating parallel white and grey (lighter or darker) coloured layers or even blue and white. It is of rather low

to intermediate grade of metamorphosis, similar to that of southeast Naxos according to van Der Maar & Jansen (1983). Very fine-grained (MGS <0.5mm), white marble, of extremely high transparency, but pure dolomitic can be found along the northwest coastline of Aghia Theodoti bay. Other qualities of marble can also be found in relatively small volumes: a) light grey or with light grey and white bands marble (MGS approx. 1mm) containing about 10% of dolomite; b) grey or whitish with thin beige veins, of low transparency and MGS about 1.0mm; c) pure white or whitish with a high transparency and MGS 1.0–1.8mm; and d) whitish or greyish marble of low quality with dense yellow or red veins.

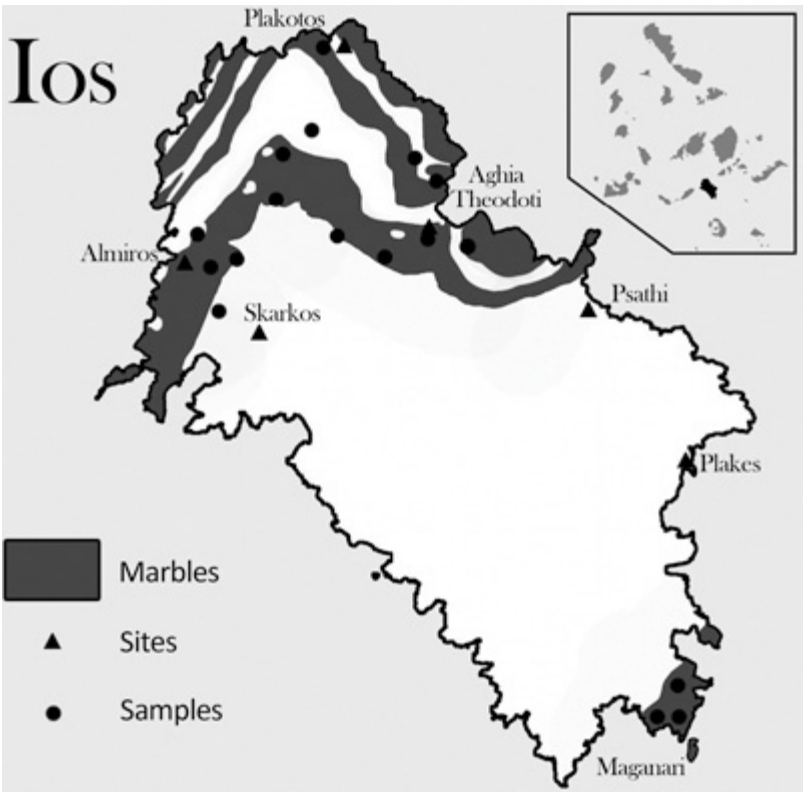

Fig. 33.4 Simplified geological map of Ios, showing the marble deposits (grey areas) and the sampled areas (Van der Maar & Jansen 1983).

Apart from the places where some quarrying activity evidently took place in recent times to obtain building blocks or slabs, nowhere near the prehistoric sites of Skarkos or Aghia Theodoti or anywhere else on Ios could we find traces of prehistoric marble quarrying or marble working. The results of the MGS, EPR and IRMS analyses for the collected samples from Ios are presented in Figure 33.9 in a box-plot

form and in one group.

Syros

The marble of Syros is quite distinctive from that of the other Cycladic marble. Like most of the rocks on Syros marble exhibits a characteristic foliation in the fabric. In general the foliation is sub-horizontal to gently dipping and is associated with a stretching lineation, whose orientation and density varies across the island (Dixon & Ridley 1987). In addition to lineation, the boundaries of calcite crystals are obscure and hard to define. Marble colour varies from light shades of brown to whitish and white, with extremely high translucency.

Large quantities of marble were used in prehistoric times for building the defensive walls and the houses on the hilltop Kastri site. It is obvious that this marble comes from the area around the site but no evidence of quarrying was found, most probably because it was removed in the form of slabs and small blocks from naturally fissured and layered outcrops (Fig. 33.5). The results of the MGS, EPR and IRMS analyses for the collected samples are presented in Figure 33.9 in a box-plot form and in one group.

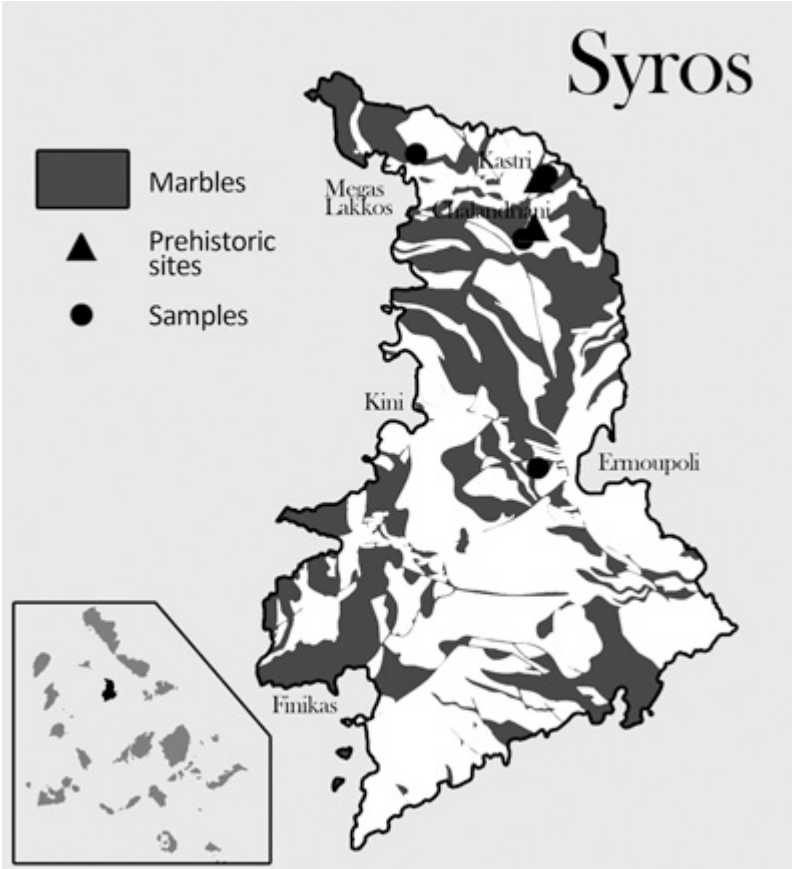

Fig. 33.5 Simplified geological map of Syros, showing the marble deposits (grey areas), the sampled areas and known prehistoric sites (Keiter *et al.* 2004; Sotirakopoulou 2005).

Nikouria and Amorgos

Nikouria is a small islet close to the northwest coast of Amorgos and opposite the Aghios Pavlos bay. The marble of the main island of Amorgos wherever it outcrops is finegrained uniformly grey to dark grey with some whitish inclusions. We did not sample the marble of Amorgos in this survey as it is obvious that apart from one figurine in the Amorgos Archaeological Museum and perhaps a couple of vases, no other prehistoric artefact seems to have been made of this kind of marble.

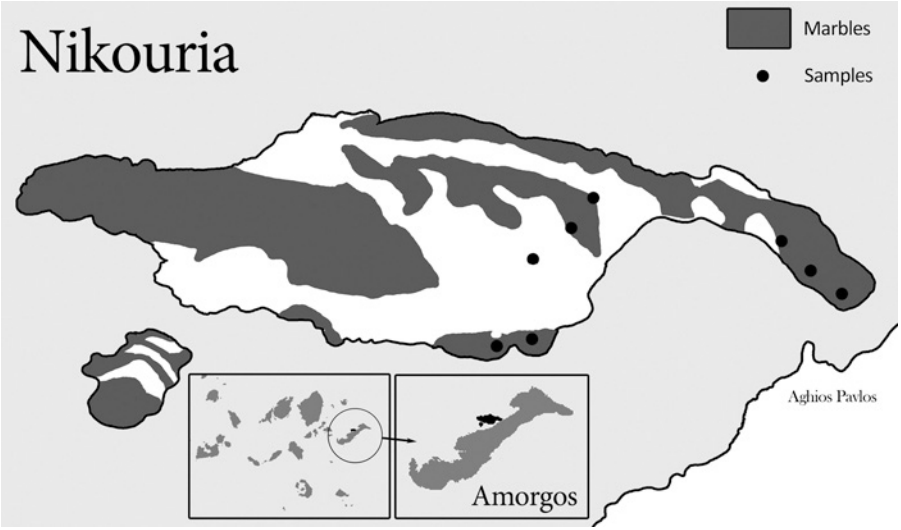

Fig. 33.6 Simplified geological map of Nikouria (after IGME), showing the marble deposits (grey areas) and the sampled areas.

On Nikouria we examined the marble, and sampled it on foot all over the eastern part of the island (Fig. 33.6). Because of the very steep slopes of the mountain in the middle of the island we examined the marble on the west part by a boat, without taking samples, as it was of the same quality as the sampled outcrops. The marble is white or whitish, with yellow thin veins, of poor quality and coarse-grained. The MGS ranges from 2.8mm to 6.5mm.

No evidence of ancient marble quarrying or marble working was found. The results of the MGS, EPR and IRMS analyses for the collected samples from Amorgos are presented in Figure 33.9 in a box-plot form and in one group.

Schinousa and Iraklia

The islands of Schinousa and Iraklia were surveyed by boat along the coastline, landing at several locations where the marble seemed acceptable in quality, and on foot for the inland marble outcrops according to the geological maps. Reference samples were collected from several areas shown on Figure 33.7. The marble on both islands is quite similar; grey or pale grey fine-grained marble, and mostly fragmented. One or two deposits with laminated grey and white marble and with dark grey breccia of really bad quality were found on Schinousa. Due to the very low quality of the marble even the present day local needs for building, fencing, paving and decoration are met by material imported from Naxos or Amorgos, since the local stones

are unsuitable for anything other than gravel production.

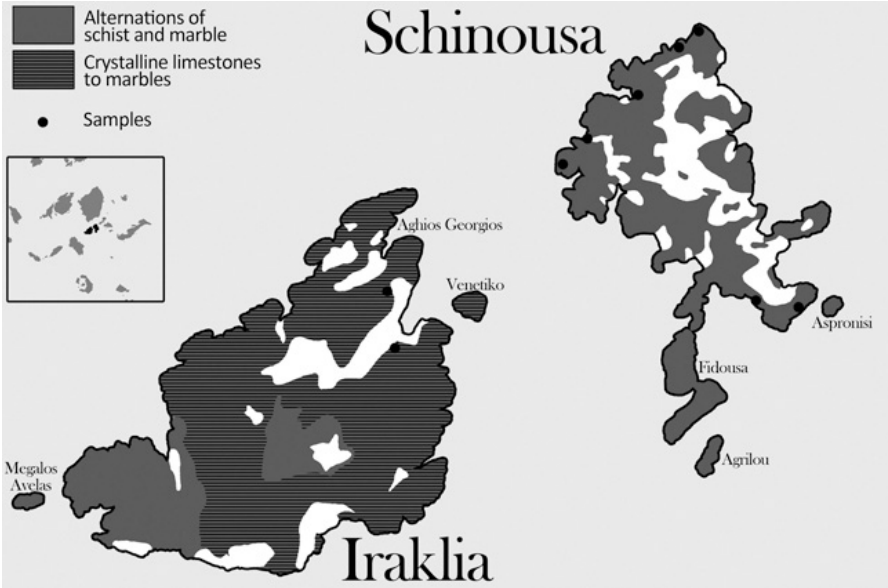

Fig. 33.7 Simplified geological map of Schinousa and Iraklia after IGME. The areas with very low quality marble are shown in grey or grey with horizontal lines.

No evidence of ancient marble quarrying or marble working was found on either of the two islands.

Analyses were not performed on the samples as the marble was of very low quality and was clearly not used for any object in Antiquity.

Paros

The main outcrops examined and sampled are the areas where the ancient quarries lie, in the Marathi Valley and in the Lakkoi Valley (near the village of Chorioudaki), while several other samples were collected from the small quarry of unknown age at Karavos and various other modern quarries including that at Psara-Gremna, high up the mountain of Aghioi Pandes (Maniatis & Polikreti 2000; Fig. 33.8). The marble varieties in these areas exemplify the main marble outcrops of the island and are represented in ancient sculpture and also in the marble from which EBA kandiles were made (Getz-Gentle *et al.* 2003).

The marble of Paros can be grouped in three groups: a) the 'Lychnites' marble which is the fine grained, approx. 0.8-1.8 mm, white and extremely translucent marble, from the underground Classical and Hellenistic Quarry of the Nymphs, in the Marathi Valley, perhaps quarried on the surface in earlier times; b) the marble from the rest of Marathi and from Lakkoi which is quite similar in quality,

white, highly translucent and very well crystallized with MGS from 1.0 mm up to 4.0 mm, although grey or light grey marble can also be found in the Marathi valley; c) white or whitish marble, which is very heteroblastic, exhibiting grain sizes from 0.2 mm to 5 mm (Karavos quarry); d) white marble with thick, parallel, black striations and MGS from 1 mm to 5 mm (Rigas modern quarries); and e) marble, white or whitish in colour and with schistolithic veins and with MGS above 5 mm (Psara-Gremna modern quarries).

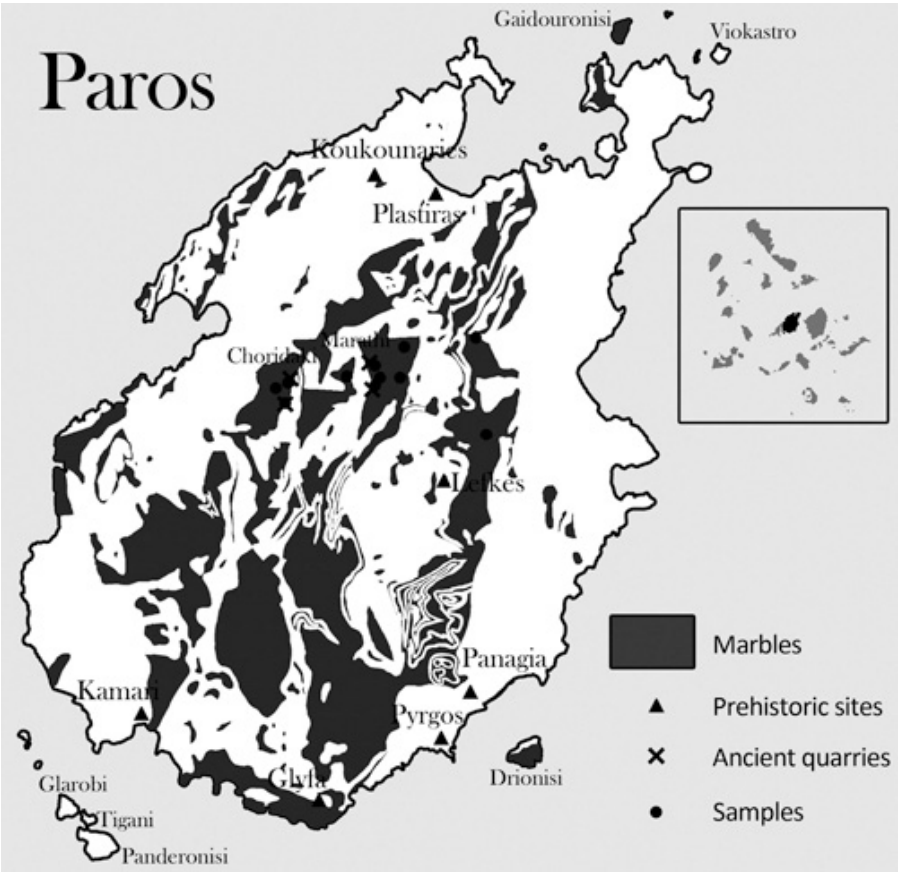

Fig. 33.8 Simplified geological map of Paros (after IGME), showing the marble deposits (grey areas), the sampled areas, known prehistoric sites and the ancient marble quarries.

The very characteristic marble types of the modern quarries of Paros, that can be easily identified macroscopically, were omitted from the provenance investigation since no prehistoric artefacts have been made from them.

The results of the MGS, EPR and IRMS analyses for the samples collected from Paros are presented in Figure 33.9 in a box-plot form

and in three groups: samples from Lakkoi (PA-LK), samples from the underground Quarry of the Nymphs (PA-LY) and samples from the rest of the Marathi valley (PA-MA).

Results of analyses

As can be seen in Figure 33.9 the groups of marble from the Cycladic islands exhibit a quite considerable overlap for most of the parameters, which makes the discrimination of the marble outcrops difficult, but not impossible. By combing different parameters together, as the overlaps vary for each parameter, and by using statistical analysis, an initial discrimination can be achieved. For example the marble of Paros can easily be discriminated from that of Naxos and Ios, as it exhibits different combinations of EPR and Isotope parameters. An additional very useful step in analysis is the assessment of the qualitative features of the marble, e.g. that of Syros which exhibits a very narrow distribution in the carbon and oxygen isotope values and can be discriminated from the rest of the Cycladic marble outcrops if this is taken together with the characteristic crystal lineation observed under the microscope and the dolomite concentration in the marble. Other physicochemical parameters in combination with the crystalline and physical features of the marble can be used to discriminate between different islands or different outcrops on the same island. The most serious difficulty lies in the discrimination between some particular marble qualities of south-east and central-east Naxos and the north of Ios, as all their parameters overlap, and in the similarity in their qualitative features. This difficulty can be attributed to the fact that the southeast part of Naxos is geologically connected to the north part of Ios, sharing the same formation history and consequently the same physicochemical parameters.

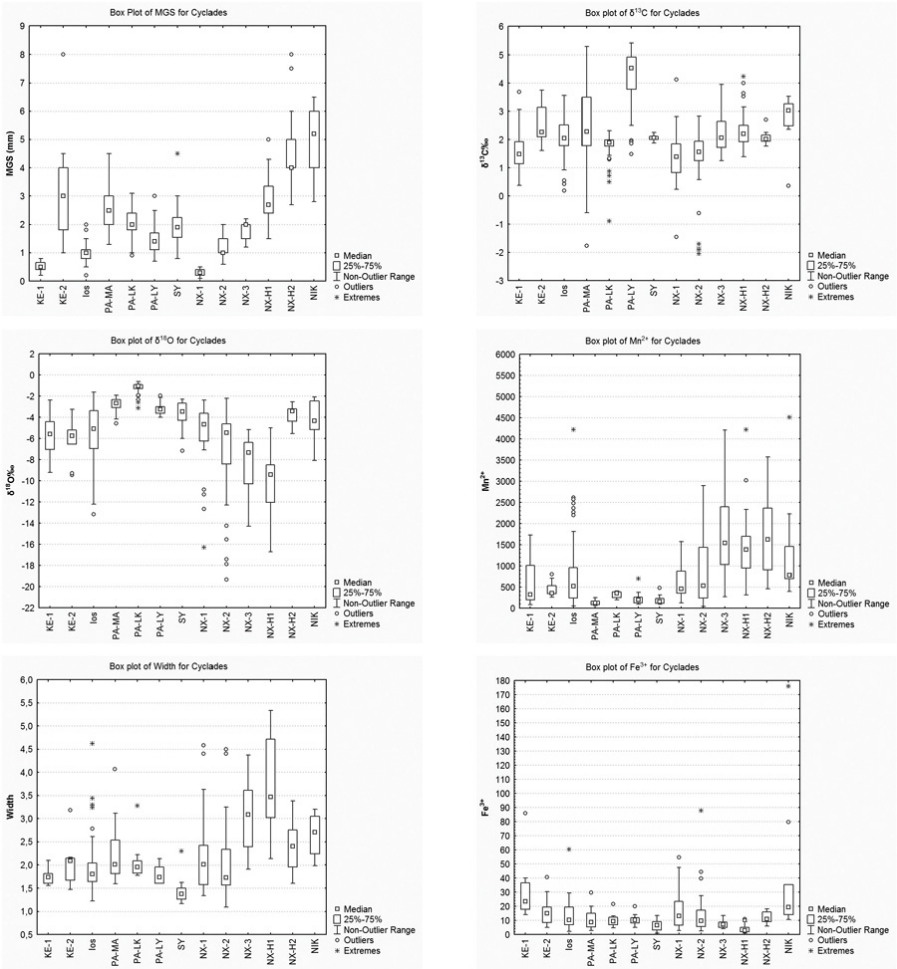

Fig. 33.9 Box plot diagrams of MGS in mm, Mn2+ parameter expressed in relative units, width parameter expressed in Gauss, Fe3+ parameter expressed in relative units, δ13C‰ parameter and δ18O‰ parameter for the various groups of Cycladic Islands. The island groups are: Nikouria (NIK), Ios, Keros (KE-1 and KE-2), Naxos (NX-1, NX-2, NX-3, NX-H1, NX-H2), Paros (PA-LY, PA-MA and PA-LK) and Syros (SY). The boxes represent 50 per cent of the samples, the squares are the median, the range is the non-outlier range, circles are the outliers, and stars are the extremes. The data are from our own measurements and from published results (Herz 1988; Attanasio *et al.* 2006).

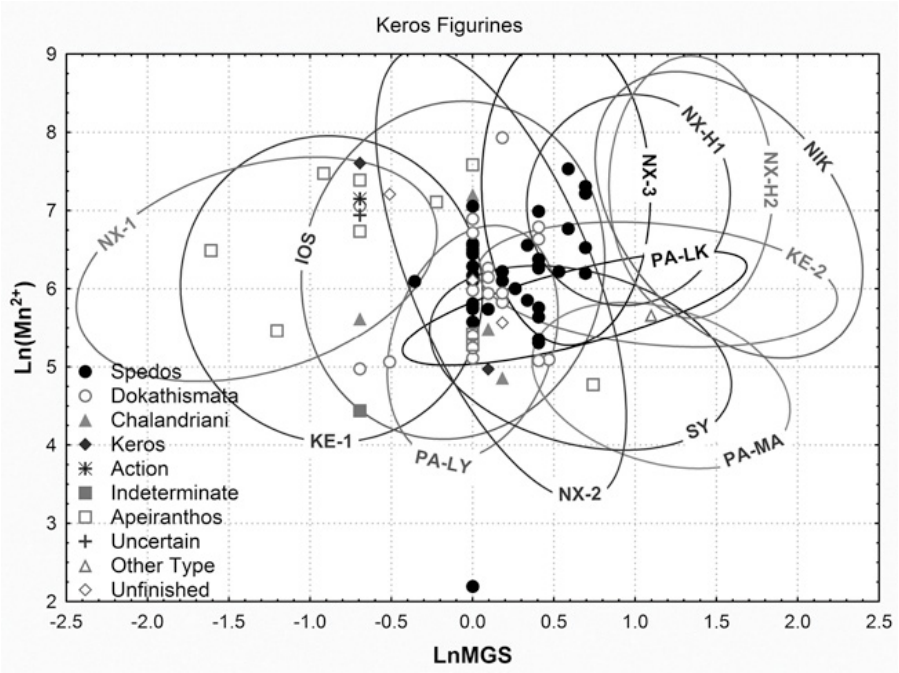

Fig. 33.10 Mn2+ vs MGS on a logarithmic scale for the figurine fragments from the Cambridge Keros Project and for the marble outcrops on Cyclades: Nikouria (NIK), Ios, Keros (KE-1 and KE-2), Naxos (NX-1, NX-2, NX-3, NX-H1, NX-H2), Paros (PA-LY, PA-MA and PA-LK) and Syros (SY). The ellipses are drawn statistically and represent an 85-95 per cent probability that a new sample belonging to a group will fall within the area enclosed by its ellipse.

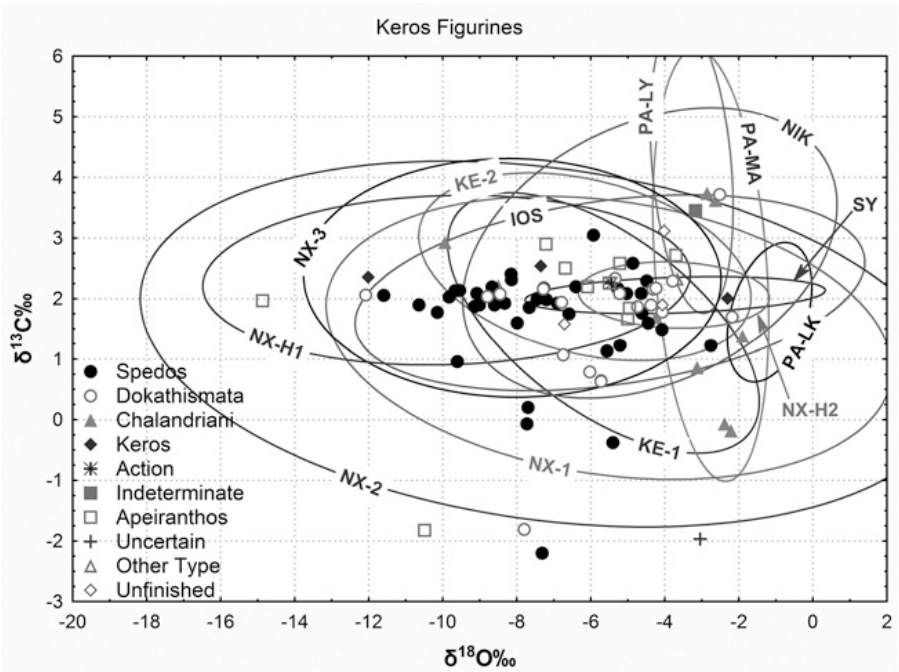

Fig. 33.11 IRMS parameters for the figurine fragments from the Cambridge Keros Project and

for the marble outcrops on Cyclades: Nikouria (NIK), Ios, Keros (KE-1 and KE-2), Naxos (NX-1, NX-2, NX-3, NX-H1, NX-H2), Paros (PA-LY, PA-MAA and PA-LK) and Syros (SY). The ellipses are drawn statistically and represent an 85–95% probability that a new sample belonging to a group will fall within the area enclosed by its ellipse.

Use of marble for the Early Bronze Age figurines

Provenance investigation with physicochemical analysis

Several attempts to investigate the marble provenance of EBA figurines and vessels have been made so far (Herz & Doumas 1991; Getz-Gentle *et al.* 2003; Maniatis *et al.* 2005; 2009a). However only a few of them were applied to objects from official archaeological excavations, the rest being with unprovenanced museum pieces. The most thorough is the provenance investigation of the figurine fragments unearthed on the excavations directed by Colin Renfrew in the years 2006–2008 on Keros (the Cambridge Keros Project). Some 565 figurine fragments discovered in the Special Deposit South on Kavos and on Dhaskalio were examined optically as described earlier and 89 representative of the different marble qualities were sampled for full physicochemical analysis using EPR, IRMS and microscopic techniques. The results of this study will be published in detail in the excavation publication series (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis forthcoming). Here we present a brief summary of the provenance results.

The first approach based only on four of the parameters measured is shown in Figure 33.10 and 33.11. An apparent complexity is that many of the samples fall in different overlapping field areas. However, from this step it is possible using the combination between the two databases and the exclusion principle (a marble district is accepted as a possible origin for a certain sample only if the parameters of the sample fall into it in both EPR-MGS and isotope databases simultaneously) to pinpoint the location of origin for a number of samples and to narrow the possibilities for the rest to two or three possibilities. In the following steps we use all the parameters in combination and employ discriminant factor statistical analysis, taking also into account the crystalline and other qualitative features of the marble, and find the optimal parameters that best distinguish the two or three locations in whose overlap a specific sample falls. Using this detailed stepwise procedure it was possible to arrive at the marble provenances of the Keros figurines as shown on the histogram in Figure 33.12.

In particular, from analysis of the 89 figurine sampled fragments, the provenance for 25 was assigned to a single marble region. For 54 figurines the provenance was narrowed down to two possible regions. Five of them probably come from three possible places, and five come from sources absent from our database, while two of the latter have also a possibility of coming from Naxos. In fact, Naxos (the central-east or southeast part) is a possible provenance, either alone or together with one or two other regions, for 83 figurines fragments. Ios is a possible provenance for 57 figurines, but for 53 of them Naxos is also a possibility with equal probability; Paros is a possible provenance for three figurines; Syros for four figurines.

From the above results it is evident that there is a critical overlap between three areas (central-east Naxos, southeast Naxos, and Ios) within which the parameters of many of the figurines found in Keros seem to fall. However, there are several indications, discussed in detail in the forthcoming publication (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis forthcoming), that restrict or diminish the probability of an Ios origin:

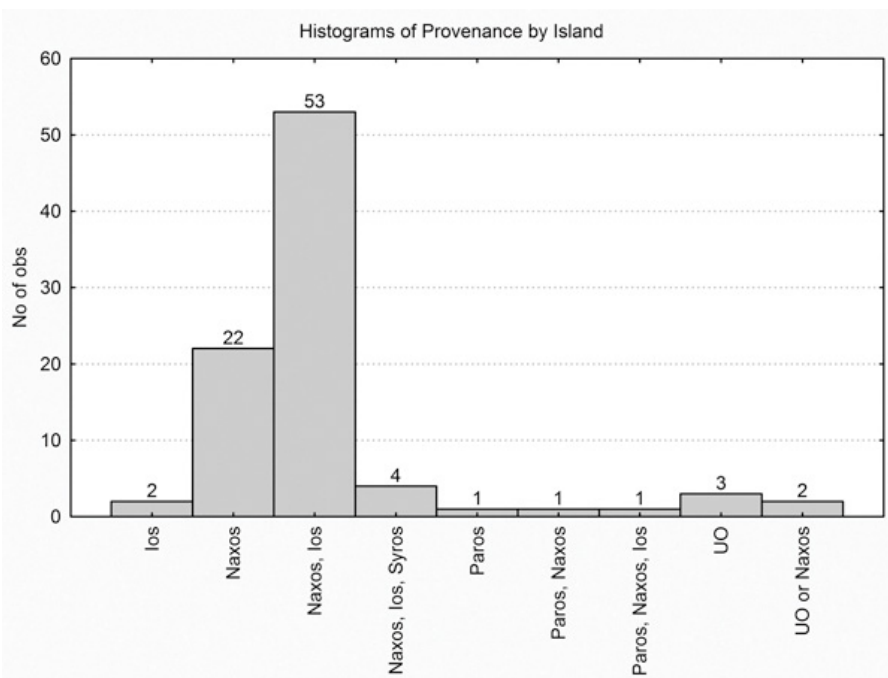

Fig. 33.12 Summary of provenance for the figurine fragments from the Cambridge Keros Project. UO: unknown origin.

1. The isotopic distribution of the figurines (Fig. 33.11) exhibits a pattern remarkably similar to that of south-east and central-

east Naxos.

2. Calcitic marble similar in quality to that of the figurines and to that of central-east-Naxos can be found on Ios, but only in veins.

3. If Ios marble was a strong candidate for provenance, one would expect more than two samples to be singled out with a high probability as coming from Ios. In contrast, 22 samples were determined as exclusively Naxian.

Likewise, from 111 Early Bronze Age samples (mainly vessels) from the Special Deposit North on Keros analysed in the past (Herz & Doumas 1991) only eight gave Ios as the most probable origin.

The number of early bronze age marble figurines found on Ios so far is rather small (37 and almost exclusively schematic, see Marthari this volume, Chapter 12) compared with the large number of figurines of different varieties widely found on Naxos.

Optical examination of EBA figurines, found on Ios showed that they were of different marble (see below).

By extending the provenance of the 89 analysed figurines to the rest of the 476 pieces, examined noninvasively with special light source and optical microscopy, it can be concluded that almost certainly central-east and southeast Naxos is the provenance for the majority of the Keros (Kavos and Special Deposit South) and Dhaskalio figurines. A very small percentage could come from Ios, Syros or Paros. No other island (i.e. neither Keros, Dhaskalio, Amorgos, Nikouria, Iraklia nor Schinousa) appears as a marble source for the 565 figurines examined. In Figure 33.13 the provenance of the figurine fragments from the 2006-2008 Keros excavations resulting from the above analysis is illustrated.

Fig. 33.13 Graphical representation of the estimated marble provenance for the 565 figurine fragments examined from the excavations of the Cambridge Keros Project. Approximately 2% of the total comes from unknown sources, not shown on the diagram.

Optical examination of EBA figurines from other excavations

Several figurines from various excavations on Naxos, Paros, Syros and Ios were examined non-invasively using a special light source, a stereoscopic microscope and a mm scale, Despite the lack of full physicochemical analysis interesting preliminary results could be reached in some cases.

EBA figurines from Skarkos, Ios

Seventeen figurines from the excavations at Skarkos on Ios were examined optically at the invitation of Marisa Marthari, the director (Marthari, this volume, Chapter 12). Most of these figurines were schematic, of the Apeiranthos variety, and only one was of the folded-arm type.

The examination showed that eight out of the 17 figurines (Fig. 33.14) were made of a fine grained, layeredbanded white-grey or dark grey marble, or white in contact with schist veins, typical of the equivalent varieties of Ios marble found in many locations, including the areas around Skarkos. Another five figurines were made of a whitish or light-grey uniform and fine-grained marble. These have also a high probability of being from Ios, since this kind of marble is

also abundant on the island, but it can be also found in southeast Naxos and elsewhere, so the possibility of a foreign provenance cannot be entirely excluded. The folded-arm figurine of Chalandriani variety, made of white marble and having a MGS around 1.2mm (Fig. 33.14), has all the typical marble characteristics detected in a large number of figurines found in the Special Deposit South on Kavos. The full physicochemical analysis of these showed a provenance for the majority from central-east Naxos and for a minority from either central-east Naxos or Ios, as discussed earlier. Finally, three figurines are made of a white marble with high translucency and a MGS around 1.0mm. This marble may be found again on Ios but infrequently and also on central-east Naxos and perhaps also on Paros. For this reason we would not like to suggest a provenance for these three figurines at this stage.

In summary, the Ios provenance for a large number of the schematic figurines can be considered as certain despite the lack, for the time being, of physicochemical analysis. The use of the abundant typical grey-white layered marble is also clear. Some made with better quality marble can also be from Ios but the result of a better selection process from specific locations on the island, e.g. the hill above Aghia Theodoti. Other islands, such central-east or southeast Naxos or even Paros cannot be excluded as origins. One should mention here that a full physicochemical analysis performed on a marble mortar from Skarkos proved that it was made of Parian marble (Report to Marisa Marthari, July 2008).

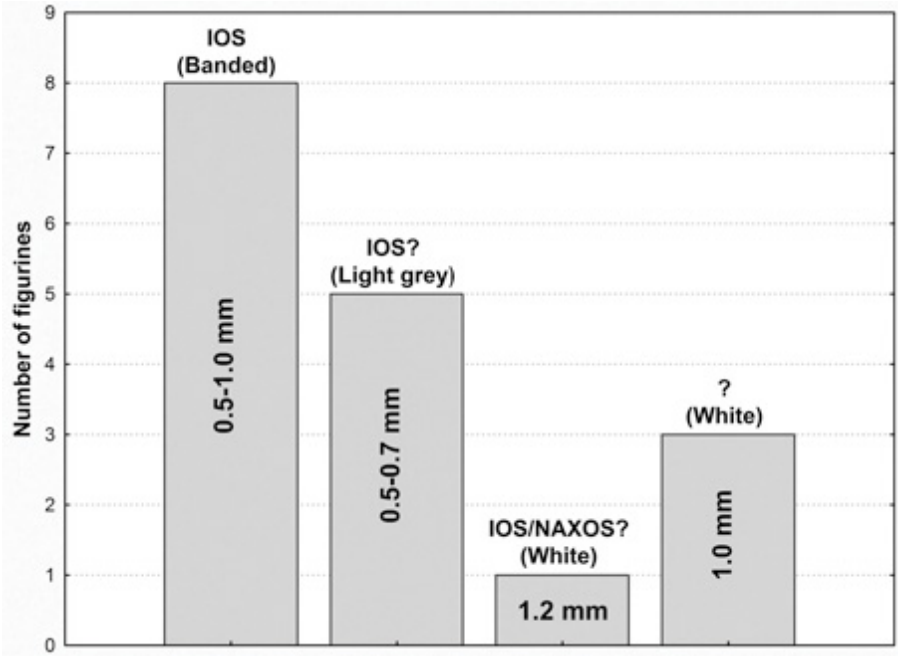

Fig. 33.14 Probable provenance of figurines from Skarkos as tentatively suggested by special optical macroscopic examination.

EBA figurines from Aplomata, Naxos

During our work on the Keros project material in the storerooms of the Naxos museum we were able to examine optically five figurines of the Kapsala variety from the museum exhibition coming from the Aplomata excavations by Kontoleon.

Three out of five figurines (NM5463, NM5469 and NM5473) are made in a very similar marble, most likely from the same source. It is white marble, very translucent, with parallel layers and very fine grains. Their MGS was measured at 0.1–0.2mm, while the most frequent sizes were around 0.05mm. In addition, they were all very well crystallised with clear grain boundaries and with no semicrystallised material in-between them. Very similar marble, perhaps again from the same source, was found for another two or three figurines in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens: on a Louros variety figurine from Naxos (NAM 6140.9); on a Spedos variety figurine from Syros (EAM6169.9); and perhaps on a violin-like figurine from Paros (EAM4885) of rather less translucent marble but otherwise very similar. This type of marble has not been found anywhere in the Cyclades and further field work is needed in order to reveal its source. However a similar type of marble, fine grained and of remarkable translucency, but perhaps not as well crystallised as the above, has been found in only one location so far, which is close to

the Pyrgos Chimarrou in southeast Naxos (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis 2012) and nowhere else in the Cyclades, suggesting a possible provenance from this greater area. Further fieldwork is needed.

The figurine in the Naxos Museum (NM5461) is white (ivory-like), of medium translucency and fine grained (0.5–0.6mm) but with some grains up to 1.0–1.1mm. It exhibits white opaque parallel layers. Marble with these characteristics can be found on central-east or southeast Naxos, on Ios and perhaps on Paros. However, without physicochemical analysis it is hard to conclude on a possible provenance, although it is certain that it is made from a different source than the previous three figurines. The last figurine of this group (NM5460) is made in white marble of extremely high translucency with MGS measured at 1.0mm. It is a different quality from the rest and comes from a different source. Marble with the above characteristics could come from Naxos, Paros or less probably from Ios.

In summary, three different sources were identified for the marble of the five Kapsala variety figurines from Aplomata, Naxos: a) white marble with extremely fine grains and remarkable quality from an unknown source, perhaps from southeast Naxos; b) white (ivory) marble with medium translucency and fine grains but with 1.1mm MGS, the exact location of whose source is difficult to determine without physicochemical analyses; and c) white marble with very high translucency and 1.0mm MGS, whose provenance can be narrowed down to central-east Naxos, Paros or Ios without physicochemical analysis.

EBA figurines from Chalandriani, Syros

Two figurines from Tsountas' excavation on Chalandriani (EAM5201 and EAM5211), a canonical figurine of Late Spedos variety from Marthari's excavation of 2004 at Chalandriani (see Marthari, this volume, Chapter 12), and another 14 figurines found by Clon Stephanos at Chalandriani (see Papazoglou-Manioudaki, this volume, Chapter 21) were examined non-invasively. For a more detailed description of the marble characteristics for each of the figurines found by Clon Stephanos see Papazoglou-Manioudaki (this volume, Chapter 21).

In brief figurine EAM5201, a Chalandriani variety figurine, and the Spedos variety figurine from the 2004 excavation are made of greyish fine grained marble (MGS = 0.6mm and 0.5mm respectively), exhibiting high translucency. They also have thin mica inclusions and calcitic encrustations on their surface. All these features are also

present in figurines found by Clon Stephanos, suggesting perhaps a possible common provenance.

Figurine EAM5211, a schematic figurine of the Apeiranthos variety, is made of white marble of medium translucency, and fine grained with MGS measured at 0.5mm.

A few isolated stressed grains were observed in five of Stephanos' figurines. In general, elongated grains, a result of geological stressing, are a feature of the calcitic marble of Syros (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis 2012) and may point to a local provenance. However the fact that we could observe only one or two elongated grains on each figurine and not the strong pattern observed on the marble of Syros suggests that further analysis is necessary to clarify the provenance.

The marble of one of the Stephanos figurines, a Spedos variety (EAM6169.9), as noted above is very similar in quality to three of the Kapsala variety figurines from Aplomata in Naxos and to the marble of the Louros variety figurine from Naxos, most probably all made in marble from the same unknown source. The other very fine grained (□0.8mm) white or whitish marble figurines from this collection, might come from southeast Naxos, where both white and whitish or greyish fine grained marble can be found (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis 2012). The rest of the figurines of medium-grained marble could originate from Naxos, Paros or Ios.

Other EBA figurines from the National Archaeological Museum in Athens

Eight figurines from the exhibition of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens were optically examined in the storerooms of the museum. Two were found on Keros (EAM3910, the flautist of Keros and EAM3908, the harpist of Keros), three were found on Paros (EAM6869 and EAM4885.1, both violin-shaped figurines, and EAM4885.2, a schematic figurine), two were found on Naxos (EAM6140.9 of the Louros type, and EAM8833, a harpist), and one figurine was found on Amorgos (EAM3911, a male figurine of the Louros type).

The flautist and the harpist from Keros (EAM3910 and EAM3908) are made of very similar marble: white, very fine grained (MGS = 0.5mm) and very translucent, exhibiting thin yellow veins. This marble quality closely resembles the marble of the Dhaskalio sub-variety figurines of the Apeiranthos variety found on Dhaskalio during the Cambridge Keros Project excavations (Tambakopoulos & Maniatis forthcoming) and are likely to have been made from marble originating from southeast Naxos, based on the sample collections conducted so far.

The violin-shaped figurine (EAM6896) found on Paros is made of

white marble, medium to coarse grained (MGS = 2.2mm) and quite heteroblastic. It exhibits large angular and small round grains. This type of marble has not been found so far on Paros and could either be from an unknown and remote outcrop on the island or from elsewhere (e.g. from central-east or north Naxos or from Ios). The other violinshaped figurine (EAM4885.1) from Paros exhibits similar features to the aforementioned group of Kapsala variety figurines from Aplomata, Naxos, the Spedos variety figurine from Chalandriani on Syros and the Louros type figurine from Naxos in the National Archaeological Museum, with very fine grained (MGS = 0.3mm) and very well crystallised white marble. In contrast to the rest of the figurines of this group, this violin-shaped figurine shows lower translucency. Finally, the last figurine of the three, found on Paros, is made in white marble of high translucency and with a MGS measured at 1.5mm. It is homoblastic with grain sizes 1.0-1.5mm, but displays a few 'islands' with finer grained homoblastic marble. Comment about its provenance is difficult, since this type of marble has not been met before.

The harpist from Naxos (EAM8833) is made of a white marble of medium translucency with grain sizes from 1.0–1.2mm. Its marble is of the same quality as that of most of the figurines from the Special Deposit South at Kavos on Keros and is most probably from central-east Naxos. The other figurine from Naxos (EAM6140.9) is of the Louros type and belongs to the very fine grained group of figurines together with the Kapsala variety figurines from Naxos, the Spedos variety figurine from Syros and the violin-shaped figurine from Paros (see above for comments on provenance).

Finally, a male figurine of the Louros type found on Amorgos (EAM3911) was examined. It is made of white, fine grained marble (MGS = 0.9mm) with grey veins parallel to the surface. Amorgos, Nikouria, Syros and Paros can be excluded as sources for this figurine, while Naxos or Ios could be possible.

We would emphasise that all the above provenance ascriptions for the figurines, which were examined only non-invasively with optical and microscopic techniques, are very tentative and should be treated with great caution. Sampling and full physicochemical analysis will be necessary for more confident provenance results.

Conclusions

A long-lasting survey was carried out in the Cyclades and particularly

on the islands of Naxos, Keros, Ios, Syros, Nikouria, Schinousa and Iraklia, in order to examine, document and sample the different marble outcrops that might have been used as marble sources for the production of figurines and other artefacts during the prehistoric period. A large number of new samples was collected and analysed by the techniques widely used in marble provenance investigations. A new database of samples and measurements was formed, extending the previous database for the Cyclades created over the last 25 years. In addition a large database of information about the physical characteristics of marble from all around the Cyclades was collected, as briefly summarised in this paper.

The results indicate that the EPR parameters and the MGS are more promising in discriminating the different marble outcrops or types of marble between the Cycladic islands and also within each island than are the carbon and oxygen isotope signatures which exhibit extensive overlap. The methodology developed involves further statistical treatment of the results, using all the measured parameters, in combination with the optical and microscopic examination of the physical and crystalline characteristics of the marble. This greatly enhances the discrimination power of the techniques.

The combined methodology was applied systematically to the provenance study of the figurine fragments from Keros and Dhaskalio excavated during the Cambridge Keros Project of 2006–2008. The great number of these figurine fragments and the detailed scientific work allowed the extraction of important information about the marble sources used in the Early Bronze Age Cyclades. It was shown first that Keros which has much marble, but of low quality, is not a possible source for the figurines found on Kavos and Dhaskalio, meaning that all the figurine fragments were imported from elsewhere (either as finished product or as raw material). Furthermore, the analysis showed that more than 90% of the figurines were made of Naxian marble (from central-east and southeast Naxos). The remainder (less than 10%) are of marble from Ios and Paros and a small number from sources not present in our database (Fig. 33.13).

A range of EBA figurines from other excavations on the Cyclades was also examined non-invasively using optical and microscopic techniques. Despite the lack of full analysis, it was possible to conclude that there are figurines, found on several islands, which are made from local marble. Almost half of the examined figurines that were found on Skarkos on Ios are made of a local marble from Ios, a grey and white banded marble, and another 30% are made of whitish or greyish marble also abundant on Ios, but also found in southeast

Naxos. Likewise some figurines found on Syros are probably made from local Syros marble.

Several figurines found on different islands of the Cyclades (Naxos, Syros, and Paros) and of different typological varieties seem to be made from the same quality of marble, most likely from the same source. This is a very fine grained and very well crystallised, white, translucent marble with a MGS about 0.1mm. The quality of the marble resembles that of the figurines found at Dhaskalio near Keros whose origin was assigned to a source lying close to the Pyrgos Chimarrou on Naxos. Future field and analytical work is planned to more confidently pinpoint the source of this kind of marble.

Finally, in addition to the above very fine grained source still absent from our database, there are a few more sources which have still not been located, as shown on Figure 33.12. This signifies the need for more field work in order to sample and analyse more possible marble sources in the Cyclades. In fact, several surveys are being organised for the near future on Naxos, Paros and other islands.

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34

AN EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH TO THE MANUFACTURE OF CYCLADIC-TYPE FIGURINES WITH FOLDED ARMS: PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

Yiannis Papadatos & Epaminondas Venieris

Introduction

With the exception of Elizabeth Oustinoff's work (Oustinoff 1984; 1987), no experimental work has been carried out to examine the materials and methods used by the craftspeople of the Early Cyclades for the manufacture of Cycladic-type figurines. This is rather surprising considering that Oustinoff 's work was particularly revealing about the time, effort, and technical knowledge required for the manufacture of such figurines. Indeed, the results of her work have often been used as an argument against the existence of full-time sculptors and high-level specialisation (Broodbank 1992; Gill & Chippindale 1993, 636).

Despite its innovative and enterprising character, Oustinoff's experiments did not develop into a larger and more elaborate project. The test was limited to the production of only three figurines, each representative of a different variety: a violin-, a Louros- and a Spedostype figurine. Moreover, the research was published in a rather abridged form, putting more emphasis on the finished product rather than the manufacturing procedure. The crucial intermediate stages of the work were poorly documented in the publication: important aspects relating to the manufacturing procedure were not discussed – the mechanical movements and working routines, the use of

alternative ways of manufacture, the application of colour, and the issue of apprenticeship.

With the above in mind, the authors started a research project in 2013 involving the experimental manufacture of Cycladic-type figurines with the aim of testing Oustinoff's observations, exploring alternative ways and materials for their production, and recording in detail all the intermediate stages of the manufacturing procedure.

Raw materials

The craftsman of the experiment, Mr Epaminondas Venieris, is not a professional sculptor. He has been making marble figurines since he was 20 years old, and over a period of 26 years he has manufactured about 45 figurines. Moreover, during all this time he has not made any other types of sculptures, only Cycladic-type figurines of the Spedos variety. For their manufacture, Mr Venieris always used iron rasps and files, which were replaced by emery tools for the needs of this experiment. Two figurines have been manufactured so far, both belonging to the Spedos variety (Figs 34.1). The first was manufactured indoors, in the Archaeological Museum of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Athens, the second outdoors, in the courtyard of Mr Venieris' house at Chania. No workshops or specially modified areas were needed and the only facilities used during the experiment were a simple bench and a bucket of water.

Contrary to Oustinoff (1984, 39), who used a wide variety of materials, namely marble from Paros, emery from Naxos, obsidian from Melos and pumice from Thera, the aim of our experiment was to examine the possibility of manufacturing a figurine with the fewest possible materials, and, if feasible, with these of the same place of origin. For this reason we focused on the two raw materials that were absolutely necessary, marble and emery. The materials were collected on Naxos, the only island that can provide both of them in abundance, and more specifically from the area of Koronos, where outcrops of both emery and marble can be found in close proximity. The beach of Lionas was chosen as the ideal location for the acquisition of the raw materials, since at the same spot it was possible to collect flat marble pebbles, emery pebbles and finegrained emery sand. Also, the steep slopes between Koronos and Lionas provided large chunks of emery, exposed on the surface. It is probably no coincidence that one of the few possible workshops for the production of figurines identified so far is at Avdeli, a small EC hamlet on the slopes above Lionas

(Doumas 1977, 124), with good access to both marble and emery.

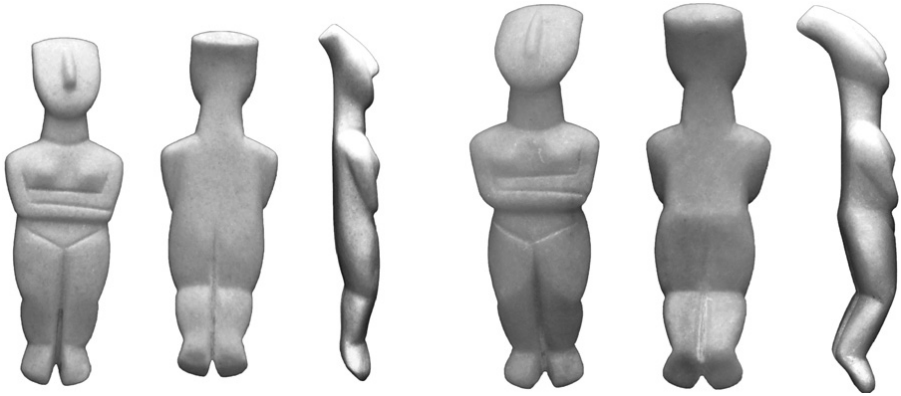

Fig. 34.1 The finished products: Figurine 1 (left) and Figurine 2 (right). Scale 1:2.

Concerning the marble, the pebbles collected from Lionas are relatively hard, especially when compared to the marble from Paros, used by Oustinoff (1984, 39). This undoubtedly increased the total working time required for manufacture. However it is worth observing that the two pebbles from Lionas used for our experiment were of different hardness. The pebble used for the second figurine was softer, resulting in a reduced time of manufacture.

The collected emery chunks display different qualities: they vary significantly in the quantity of corundum present, as is indicated by macroscopic criteria such as their weight, the colour and the density of the granules. However, the emery tools of whatever quality proved particularly effective during the different stages of the manufacturing procedure.

Tools

The manufacture of emery tools was the most revealing stage of our experiment. Due to its hardness and irregular and unpredictable breaking habits, it is very difficult, though not impossible, to produce proper tools of emery of a regular form and pre-designed shape (for a detailed presentation of the properties of emery, see Boleti 2006; 2013). By knocking and rubbing chunks of emery together it was possible to produce irregular pieces with points, edges, flat or curved surfaces, as well as sharp or smooth angles: everything suitable for striking, incising, rubbing and smoothing the marble (Fig. 34.2). This was a time-consuming procedure, but provided a large variety of 'tools', which, although irregular and atypical, were functional and highly effective for all the required tasks. Moreover, the hardness and

durability of emery ensured that the tools could be used for a long time without any need for retouch or replacement.

Table 34.1 Comparison of size and time of manufacture between the figurines produced by Oustinoff (1984) and the present experiment.

	Height (mm)		Width (mm)		Thickness (mm)		Time (hours)
	Original	Finished	Original	Finished	Original	Finished	
Oustinoff	240	170	130	75	45	20	60
Figurine 1	133	130	78	44	27	15	30 (25)
Figurine 2	148	136	75	44	46	18	18

Fig. 34.2 A selection of emery tools used during the experiment.

Fig. 34.3 Figurine 1: outline, central axis and basic anatomical details incised on the pebble.

It should be stressed that most of the work for the production of a Cycladic figurine involves mechanical, repetitive and tiring movements that may weary the hands of the craftsperson. Therefore, it proved particularly useful to equip ourselves with a variety of similar tools, differing only in their weight and the way they were handled. It became clear throughout the manufacturing process that a frequent change of tools with a similar function, but of different weight and shape, prolonged considerably the stamina of the craftsperson. It is, therefore, highly likely that, although the emery tools could never be regular and typified, they could be highly personalised, according to the characteristics and needs of the individual craftsperson.

In contrast to Oustinoff (1984, fig. 6a) who used an irregular slab of marble, we decided to use large flat sea pebbles. This choice has two advantages: the shape of the sea pebbles is very close to the final shape of the figurine, requiring, thus, the removal of less material from the original pebble and reducing by half (or more) the time of manufacture (Table 34.1). Figurine 2 was made in 18 hours, while for

Figurine 1 the time of manufacture would be 25 instead of 30 hours if no modifications were made to the original plan. This counterbalances the fact that the Naxian marble used in our experiment was harder than the Parian used by Oustinoff. The second advantage is that, due to the formative processes of water erosion the cleavage patterns of the material always run parallel to the flat surface of the pebble. This prevents breaks, makes the material more resilient during manufacture, and provides a more durable final product.

The manufacturing process

Before starting the manufacture, a vertical central axis and a rough outline of the figurine were incised on the pebble with the help of a sharp emery flake (Fig. 34.3). The usual proportions, seen in most of the Spedos variety figurines, were followed. The pebbles were divided into four sections, with horizontal dividing lines at the chin, the lower part of the folded arms and the knees. Gill & Chippindale (1993, 641–7) have pointed out that these proportions are only approximate, just serving practical purposes, and could not have been followed with accuracy throughout the manufacturing procedure. This remark tallies exactly with what happened during the experiment, since alterations to them were required several times in the entire procedure, even during the final stages of refining and smoothing. The full sequence of the work can be divided into three major phases: the first corresponds to shaping by percussion, the second to abrasion, and the third to the refinement of the surface and the rendering and incision of minor details.

Shaping by percussion

The first phase involved percussive blows at close range by heavy tools equipped with points and edges, in order to remove as much material as possible. With Figurine 1 this work involved only the periphery of the pebble in order to reduce its width and remove material around the outline of the figurine (Fig. 34.4). In the case of Figurine 2, starting with a much thicker pebble, blows were delivered not only around the perimeter but also at the back surface of the pebble to reduce its thickness (Fig. 34.5). As a result this phase of work lasted longer for Figurine 2 than for Figurine 1 (19% vs. 7% of the total time respectively); the amount of material removed was also higher (60% vs. 47% of the total; Tables 34.2–4).

Table 34.2 Changes in the size and weight of the figurines during the various phases of work.

		Figurine 1	Figurine 2
Height (mm)	Original	133	148
	Phase 1	133	148
	Phase 2	131	137
	Finished	130	136
Width (mm)	Original	78	75
	Phase 1	46	45
	Phase 2	45	45
	Finished	44	44
Thickness (mm)	Original	27	46
	Phase 1	27	30
	Phase 2	15	19
	Finished	15	18
Weight (g)	Original	445	772
	Phase 1	280	388
	Phase 2	98	180
	Finished	94	129

Fig. 34.4 Figurine 1 after the phase of shaping by percussion.

Fig. 34.5 Figurine 2 during the phase of shaping by percussion.

Table 34.3 Duration of the different phases of work.

		Figurine 1	Figurine 2
Time (min)	Phase 1	120 (7%)	205 (19%)
	Phase 2	1400 (78%)	600 (55%)
	Phase 3	270 (15%)	280 (26%)
	Total	1790	1085

Table 34.4 Amount of material removed in each phase of work.

		Figurine 1	Figurine 2
Weight (g)	Phase 1	165 (47%)	384 (60%)
	Phase 2	182 (52%)	208 (32%)
	Phase 3	4 (1%)	51 (8%)
	Total	351	643

It is clear, however, that for both figurines the amount of material removed was proportional to the duration of the shaping phase. Also, this phase did not require a high degree of experience and skill, but only some caution to avoid misdirected blows and the breaking of the marble.

Abrasion

The next phase, abrasion, was a longer and more painstaking task. It took between 55% and 78% of the total working time, during which the remaining 30–50% of the raw material was removed. In the case of Figurine 1, an unfortunate, misplaced blow during the first phase of work created a small crack at the lower end of the right foot, which eventually broke at the very beginning of the abrasion phase (Fig. 34.6). The options were either (a) to abandon the entire procedure, or (b) to make a shorter figurine perhaps with one leg slightly truncated at the toes, or (c) to move the central axis of the figurine a few millimetres to the left. We decided to pursue the third option (Fig. 34.7) which allowed us to produce a perfect figurine, very close to that originally designed, but increased the total time of manufacture by 20%: 4–5 hours of additional abrasion were required to modify the outline of the right side of the figurine.

During the abrasion phase a large variety of emery tools was used (Fig. 34.8). The tools had to be dipped into water at frequent intervals, to ensure better abrasive results. Dipping in water removed the marble dust created, keeping the rough surface of the tools clear and so operative and the surface of the figurine clean and visible. Because of the small size of the figurine and its curved surfaces, the best and most effective tools were those with smooth curved edges. These tools proved extremely useful for the abrasion of difficult areas such as the shoulders and the back of the head. During this phase it was also possible to test the properties and effectiveness of the different qualities of emery. Although emery with a lower content of corundum is generally considered as of inferior quality, it has

relatively good abrasive properties, but it is more friable and erodes very quickly. On the other hand, emery with a higher content of corundum is more durable and has better abrasive properties, but it is harder and more difficult to fashion into tools. It should be noted, moreover, that the properties may differ significantly between emery chunks collected from the same broad area or even from within the same outcrop.

The face was formed at the very end of the abrasive procedure, just before the final phases of refinement (Fig. 34.9). It was separated into 4 triangles corresponding to the two cheeks, the forehead and the chin. At first, the four triangles were abraded separately, leaving a ridge at the centre of the face, which was later transformed into the nose. It is interesting to note that some of the Apeiranthostype figurines found at the Skarkos workshop had similar formations on their faces (Marthari, this volume, chapter 12). After creating the triangular planes, two incisions were made defining the vertical sides of the nose. The two cheeks, the forehead and the chin were then abraded separately allowing the nose to take its form.

Fig. 34.6 Figurine 1: small marble fragment flaked off at the right foot.

Fig. 34.7 Figurine 1: the original (incised) and the new central axes (marked by pencil).

Fig. 34.8 Figurine 1 during the phase of abrasion.

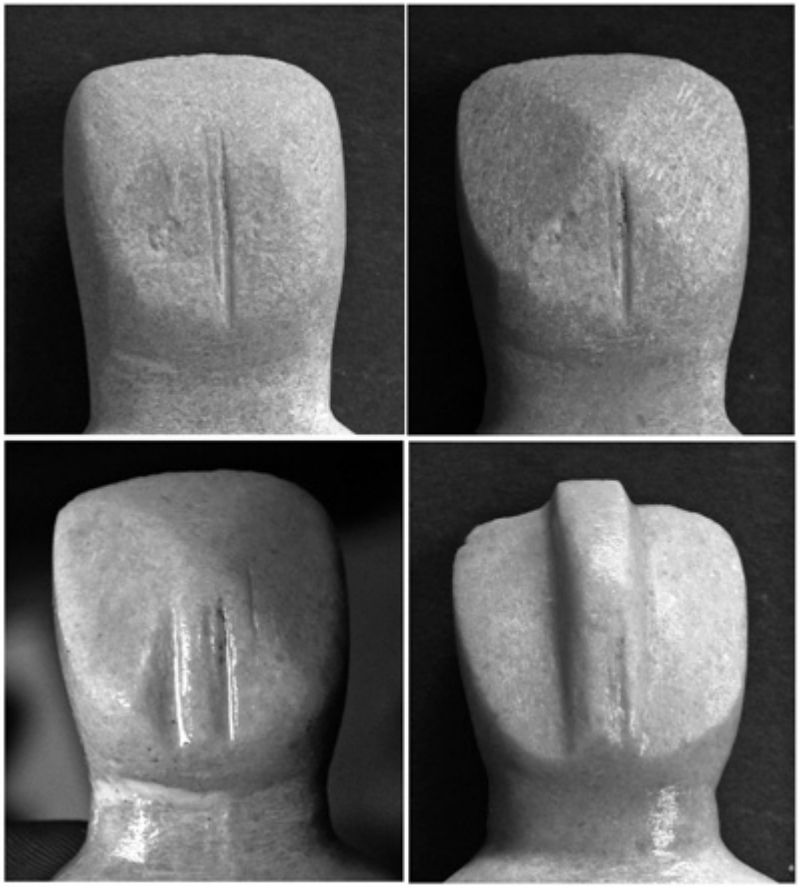

Fig. 34.9 Figurine 1: the formation of the face.

Refining

The last phase of the experiment included the refining work: small scale abrasion, the incision of various details and the smoothing of the surface. This task lasted between 15% and 26% of the total working time, about 4–5 hours, but the material removed was significantly less when compared with the other phases (less than 10% in both figurines). The experiment showed that sharp emery flakes are much more suitable than obsidian for making incisions. Obsidian flakes produce only thin, shallow incisions, they become blunted rather easily and quickly, and they break if subjected to a twisting motion under pressure. In contrast, emery flakes can open deeper and wider incisions, such as those seen between the legs, between the arms, or for the pubic triangle (Fig. 34.10). This is because emery flakes do not only cut at the edge/point of contact, as obsidian does, but also abrade the sides of the incision, rendering it deeper and wider.

Fig. 34.10 Figurine 1: incision of the pubic triangle.

The final task is the smoothing of the surface, to erase any traces of the earlier abrasion. As Oustinoff (1984, 42) suggested, the use of pumice for smoothing and polishing is not essential, since abrasion with emery leaves a relatively even surface, which does not require much further smoothing or polishing. Where thin abrasion marks were still visible on the surface, polishing was carried out with fine-grained emery pebbles of rounded shape from the beach of Lionas, but the same effect could have been achieved with the use of any piece of fine-grained emery bearing a smooth surface. No emery sand was used in any phase of the manufacturing procedure.

Discussion

Despite the fact that the project is yet at a preliminary stage, with only two figurines manufactured so far, some preliminary observations can be made on the basis of the experiment described above. It has been demonstrated that a typical folded-arm figurine can be made with only two raw materials, marble and emery, which were available not only on the same island, but also at the very same spot.

This proximity undoubtedly made the acquisition of the raw materials a rather simple task, particularly for the many communities living on Naxos.

The experiment showed that the manufacture of figurines could be carried out almost anywhere. The use of water and the production of marble dust may create some mess, but the problem is rather limited: the work can take place both indoors and outdoors. Specialised workshops were thus not necessary for the manufacture of Cycladic type figurines; one should not expected to find them in the excavation of Early Cycladic settlements. Further, the irregular and atypical tools used for the production of the two figurines show that any piece of emery revealed in excavations of Early Cycladic settlements could potentially have been a tool for the manufacture of marble figurines.

With regard to the manufacturing procedure, it proved possible to reduce, by more than half, the total working time required in Oustinoff's experiment (namely 60 hours) for the production of a medium-sized figurine with folded arms, despite the fact that the Naxian marble used in our experiment was harder than the Parian marble used by Oustinoff. This saving was achieved because we chose to use elliptical thin sea pebbles, which required the least possible reduction and abrasion, as opposed to the marble slabs favoured by Oustinoff. On the basis of our experience the two decisive factors affecting the working time are the hardness of the marble and the time consumed in the shaping and abrasion phases. Figurine 2 was produced in less time than Figurine 1 (18 as opposed to 25–30 hours) because (a) the marble was softer and (b) more material was removed from the original pebble during the shaping phase (60% as opposed to 47%). Finally, the total working time may be affected by unforeseen factors, such as misplaced strikes during the shaping phase. The corrections that had to be made during the manufacture of Figurine 1 increased the total working time by 20% (30 instead of 25 hours).

Another interesting observation is that the manufacturing procedure is mostly a technical rather than an artistic task, based on repetitive movements and working routines that could be easily replicated. Increased experience or artistic capacities may be required only in the very last phase of refining, during which minor corrections or changes may be made to the final form, including the rendering of anatomical details or change in the proportions. It should be noted, that the work carried out during the last phase of manufacture, although minor in terms of effort and material removed, significantly affects the appearance of the final product.

The manufacture proved to be a rather wearisome task. Some days the work lasted as many as 4–5 hours but the usual daily routine was between 1 and 3 hours. Thus, Figurine 2 was manufactured in 18 hours, over a period of 11 days, while Figurine 1 was manufactured in 30 hours, over a period of 12 days. Either way, it seems probable that the manufacture of a medium-sized Spedos type figurine with folded arms could be completed without haste in less than two weeks. Consequently, the number of figurines which may have been produced by a single craftsperson within his or her operative lifetime could readily be more than one hundred.

Despite the preliminary character of the above observations, it seems clear that the results of our work reinforce previously expressed ideas against the presence of specialized full-time sculptors and organized workshops. Further experimental work is needed in order to explore issues that have not been examined by previous research, such as the apprenticeship of inexperienced individuals and the ability of one craftsperson to manufacture different varieties or even different types of marble figurines. We strongly believe that this kind of experimental work may provide valuable insights on the technology of manufacture of the marble figurines, and, in addition, on their importance for the small island communities of the 3rd millennium BC.

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35

EXAMINING THE PAINT ON CYCLADIC FIGURINES

Kiki Birtacha

Introduction

During the 3rd millennium BC, especially in the EC II period, the human figure was rendered with stereotypical, repeated characteristics. In every case, from the most concise and schematic to the most naturalistic representation, whether two-dimensional or three-dimensional, the human figure was carved as an outline in white marble and then complemented and completed by painting, as a basic component of the representation. As Christos Tsountas (1898, 195) typically wrote more than a hundred years ago: 'ἐπὶ πλειόνων εἰδωλίων, τῶν τε τελειοτέρων καὶ τῶν ἀμόρφων, σώζονται λείψανα χρωματισμοῦ, δυστυχῶς ὅμως οὐχὶ πολλά ...' ('on several figurines, both finely crafted and amorphous, traces of coloration are preserved, but unfortunately not many ...').

The marble figurine had to be painted, its white surface had to be animated by colour, enlivened by painted eyes, hair, jewellery, decorative patterns and body marks. The white skin of the marble functioned as a ground for the application of the paint, and the austere form thus acquired special characteristics, vitality and energy; it became 'human'. Paint serves as a counterweight to the standardisation and stylisation of the sculptural form. Cycladic figurines, therefore, are at once works of sculpture and of painting.

While most figurines of the Early Bronze Age II period are characterised by uniformity, sculptural standardisation and rigour, scholars argue that this does not apply to their painting. In recent

years, several researchers in the field of Cycladic Culture have sought such elements as would allow a new interpretative approach to the meaning and use of the marble figurines (e.g. Broodbank 2000, 63–5, 247–62; Hoffman 2002; Papadatos 2003; Hendrix 2003a; Blakolmer 2012). Depending on their knowledge base, broader education, and ideological and theoretical perspectives, as well as on the latest trends in the disciplines of sociology and anthropology, and on their tools of reason and perception, they have often approached the issue by borrowing pre-existing interpretive models that have been formulated for other sets of findings from other eras or regions, such as Neolithic figurines and figurines from historical times, or by using ethnographic and anthropological parallels from other cultures, in some cases creating unsubstantiated anachronistic and incongruous theoretical models. Nonetheless, a movement away from viewing the figurines as objects of high art and aesthetics, as well as their transposition from the religious and devotional sphere to that of social, group or individual expression, is interesting and fruitful for research (Broodbank 2000, 247–50; Sherratt 2000, 132–6; Papadatos 2003; Hendrix 2003a; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 69). Of course, the plethora of interpretive approaches to Cycladic figurines, which are accepted as open hypotheses rather than as substantiated conclusions, is a result of the lack of secure archaeological data and context.

There are two main researchers of painting on Cycladic figurines, P. Getz-Gentle (Preziosi & Weinberg 1970; Getz-Preziosi 1985; 1987a; 1987b) and E. Hendrix (1998; 2000; 2003a; 2003b). Getz-Gentle laid the foundations for the study of painted decoration on figurines, distinguishing the basic motifs and publishing examples from museums and private collections in the US. Hendrix examined a large number of figurines, mostly of unknown provenance, which preserve direct or indirect evidence of painting. Furthermore, applying methods other than visual observation, she carried out elemental analysis on certain samples, charted a 'map' of the motifs, made significant observations on the development of the painted motifs and their relation to types of figurines, and formulated a wide range of hypotheses about the meaning and use of the figurines in Cycladic communities. She believes that certain common and consistently recurring motifs 'seem to have been part of the canon that was communicated as integral to the pan-Cycladic norm' and therefore express the desire of small Cycladic communities for statement and confirmation of collective identity and cultural affinity with the neighbouring islands and with their ancestors (Hendrix 2003a, 441–2;

2006, 125–6). The secondary patterns such as 'stripes or zigzags, certain coiffures, perhaps, and red lines segregating specific body parts may have associated the figure with a family or other group within the broader culture. Some motifs may have been applied in association with important events', to provide assistance during the key stages in a person's life, such as 'initiations into adult groups, marriage, pregnancy ... the voyage to the next world'. She argues, moreover, that these faint patterns are due to the deliberate use of faded pigments, so that they could be painted over with other motifs and the figurines thus adapted to specific circumstances. (Hendrix 2003a, 442). Similar, and in some respects identical, is the approach of Y. Papadatos, who believes that the 'transience of the painting allowed the frequent changing of the messages and symbols on the figurines, according to the individuals or social groups by which they were used and to which they were also addressed according to the cultural environment, the social events and religious ceremonies in which they were involved' (Papadatos 2003, 286).

This paper discusses issues regarding the research methodology and the interpretive approach to the painting on Cycladic figurines, with an indicative presentation of examples that preserve painted details. These are figurines kept in the Archaeological Museum of Naxos, which were studied in 1993, in the framework of a project to compile a Corpus of Cycladic Art under the direction of Christos Doumas, which was unfortunately not completed.

Issues of methodology and interpretation

A. The study to date of painting on the figurines is based on the documentation of the motifs and patterns that have been preserved or are implied by 'paint ghosts' left by the pigment on the skin of the marble. The paint ghosts may be a tint, a lighter and smoother area of the surface, or a very low relief on the surface that was originally painted and which the pigment, or more likely the binding medium (probably some sort of grease or resin), protected from corrosion.

Drawing conclusions about the painting of the figurines is limited by the following factors:

1) The original pigment itself rarely remains.
2) Many figurines from the oldest excavations were cleaned by mechanical or chemical means (including acid) which destroyed or removed the pigments.
3) Archaeologists and researchers were not sufficiently aware of

the phenomenon of painting to observe the figurines with due care: thus, in several cases, although traces of pigments exist, these are not mentioned in the publications.
4) There are no data on the provenance and the context of most of the published figurines that preserve colour decoration.
5) However, the most important constraint is that there has been no systematic documentation of painting in the existing corpus of figurines or on a sample sufficient for drawing statistically significant conclusions. Systematic documentation entails: a) meticulous observation by an experienced researcher, including detailed examination under a microscope for traces of pigment that are not visible or survive in extremely small quantities, often under patina, b) specialised photography using raking light in the visible spectrum and also recording reflectance and luminescence response in an extended spectral range (UV-Vis-NIR). c) careful drawing, and d) elemental analysis of pigments with a portable XRF device (for study methods for painting on figurines see Hendrix 2003b). At present, the publication of examples without context, mostly from collections and museums abroad, the occasional and random elemental analysis of pigments, and the examination of only a few figurines using some of the above methods allow for only general, and sometimes dubitable, observations.

B. The poor preservation of the pigments and the lack of systematic documentation of these do not allow for secure observations regarding the chronological development of painting on the figurines, the combination of patterns and features, and the possible correlation of painted subjects with type, size and gender, as well as with workshops and regional styles. Only general observations can be made: certain anatomical features and patterns appear consistently and systematically, while certain others vary, probably giving the represented figures particular characteristics. Colour on the stereotyped outline of the sculptural form was the element that possibly gave individual or small group diversity and differentiation.

Interpretive approaches are more inclined to the view that the representation of details on the figurines through painting is a vehicle for messages and symbolism, and is associated with the function of figurines in Cycladic communities, or even relations between communities (Broodbank 2000, 247–9; Sherratt 2000, 132–6; Papadatos 2003; Hendrix 2003a, 410), the identity of the individual or the identity of the group (Hendrix 2003a, 411, 441–2). It is not

considered as an attempt to render the human figure more naturally. From personal examination of several figurines in the Archaeological Museum of Naxos, and from the published examples of figurines with traces of paint, I did not observe complexity in the order and combination of subjects. The motifs are very simple and basic.

Apart from physical features (e.g. eyes, hair, pubic triangle), which are consistently repeated, other painted signs are less common: dots isolated or arranged in small groups or larger series on the forehead and cheeks, vertical lines on the forehead, cheeks and, more rarely, on the neck and chest, bands on the torso and legs, and less frequently other isolated motifs such as lozenges, 'non-anatomical eyes', and zigzag lines (see below). It is noteworthy that typical Cycladic motifs, such as the spiral, and others known from seals or sealings, are not found on the figurines. Of course, as noted above, only very careful examination of the figurines will confirm or negate the above observations. For example, it would be interesting to ascertain if display elements, such as special hairstyles, headdresses, diadems and jewellery, appear or vary on the figurines, if there are figurines which are identical in terms of their painting, if some canon determined a combination of specific physical characteristics with specific signs or patterns, and so on. However, on present data we should not assume that differences in the painted motifs on figurines exclusively express an intention on the part of the Cycladic communities to differentiate the figure represented. Any differentiation in the painted motifs may be due also to local particularities, regional styles, different workshops, or even chronological differences.

C. It has been argued that over the use life of a figurine the painting was not executed just once, but could be changed; the existing decoration could be erased and replaced or supplemented by new patterns, thus transmitting new meanings and messages (Papadatos 2003; Hendrix 2003a, 442–3). The following objections can be raised to this view:

> 1) Cycladic figurines embody powerful symbolism through their form alone and could not have been produced and distributed with the intention of having their meaning and symbolism changed for every event. This is contrary to the basic rules and canons of communication and message transmission. To attribute polysemy to objects such as Cycladic figurines is arbitrary in terms of research. The symbolism and the identity of an object remain constant and cease only if it is damaged so as to become amorphous, thus losing its identity, or if it has fallen

out of use for a long period of time and its original meaning has been forgotten and is redefined by its current owners. Just how strong is the symbolism and meaning of the figurines is also suggested by the placement of parts or fragments of figurines in graves (*pars pro toto*) or their scattering near graves (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 330).

2) It is difficult to imagine that during the 3rd millennium BC the figurines made in specialised workshops were distributed with only the basic features, such as eyes or hair, painted, and that their owners would then add certain motifs and designs as circumstances demanded. In other words, we would have to accept that an object was deliberately produced in an unfinished form, a completely unprecedented and alien concept in antiquity. If indeed the figurines had a long period of use, then it is reasonable to assume that the painted details faded and even disappeared through use-wear. In this case, renewal and preservation of the painted decoration may have been undertaken, as well as possibly the addition of some elements, but this action in no way changes the original meaning and identity of the object.

D. Researchers of Cycladic figurines do not usually refer to or take into consideration data relating to stone, particularly marble, vessels. What connects the marble figurines with marble vessels?

1) Marble vessels and figurines both belong to the same 'corpus' of objects, not only because of their material, but also because they are probably products of the same workshops; the onset and the cessation of their production coincide, and they form a particular category in terms of meaning and usage.

2) Also, like the figurines, few, perhaps even fewer, marble vessels have been found in a domestic context (Devetzi 1992, 119).

3) Marble vessels are often found together with figurines and in certain cases figurines have been found covered by or placed beside marble vessels (e.g. Tsountas 1898, 163; Devetzi 1992, 123–4; Zapheiropoulou 2008, 191, figs 19.30–2).

4) Certain types of marble vessels, such as bowls, were produced, like figurines, in a large range of sizes, from miniature to virtually monumental.

5) Neither category of object serves daily needs (Devetzi 1992, 118–25); both categories are valuable, while their production

demands considerable skill and they can therefore be regarded as prestige items, indicative of social status and power. It should be noted that the fashioning of marble vessels in particular requires advanced knowhow and technology, a specialised set of tools and craftsmanship, and is much more time-consuming than the sculpting of the figurines.

6) Of particular importance is the fact that a number of marble vases were decorated with red paint (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 72; Devetzi 1990, 118). Certain open shapes, mostly the rolled rim bowls, were painted with red pigment on the inside, up to the rim (Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 72; Birtacha 2003, 266, notes 18–22). Of particular interest are four fragments of closed marble vessels from Keros, which preserve decoration in red paint on the exterior surface. These have been published by Devetzi (1992) and are as follows: a) Fragment of a collared jar (NM4313) which preserves a red zigzag line at the base of the neck (Devetzi 1992, 191–2, no. 25). b) Nozzle of a solid lamp model (NM4479), with a fine band around the base and under the rim (Devetzi 1992, 207, no 75). c) Fragment of a convex circular lid (NM4342), which preserves a fine band around the edge and a composite curved pattern on the top (Devetzi 1992, 187, no 331). d) Two fragments of a lid with a conical top (NM292α, β), which is circled by a zigzag line (Devetzi 1992, 290, no. 341). The fact that certain marble vessels were painted supports the hypothesis that the white colour of the marble was not the aesthetic choice of the Cycladic islanders, but served as a base and ground for painted decoration.

7) The marble vessels belong to a class of objects which are thought to have been subjected, as were the figurines, to ritual breakage followed by ritual deposition in special pits, as discussed for Kavos at Keros (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 35–7, 329–31 with bibliography; Renfrew *et al.* 2012, 145, 158). For all the above reasons, I consider that, when the data allow, the correlation of the Cycladic figurines with the marble vessels – a class of objects considered special and precious by Cycladic communities – will contribute to our understanding of their meaning and function.

E. Perhaps crucial for the research and any interpretive approach to the figurines is the fact that in the EC II period, when the shape of the figurines had been consolidated and standardised, works were produced in a variety of sizes, from a few centimetres high to life size. The hypothesis that the Cycladic figurines were carried by the

islanders in processions during ceremonies or rituals (Hendrix 2003a, 439-40) is challenged. Objects intended to be carried and displayed are unlikely to vary in size. Even if we assume that only the figurines of medium size were used in this way – a very open hypothesis and, of course, lacking in archaeological data – there are serious objections dictated by logic and the form of the figurines. The great weight of the figurines and their closed shape, with no suitable place for suspension or for a secure grip, do not support such a hypothesis.

Observations on the pigments and the painting of the figurines

The pigments that are preserved on the surface of the marble figurines are mainly red and much more rarely blue (Preziosi & Weinberg 1970; Hendrix 1998; 2003a, 416–30; 2003b; Birtacha 2003), while green is referred to in one case (Hendrix 2003a, 422, fig. 8) and a yellowish colour in another (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 235, 260, no. 243).

Elemental analyses of the pigments, to determine their composition, are very few and sporadic, and relate to objects without provenance and context (Hendrix 2000; 2003a, 420, 428; 2003b, 145 and note 2). Detailed elemental analysis of the paint preserved on figurines and vessels of known provenance, with a portable XRF device, is significant for research. I am confident that the results will be very interesting, if they are correlated with similar analyses of other types of finds from graves and settlements – lumps of pigments, pigment containers of marble, clay and bone, tools for processing and preparing pigments – because they will demonstrate not only the type of pigments, but also the range of their distribution, which pigments were imported as prepared products, and the possible way that the pigment processing workshops functioned. The systematic study of material from all the phases of the settlement at Akrotiri on Thera produced very interesting results. A number of tools for processing red pigments, identified as iron oxide and red lead, date from the Early Bronze Age (see below; Devetzi 2010; forthcoming; Birtacha forthcoming). Processing of pigments (red and blue) is also attested in the Early Bronze Age settlement at Skarkos on Ios (Marthari 1997, 374–5, fig. 13; Marthari 1999, 25, fig. 16).

Red

In certain cases haematite, i.e. iron oxide, has been detected (Oustinoff1987, 99; Birtacha 2003, 264; Hendrix 2003b, table I;

Stefani 2010, 281–2, cat nos 2–3). Mineral red ochres that contain haematite, in shades from red-orange to redbrown, are found at several locations in the Aegean (Carter 2008, 121). However, elemental analysis has shown that the red pigment used on the figurines is mainly cinnabar (e.g. Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 72, 206–7 cat. no. 57; Getz-Gentle 1996, 113, 177–9, note 190, 308, 379; Hendrix 1998, 8, 10; Sherratt 2000, 117–8 and note 19, no. 6.11, pl. 87, no. 6.20, pl. 97; Birtacha 2003, 264 and note 8; Hendrix 2003a, 428; 2003b, 141, 145; Papageorgiou 2004, 27–33; Carter 2008, 122). The use of cinnabar (mercuric sulphide, HgS) is attested in Asia Minor (Çatalhöyük: Sherratt 2000, 117–8) and the Balkans (Vinča Culture: Gajic-Kvašcev *et al.* 2012) from the Neolithic Period. On present evidence, its first appearance in the Aegean is dated to the Early Bronze Age. However, recent unpublished research confirms its use in this region already from the Late Neolithic period, a particularly important fact. Cinnabar was used in the decoration of a marble acrolithic figurine from Dimini, which radiocarbon dating assigns to the LN I period (4790–4710 BC; Topa & Skafida in press). Cinnabar is a natural mineral which provides vivid, brilliant, dense red pigment, '*floridus*' as Pliny describes it (Pliny *NH* XII, 30; Levidis 1994, 197–200), and so far has been detected in the Aegean in extremely small quantities (Naxos, Chios, Samos, Euboea: Carter 2008, 122; Lavrio (Kamariza and Adami no. 2 quarries), which were most probably not exploited in antiquity, while it occurs also in Asia Minor, the Black Sea, the Balkans and Spain (Sherratt 2000, 117–8; Hendrix 2003b, 141; Carter 2008, 122; Gajic-Kvašcev *et al.* 2012). It was a valuable product, and in antiquity and later times special properties – religious, magical, symbolic, pharmaceutical and so on – were attributed to it (Levidis 1994, 194–200; Sherratt 2000, 118; Carter 2008, 122). Mineral red ochres (iron oxides) are of higher density and easy to use, whereas cinnabar is less durable and susceptible to oxidation (darkening of cinnabar which turns to metacinnabar, Carter 2008, 123). Cinnabar, a vibrant red pigment, exotic and valuable, would have given particular value to the objects bearing it.

Red lead (minium) was detected on a figurine of unknown provenance of a pre-canonical type (Hendrix 2003a, 420). This fact is particularly interesting. The same pigment has been detected on Early Cycladic rectangular stone grinders with a rim, from Akrotiri on Thera (Devetzi 2010, fig. 8; Sotiropoulou *et al.* 2010; Sotiropoulou *et al.* 2012). From Akrotiri we have the earliest and so far unique indications of the processing and use of red lead as early as the 3rd millennium BC. Red lead belongs to the group of artificial pigments,

because ancient writers referred to its method of preparation by baking white lead (Levidis 1994, 211–4), but during the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC it was most probably collected in lead and silver mines as a by-product of mining activity, from argentiferous lead through the process of cupellation (Devetzi 2010, 52). Apart from the Early Cycladic stone grinders, material indicating the production and use of red lead in the Middle and Late Bronze Age was also found: a small lump of pink pigment, litharge masses, and stone tools and vessels with pigment residues. Lead pigments in white, red and black, were used widely in all periods for their density, colour intensity and excellent coverage, primarily as a powder in makeup for the face, a use which was also very possible during the 3rd millennium BC (see Devetzi 2010, 55–6; Birtacha *et al.* forthcoming).

Blue pigment is very rarely preserved on figurines. Analyses have only been made of the content of clay and marble vessels and bone tubes, and have shown that it is the mineral azurite (Hendrix 2000, 137–8; Birtacha 2003, 266–8, notes 25–30 with bibliography; Hendrix 2003b, 140). Most containers of blue pigments have been found in the cemetery of Chalandriani (Tsountas 1899, 104, 113; Renfrew 1972, 375; Hendrix 2000, appx ii; 2003a, 429; Hekman 2003, 62–8, 133, 158–9, 163, 182, 185–7). Kontoleon (1972, 153) states that blue pigment was found scattered in large quantities in graves 15 and 23 of the cemetery at Aplomata. A. Devetzi, who has undertaken publication of the cemetery at Aplomata, informed me (pers. comm.) that the excavation daybooks record that large pieces of blue pigment were found only in grave 23. An undecorated marble 'frying pan' containing blue and red pigment was recovered from the same grave (Kontoleon 1972, 151, pl. 140; Devetzi 1992, 271, no. 283).

Blue pigment derived from azurite is found in small quantities in copper deposits. It has limited coverage and a weak structure, requires skill and expertise in its preparation, and in the successful handling of colour, while it was necessary to apply successive layers to the surface, in order to create a solid blue, and of course required some kind of adhesive or binder (Thompson 1998, 158–9). Although it is a stable pigment, it is not preserved on Cycladic figurines, and this matter is under investigation. Careful examination with a microscope might give some results for those areas where only 'paint ghosts' have been preserved. It is possible also that organic pigments (e.g. charcoal or soot) were used for painting the hair and eyes.

The composition of the green pigment use to paint an eye-shaped motif on the neck of a figurine of canonical type is unknown (Hendrix 2003a, 422, 429, fig. 8). Green pigment has been attested in only a

few marble vessels (Hendrix 2000, appx ii; 2003a, 429; Birtacha 2003, 268 and note 35; Ugarković 2013, 658) and in bone tubes (Ugarković 2013, 656–8). Analysis of a sample from Dhaskalio on Keros showed that it was chrysocolla and malachite, which were also found with azurite in copper ores (Ugarković 2013, 658).

Sotirakopoulou refers to faint traces of ochre, brown, black and an indeterminate dark hue around the crown of figurines from the 'Keros Hoard' (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 260, 275, nos 243, 6, 151, 199, 176).

A detailed presentation by subject of the painted decoration on figurines has been made by Hendrix (2003a, 416–31), and a presentation by figurine type by Sotirakopoulou, with references to the relevant bibliography (2005, 67–8, notes 397–405). The widespread use of blue and perhaps of black pigment is likely due to the painting of the eyes, eyebrows, hair, hair curls and bands, headdresses or diadems on the forehead, which as a rule have not been preserved but are distinguished as paint ghosts. The area of the pubic triangle was probably also accentuated with blue or black pigment. These are the features which it seems were consistently repeated in the figurines of canonical type. Red is used to highlight jewellery, rows of dots on the cheeks and brow, vertical stripes on the cheeks and the chest, grooves or notches that articulate the figure (distinctions between head, neck and torso, grooves between the legs, spinal groove, fingers), and to render all other motifs and, rather rarely, anatomical features (ears, mouth, nostrils, fingers). The painting is densest in the upper part of the figure and is focused mainly on the head, where the large almond-shaped eyes dominate. The back, apart from the area of the head and neck, typically bears no decoration. Possibly only the spine was accentuated with paint (see, for example, Stefani 2010, 281–3, cat nos 2–3).

The information available does not allow us to talk about diversity, variety, density and complexity in the painting on figurines. Pictorial units are simple and linear. However their combination can create distinct and unique themes, and this is a matter for further investigation.

In terms of the content of painted decoration, the following categories can be distinguished: 1) Physical characteristics: eyes, hair, pubic triangle, mouth, ears, fingers. 2) Jewellery: hairstyle accessories such as bands, diadems and head coverings, necklaces, bracelets, and anklets. 3) Motifs on the face and body: rows of dots usually organised horizontally, and vertical or oblique stripes or bands. 4) Indeterminate motifs such as zigzags, and almond shape forms, which only Hendrix

has noticed (1998; 2000; 2003b, pl. xxxi d). A detailed investigation of the surviving painted motifs could lead to observations about the form, combination and arrangement of motifs on the figure, in order to formulate their code.

In certain of the graves in Cycladic cemeteries of the EC I and EC II period, red and blue pigment lumps, pigment containers, pigment grinders, palettes and implements for processing and applying pigment have been found (e.g. Tsountas 1898, 156; Doumas 1977, 107, pl. xxxv f; Televantou 1990, 57; Marangou 1990, 95–6, cat nos 94–6; Getz-Gentle 1996, 79, 90–1, 99, 103–4, 113, 171; Broodbank 2000, 249–53, figs 79–80; Sherratt 2000, 117–8; Birtacha 2003, 265–8; Carter 2008, 120). It is notable that most of the quantities of blue pigment, whether in lumps or contained in bone tubes and marble vessels, have been found in the Chalandriani cemetery (Hekman 2003, 62–8, 133, 158–9, 163, 182, 185–7).

Pigments and the utensils used for processing them are possibly associated with funerary rites and the funeral ritual. C. Tsountas (1898, 186) writes that the pigment was ground:

> 'either with common pebbles or with grinders specifically for this purpose ... these were smoothed with care ... and were perhaps used not only for grinding pigment in bowls, but also for polishing the pigment added to the body, in other words, perhaps they were rather polishing tools ... thereby pebbles and grinders are sometimes found in graves together'.

We should note here that the mineral pigments, such as cinnabar, haematite and azurite were not intended for tattooing, for which charcoal or soot were primarily used, as well as organic pigments of mainly plant origin, while the usual result is predominantly black (Poon & Quickenden 2006). Therefore, we must be careful when interpreting the mineral pigments and other findings associated with their preparation or application as a tattoo set (e.g. Broodbank 2000, 249; Hekmann 2003, 187: cluster 2; Hendrix 2003a, 430). They were most likely body-decoration or makeup sets. In two graves at Chalandriani (T 192, T 242) these sets were placed inside frying-pan vessels (Hekmann 2003, 188–9).

For certain individuals in Cycladic communities, in addition to adornment with jewellery, body painting also became important, possibly denoting a particular social role or status. It is no coincidence that body-decoration sets are included among the rare and precious objects in graves with rich offerings (e.g. Grave 356 at Chaladriani in Syros: Tsountas 1899, 113; Renfrew 1972, 375; Rambach 2000, 115–6, Taf. 50; Hekman 2003, 67, 163, 182, 236-8. Dokathismata Grave 14A: Tsountas 1898, 154–5; Renfrew 1972, 377; Rambach 2000, 10–12, Taf. 2–3; Hendrix 2003a, 435, 440. Grave 23 at Aplomata, Naxos:

Kontoleon 1972, 153). We can assume that only certain members of the community were able to acquire and use pigments, especially those that are rare and extremely valuable, such as cinnabar and azurite, which must have been traded in small and controlled amounts. These individuals had acquired wealth and social power, and I agree with Broodbank (2000, 247) 'that social power in these islands resided not so much in durable organisational structures, but rather in individuals such as navigators, traders, community heads and perhaps crafters of fine objects, or combinations of these roles, and others unguessed, within a single person'.

Information on the use of pigments from other areas of the Aegean and Crete is limited, and at present any comparison would be precarious. However, the data suggest that pigments were of great importance for the Cycladic communities in the 3rd millennium BC.

Examples of figurines with painted decoration from secure contexts

During examination of the figurines in the Archaeological Museum of Naxos paint residues or paint ghosts were identified on several figurines. A small sample of figurines which preserve painted decoration is presented here, including certain unpublished figurines from official excavations on Keros and two examples from the Aplomata cemetery on Naxos.

NM4274 (Fig. 35.1). Keros, Kavos
Unpublished, from the excavations by Zapheiropoulou in the Special Deposit North (Zapheiropoulou 1967; Renfrew *et al.* forthcoming).
Head fragment, height 63mm, width 60mm, thickness 28mm. Mended below the nose. Recent chips on the back. Corroded surface with a thin layer of incrustation and pale patina.

The surface of the face is slightly convex, the nose narrow and aquiline. It could be classed as a Dokathismata variety. The initial height of the figurine is estimated to have been at least 500mm. Residues of red pigment are discernible on the nose. Part of the outline of the eyes and a trapezoidal area terminating in three curls at the back of the head are indicated by the paler and smoother surface of the marble, which is slightly less corroded than the rest.

The catalogue of figurines that preserve indications of painted rendering of the eyes and hair is large. These are the most common features that appear to have been shown consistently in all figurines, at least those of the canonical type. The similarities with the hairstyle on head 83.AA.316.2 at the J. Paul Getty Museum, also from Keros, are apparent (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 215, 259, no. 211 and p. 275 with list of figurines from the 'Keros Hoard' with painted hair, and note 487).

NM2234 (Kr. 63.15) (Fig. 35.2). Keros, Kavos
Unpublished, from the excavation by Doumas in the Special Deposit North (Doumas 1963; Renfrew *et al.* forthcoming).
Head and neck of figurine, height 66mm, width 38mm, thickness 26mm. Surface slightly corroded, off-white patina.

Spedos variety. Preserved on the lyre-shaped head are traces of the original painted decoration of the face in red. Dots arranged horizontally can be discerned on the forehead and right cheek, near the nose. In the carving that distinguishes the head from the neck are also preserved traces of red pigment. At each temple there is a small red mark, probably the remains of painted rendering of the ears, a feature that is very rarely noticed (Birtacha 2003, 271, note 49). On the back of the head, a trapezoidal surface has been preserved smooth, pale and in slight relief, due to its initial painting with black or blue paint which indicated hair.

NM4137 (Fig. 35.3). Keros, Kavos.
Unpublished, from Zapheiropoulou's excavations in the Special Deposit North (Zapheiropoulou 1967; Renfrew *et al.* forthcoming). Head and neck. Maximum height 111mm, maximum width 79mm, thickness 47mm. Coarse-grained marble, white. Very corroded.

It belongs to a large figurine (the initial height exceeded 650mm) of the Spedos variety. Distinguishable on the back are two narrow bands, which are less worn and pale, intersecting in a cross. They probably depict details of the hairstyle or head ornamentation. This trace is of particular interest, and is the sole example at present.

Fig. 35.1 NM4274. Scale 1:2.

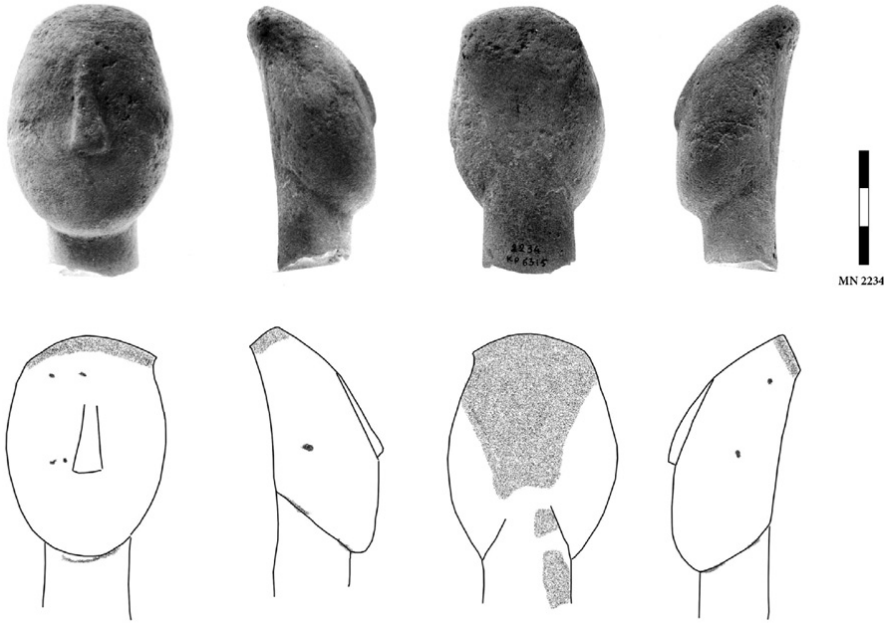

Fig. 35.2 NM2234. Scale 1:2.

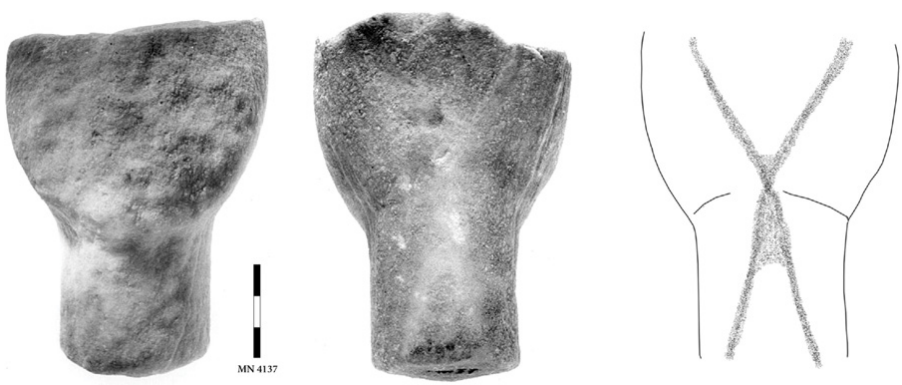

Fig. 35.3 NM4137. Scale 1:2.

NM5460 (Fig. 35.4). Aplomata (72E/71)
Grave XIII (Doumas & Lambrinoudakis, this volume, Fig. 15.13; Kontoleon 1971, 178–9, 184, fig. 219).
Complete. Early Spedos variety. Height 234mm, width 52mm, thickness 23mm. Incrustation with grey surface on the back on the left half of the torso. Off-white patina, grey in places. The front has perhaps been cleaned.

Smooth, pale areas that were initially painted and were protected from corrosion due to the pigment (blue or black) are preserved on the head. Visible on the front are a fine horizontal band on the forehead, the eyebrow, the outline of the right and part of the outline of the left eye, and on the back are part of the hair and a curl descending to the neck.

NM747 (Fig. 35.5). Aplomata.
'Trench to the south of the grave. 12/08/1958' (Kontoleon 1958, 228-9), unpublished.
Head. Maximum height 82mm, width 51mm, thickness 41mm. Fine-grained whitish marble.

The head and upper neck are preserved. Corrosion and patina on most of the face and the back.

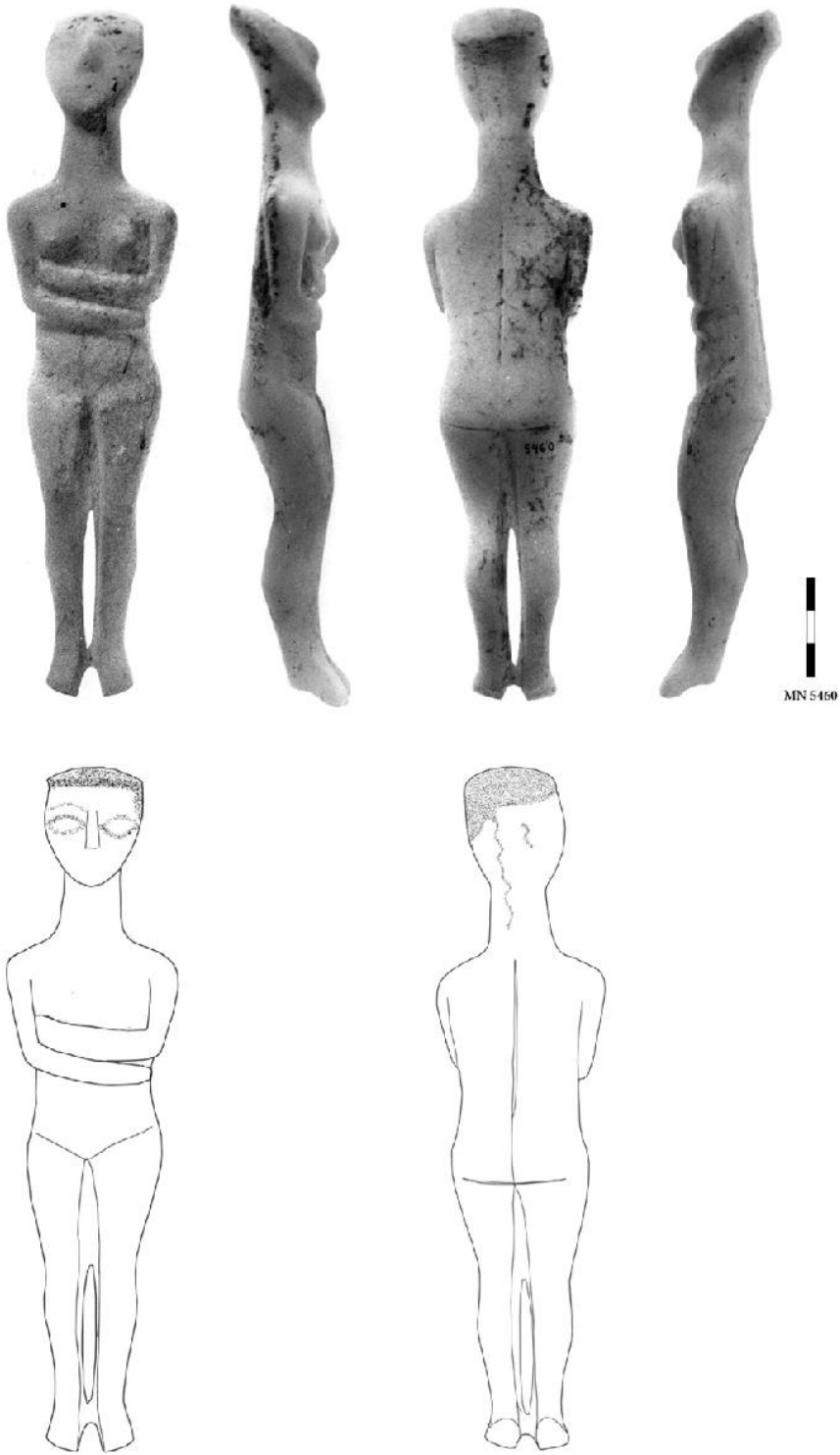

Fig. 35.4 NM5460. Scale 1:2.

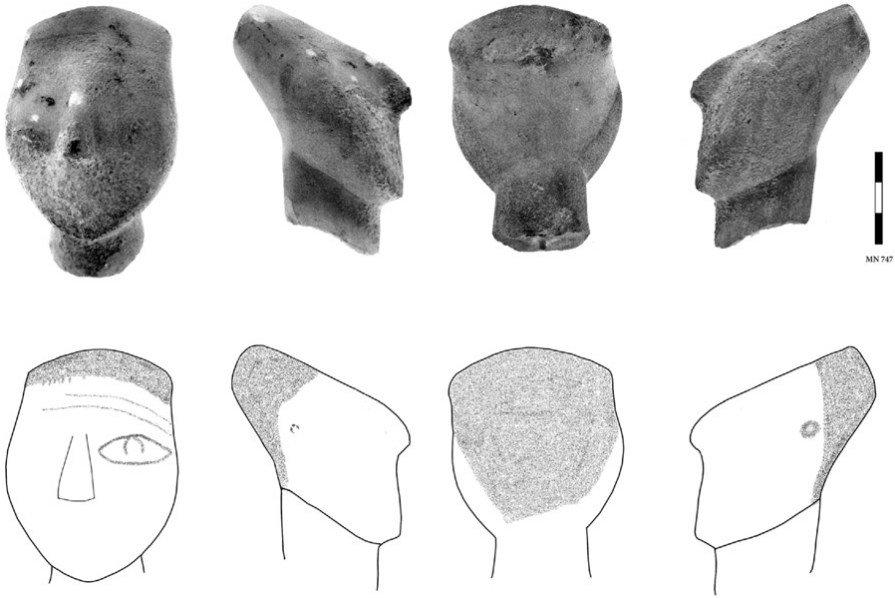

Fig. 35.5 NM747. Scale 1:2.

Smooth and well preserved areas that were originally painted are visible on the head: the hair, which is defined on the front by a broad band on the forehead, and on the back by a trapezoidal area. The outline and pupil of the left eye are preserved in low relief on the face. On the forehead is a row of at least six vertical red lines. On the left side, a red dot possibly represented the ear. On the right side, there are three red dots. Red dots are also preserved on the transition from the head to the neck.

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PLATES

Notes to the plates

Plate 1 Upper, NM1995; NM1992. See Chapter 6.
Lower, NM1990; NM1994; EAM6140.9 (Louros). See Chapter 6 and Figure 21.44 (Louros).

Plate 2 NM5461 and NM5463. See Chapter 15.

Plate 3 SM1176 and EAM5140.22. See Chapters 20 (Chalandriani) and 21 (Spedos).

Plate 4 EAM6174. See Chapter 21.

Plate 5 EAM6174. See Chapter 21.

Plate 6 a) IM3106, see Chapter 12;
b) IM3935, see Chapter 12;
c) Kavos Special Deposit South 40005, see Renfrew *et al.* in prep, cited in Chapter 26;
d) Kavos Special Deposit South 40004, see Renfrew *et al.* in prep, cited in Chapter 26;
e) EAM6164, see Chapter 21;
f) EAM5201, see Chapter 20;
g) EAM6165, see Chapter 21.

Plate 7 Kavos Special Deposit South 40003. See Chapter 26.

Plate 8 NM5468. See Chapter 15.

Plate 9 NM5468. See Chapter 15.

Plate 10 Kouphonisi NM10674, see Chapter 14; Aplomata NM5468, see Chapter 15.

Plate 11 NM5467. See Chapter 15.

Plate 12 NM4181. See Chapter 22.

Plate 13 NM4181 (Chapter 22) and NM166 (Chapter 16). Not to scale.

Plate 14 NM166. See Chapter 16.

Plate 15 Row 1: IM3945, IM1064, IM1065, IM3767, IM3780, IM3108; see Chapter 12.
Row 2: IM3766, IM1062, IM3107, IM3771, IM3781, IM3934; see Chapter 12.
Row 3: EAM6169.3, EAM6169.4, EAM6169.6, EAM6169.7, EAM6169.1; see Chapter 21.
Row 4: Dhaskalio 5751, 5814, 10793, 11430, 11795, 5746; see Chapter 13.

Plate 16 Skarkos IM3780; see Chapter 12.

Dhaskalio 5746; see Chapter 13.
Special Deposit South 625; see Chapter 26.

Plate 1 Sculptures of the Grotta-Pelos culture from Akrotiri and Louros (L) on Naxos

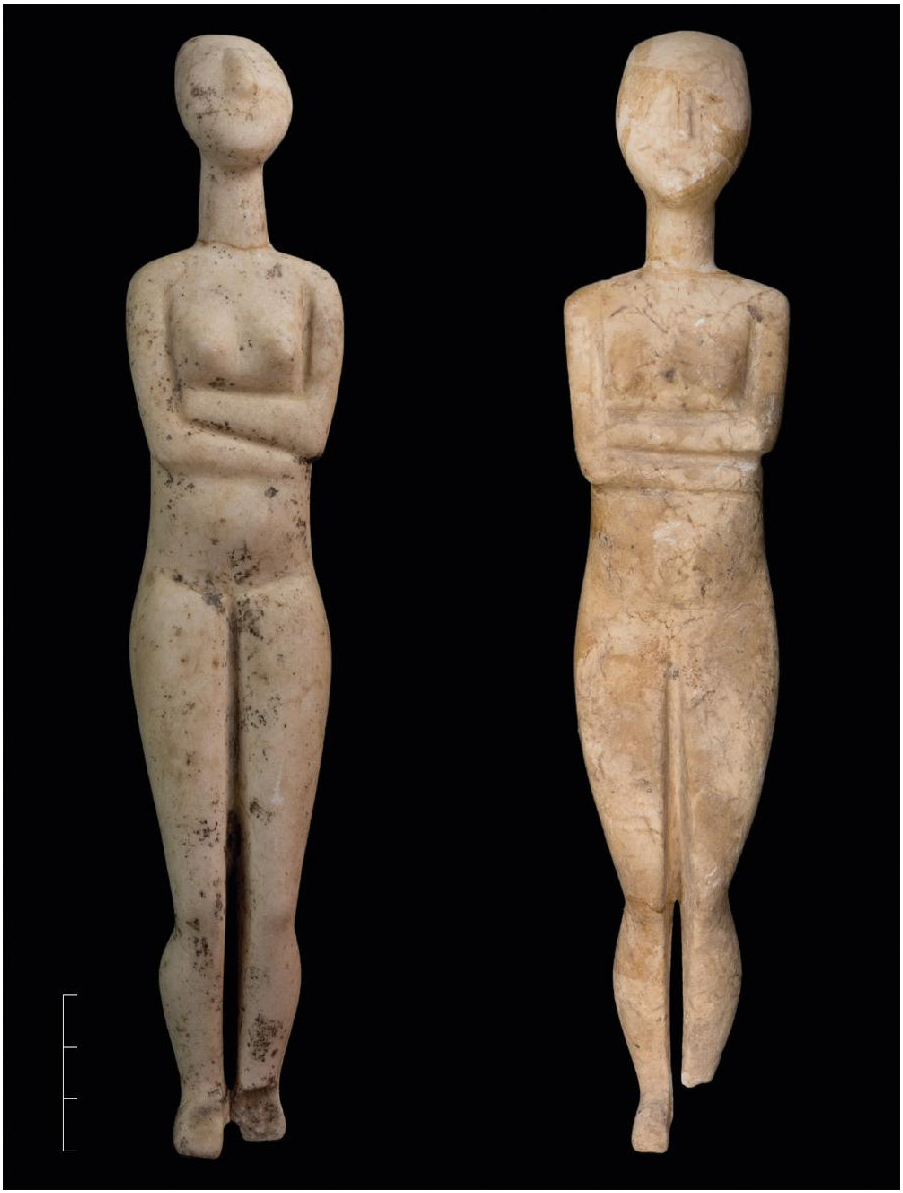

Plate 2 Canonical figures of the Kapsala variety from Aplomata on Naxos.

Plate 3 Canonical figures of the Spedos variety from Chalandriani on Syros and Spedos on Naxos.

Plate 4 Canonical figure of the Dokathismata variety from Chalandriani.

Plate 5 Canonical figure of the Dokathismata variety from Chalandriani.

Plate 6 Canonical figures of the Chalandriani variety from Skarkos on Ios (a, b), Kavos on Keros (c, d) and Chalandriani on Syros (e, f and g).

Plate 7 Large figure from the Special Deposit South at Kavos, Keros.

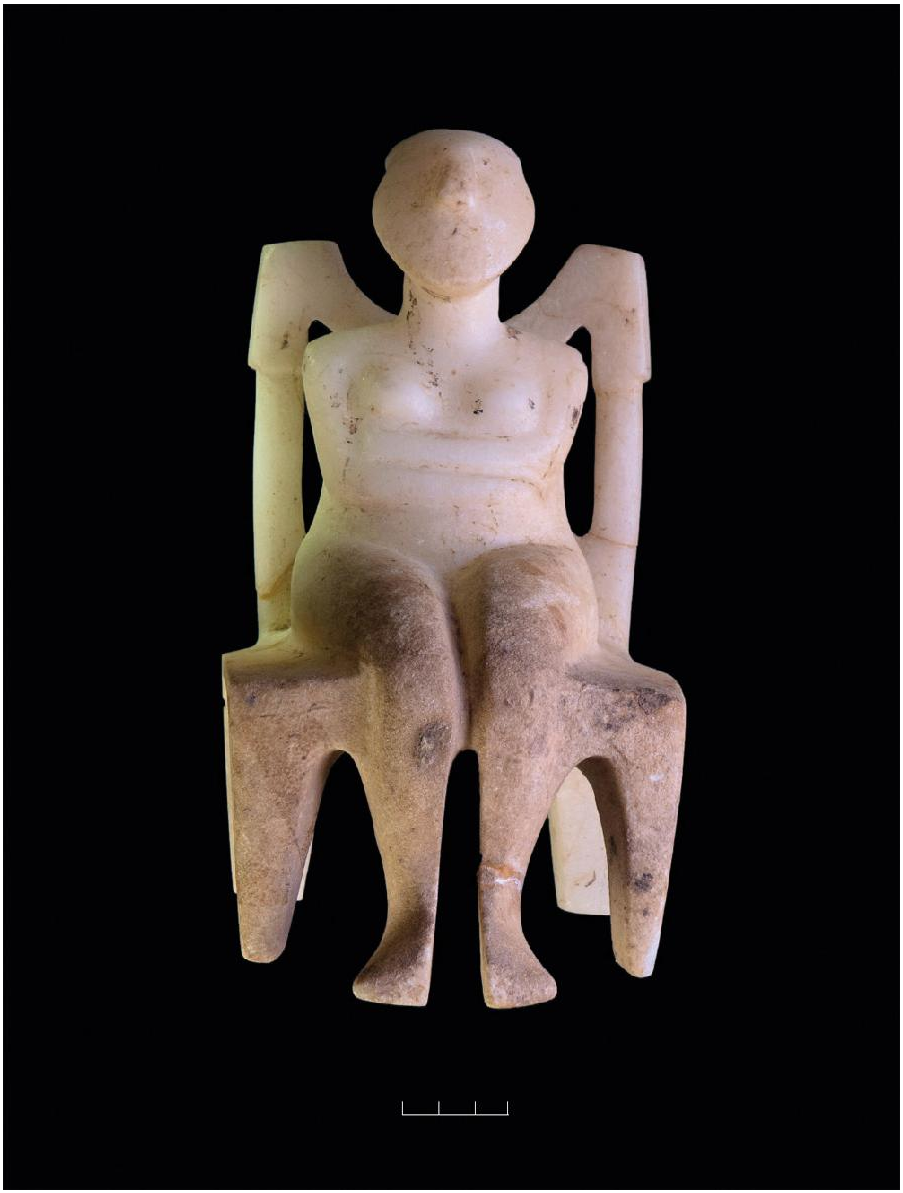

Plate 8 Enthroned figure from Aplomata on Naxos.

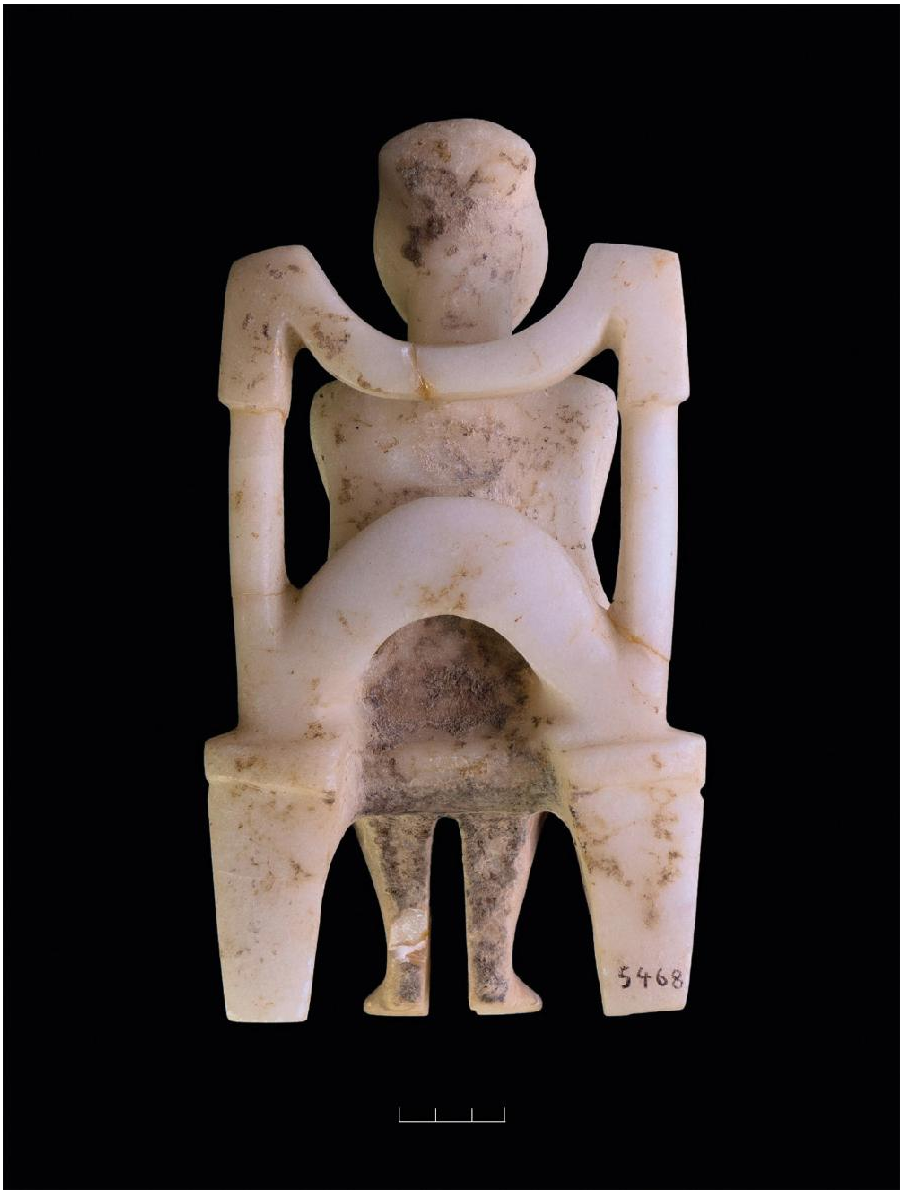

Plate 9 Enthroned figure from Aplomata on Naxos.

Plate 10 Top: seated figure from Kouphonisi; bottom: view from above of enthroned figure from Aplomata.

Plate 11 Seated figure from Aplomata on Naxos.

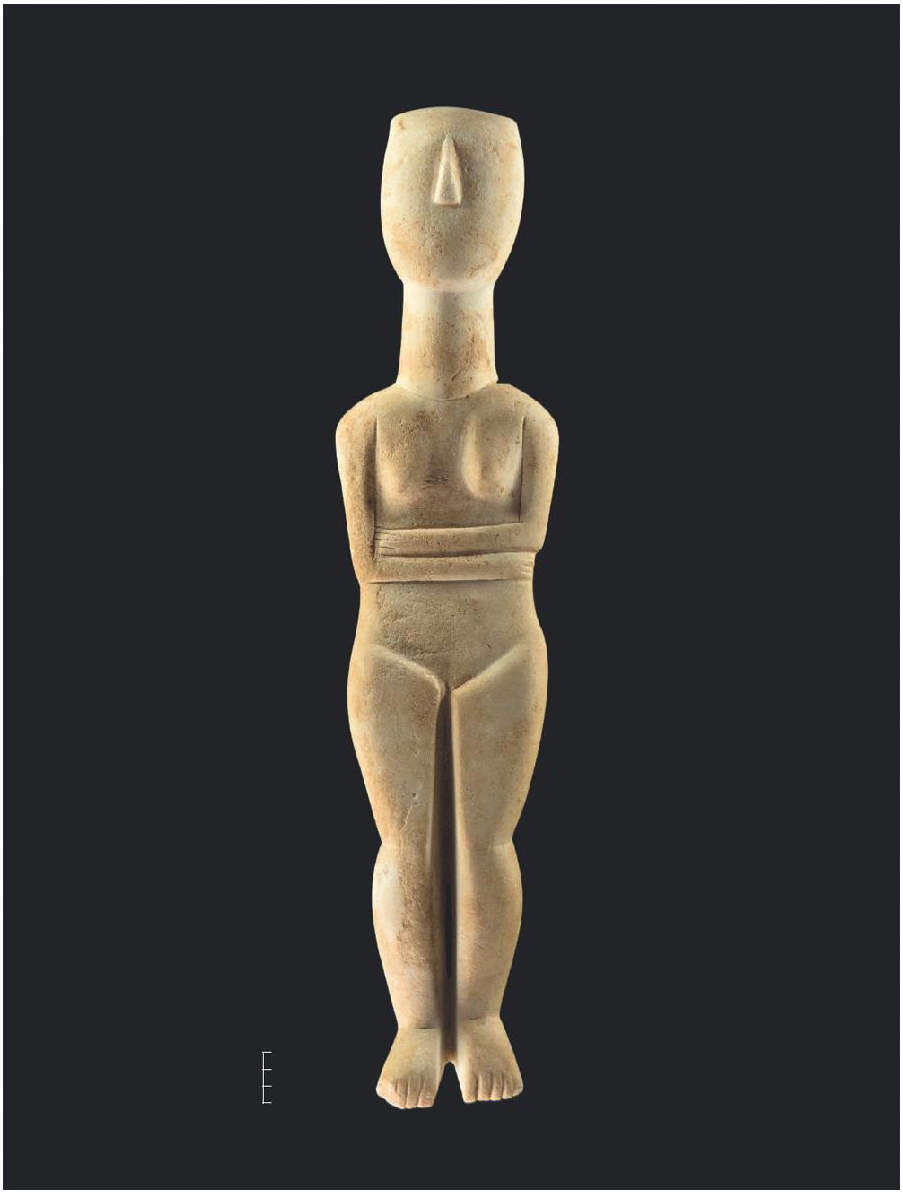

Plate 12 Large figure from the Special Deposit North at Kavos, Keros.

Plate 13 Top: head and shoulders of the large figure from the Special Deposit North, Keros; bottom: head and torso of figure from Phiondas, Naxos. Not to Scale.

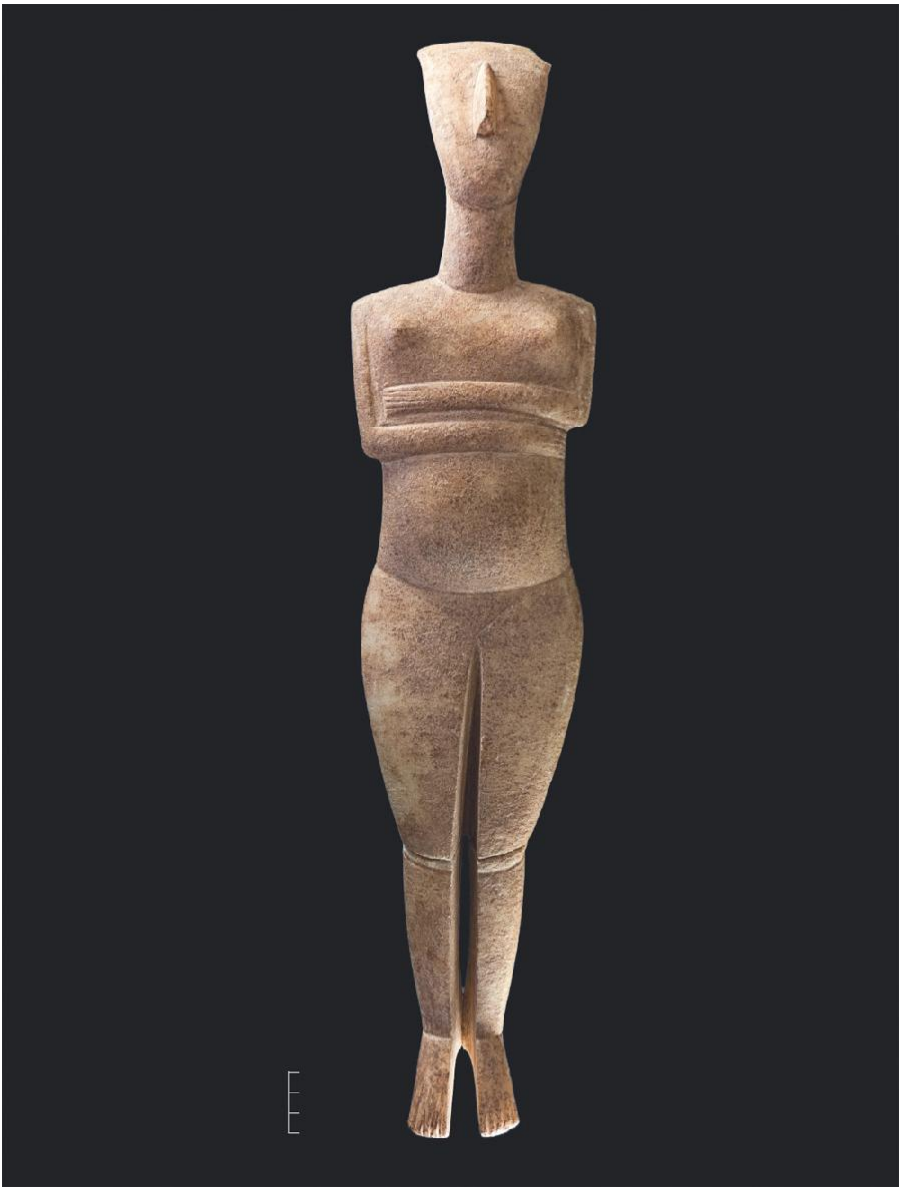

Plate 14 Figure from Phiondas, Naxos.

Plate 15 Schematic figurines of the Keros-Syros culture from Skarkos on Ios (top two rows), Chalandriani on Syros (next row), and Dhaskalio, Keros (bottom row).

Plate 16 Sculptures in context from (top) Skarkos, Ios; (middle) Dhaskalio, Keros; (bottom) Special Deposit South, Keros.